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Scotichronicon:

COMPRISING

BISHOP KEITH'S

Catalogue of Scottish Bishops,

ENLARGED; WITH

REEVES' AND GOODALL'S

Treatises on the Culdees.

BY

REV. J. F. S. GORDON, D.D.,
ST. ANDREWS, GLASGOW.

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Christopher, Antipope, . . . 904
SERGIUS III., ... 905
ANASTASIUS III., Roman, . . . 911
LANDO, native of Sabina, . . . 913
JOHN X., Roman, ... 915
LEO VI., Roman, ... 928
STEPHEN VIII., Roman, . . . 929
JOHN XI., Roman, ... 931
LEO VII., Roman, . . . 936
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MARTIN III. (called by some MARINUS II.), . 943
AGAPETUS II., ... 946
JOHN XII., Ottaviano Conti, . . . 956
He was the first who changed his name on his elevation.
Leo VIII., Antipope, . . . 964
BENEDICT V., Roman, ... 965
JOHN XIII., Roman, . . . 965
BENEDICT VI., ... 972
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BENEDICT VII., Conti, Roman, . . . 975
Boniface VII. or VIII., Franco, Antipope, . 975-983
JOHN XIV., Roman, ... 984
JOHN XV., Roman, . . . 985
JOHN XVI., Roman, ... 985
GREGORY V., German, . . . 996
SYLVESTER II., Gerbert, native of Auvergne, . 999

Eleventh Century.

JOHN XVII. (May-October), . . 1003
JOHN XVIII., Roman, . . . 1004

SERGIUS IV., Roman, . . . A.D. 1009
BENEDICT VIII., native of Tusculum, . . 1012
JOHN XIX., Roman (in some Catalogues reckoned XX., the diversity arising from a disputed Election), . 1024
BENEDICT IX., ... 1033
Sylvester III., Antipope (three months), . . 1044
Gregory VI., Roman, Antipope, . . 1045
Clement II., native of Saxony, Antipope, . . 1047
BENEDICT IX., restored, . . . 1047
DAMASUS II. (Poppo), ... 1048
LEO IX., Bishop of Toul, . . . 1049
VICTOR II., Bishop of Eichstadt, . . . 1055
STEPHEN X., Frederick, Abbot of Monte Casino, . 1057
Benedict X., by some styled Antipope, abdicated (ten months), ... 1058
NICHOLAS II., native of Burgundy, . . 1059
ALEXANDER II., native of Milan, . . 1061
GREGORY VII., Hildebrand, native of Tuscany, . 1073
Guibert, Antipope, assumed the name of *Clement* III., 1080
VICTOR III., native of Beneventum, . . 1086
URBAN II., native of France, . . 1088
PASCHAL II., native of Tuscany, . . . 1099
Albert and *Theodoric*, Antipopes.

Twelfth Century.

GELASIUS II., native of Caieta, . . 1110
CALIXTUS II., native of Burgundy, . . 1119
HONORIUS II., Cardinal Lamberto, Bishop of Ostia, 1124
INNOCENT II., Roman, . . . 1130
Anacletus, Antipope, . . . 1138
CELESTINUS II., Tuscan, . . . 1143
LUCIUS II., native of Bologna, . . 1144
EUGENIUS III., native of Pisa, . . . 1145
ANASTASIUS IV., Roman, . . . 1153
ADRIAN IV., Nicholas Breakspeare, Englishman, . 1154
ALEXANDER III., Cardinal Orlando Bandinelli, native of Siena, ... 1159

Victor IV., Antipope, ... A.D. 1164
Paschal III., ... 1168
Calixtus III., ... 1178
Innocent III., ... 1180
Lucius III., Cardinal Ubaldo of Lucca, . 1181
Urban III., Uberto Crivelli, Archbishop of Milan, . 1185
Gregory VIII., native of Beneventum, . 1187
Clement III., Paul, Bishop of Prænestе, . . 1188
Celestinus III., Cardinal Hyacinthas, Roman, . 1191
Innocent III., Cardinal Lotharius, native of Signia, . 1198

Thirteenth Century.

Honorius III., Cardinal Savelli, native of Rome, 1216
Gregory IX., Cardinal Hugo, native of Anagni, . 1227
Celestinus IV., native of Milan, . . 1241
Innocent IV., Cardinal Sinibaldo Fieschi, native of Genoa, 1243
Alexander IV., Cardinal Rinaldo Conti, native of Anaqui, 1254
Urban IV., James, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Frenchman, 1261
Clement IV., Guy, native of S. Gilles, in Languedoc, 1265
Gregory X., Tebaldo Visconti, native of Piacenza, . 1271
Innocent V., Cardinal Peter, native of Tarentaise, 1276
Adrian V., Ottobono Fieschi, native of Genoa, . 1276
John XX. *or* XXI., native of Lisbon, . . 1276
Nicholas III., Cardinal Orsini, native of Rome, . 1277
Martin IV., Cardinal Simon de Brie, Frenchman, 1281
Honorius IV., Cardinal James Savelli, native of Rome, 1285
Nicholas IV., Cardinal Jerome, native of Ascoli, 1288
Celestinus V., Pietro da Morrone, of Abruzzi, . 1294
Boniface VIII., Cardinal Benedetto Gaetani, native of Anagni, ... 1294

Fourteenth Century.

Benedict X. *or* XI., Cardinal Nicholas, native of Treviso, 1303
Clement V., Bertrand of Bourdeaux, removed the Papal See to Avignon, ... 1305
John XXI. *or* XXII., James, native of Cahors, in France, 1316

Nicholas, Antipope, . . . A.D. 1316
Benedict XI. *or* XII., James Fournier, Frenchman, 1334
Clement VI., Peter Roger, native of Limoges, in France, 1342
Innocent VI., Stephen Aubert, native of Limoges, . 1352
Urban V., William Grimoard, Frenchman, . 1362
Gregory XI., Peter Roger, Frenchman, restored the Papal See to Rome, . . . 1370
Urban VI., Bartolomeo Prignano, Neapolitan, . 1378
(From 1378 to 1410 occurs the "Great Western Schism," during which, in conflict with the line of Popes inserted in the Catalogue, is found a rival line residing at Avignon—Clement VII., 1378-1394; Benedict XIII., 1394-1410. The Council of Pisa, 1410, deposed both rival Popes; but Benedict XIII. remained in schism till his death in 1424.)
Boniface IX., Peter Tomacelli, of Naples, . . 1389

Fifteenth Century.

Innocent VII., Cosmo Migliorati, native of Sulmona, 1404
Gregory XII., Angelo Corrari, native of Venice, . 1406
Alexander V., Peter Philargius, native of Candia, 1409
John XXII. *or* XXIII., Cardinal Cossa, deposed by the Council of Constance, . . . 1410
Martin V., Otho Colonna, Roman, . . 1417
Eugenius IV., Gabriel Condulmero, Venetian, . 1431
Felix V., Antipope, ... 1439
Nicholas V., Cardinal Thomas, native of Sarzana, 1447
Calixtus III., Alfonso Borgia, Spaniard, . . 1455
Pius II., Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, native of Siena, 1458
Paul II., Peter Barbo, native of Venice, . . 1464
Sixtus IV., Francis della Rovere, Genoese, . 1471
Innocent VIII., Gian Battista Cibo, Genoese, . 1484
Alexander VI., Rodrigo Lenzoli Borgia, Spaniard, 1492

Sixteenth Century.

Pius III., Francis Todeschini Piccolomini, . . 1503
Julius II., Julian della Rovere, Genoese, . 1503

Leo X., Giovanni de Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, ... A.D. 1513
Adrian VI., native of Utrecht, ... 1522
Clement VII., Giulio de Medici, nephew of Lorenzo, 1523
Paul III., Alessandro Farnese, native of Rome, . 1534
Julius III., Giovan Maria Giocci, native of Rome, 1550
Marcellus II., Cardinal Cervini, native of Montepulciano, 1555
Paul IV., Gianpietro Caraffa, Neapolitan, . 1555
Pius IV., Giovanni Angelo Medichini, native of Milan, 1559
Pius V., Michele Ghislieri, native of Alessandria, 1565
Gregory XIII., Hugo Buoncompagni, native of Bologna, 1572
Sixtus V., Felice Peretti of Montalto, native of the March of Ancona, ... 1585
Urban VII., Gian Battista Castagna, Genoese, . 1590
Gregory XIV., Nicola Sfrondati, native of Milan, . 1590
Innocent IX., Gian Antonio Facchinetti, native of Bologna, 1591
Clement VIII., Ippolito Aldobrandini, native of Fano, 1592

Seventeenth Century.

Leo XI., Alessandro de Medici, native of Florence, 1605
Paul V., Camillo Borghese, native of Rome, . 1605
Gregory XV., Alessandro Ludovici, native of Bologna, 1621
Urban VIII., Maffeo Barberini, Florentine, . . 1623
Innocent X., Gian Battista Pamfili, native of Rome, 1644
Alexander VII., Fabio Chigi, native of Siena, . 1655
Clement IX., Giulio Rospigliosi, native of Pistoia, 1667
Clement X., Emilio Altieri, native of Rome, . 1670
Innocent XI., Benedetto Odescalchi, native of Como, 1676
Alexander VIII., Pietro Ottoboni, native of Venice, . 1689
Innocent XII., Antonio Pignatelli, native of Naples, 1691

Eighteenth Century.

Clement XI., Gian Francesco Albani, native of Urbino, 1700
Innocent XIII., Michael Angelo Conti, native of Rome, 1721
Benedict XIII., Vincenzo Maria Orsini, native of Rome, 1724
Clement XII., Lorenzo Corsini, native of Florence, . 1730

Benedict XIV., Prospero Lambertini, native of Bologna,	1740
Clement XIII., Carlo Rezzonico, native of Venice, .	1758
Clement XIV., Gian Vincenzo Ganganelli, born near Rimini, ...	1769
Pius VI., Angelo Braschi, native of Cesena, .	1775

Nineteenth Century.

Pius VII., Gregorio Barnaba Chiaramonti, native of Cesena, ...	1800
Leo XII., Annibale della Genga, native of Romagna,	1823
Pius VIII., Cardinal Castiglioni, native of Cingoli, .	1829
Gregory XVI., Mauro Cappellari, native of Belluno,	1831
Pius IX., Giovanni Maria Mastai-Feretti, native of Sinigaglia, ...	1846

Engraved by Charles Holl

POPE SIXTUS V.

FELIX PERETTI.

ENGRAVED BY CHARLES HOLL FROM A PRINT BY CAMILLO CRASSICO
PUBLISHED AT ROME IN THE YEAR 1589

THE SUPREME PONTIFF

AND

THE SACRED COLLEGE.

"OUR MOST HOLY FATHER POPE PIUS IX.," the two hundred and fifty-seventh in succession from S. Peter; JOHN MARY MASTAI-FERRETTI, born at Sinigaglia on the 13th of May, 1792; Elected the 16th June, 1846; Crowned on the 21st of June, and took possession of St. John Lateran's, his Cathedral Church, on the 8th of November, 1846.

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CONSTANTINE PATRIZI, born at Siena, September 4, 1798; reserved *in petto* June 23, 1834, published July 11, 1836; Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina, Sub-Dean of the Sacred College, Archpriest of the Patriarchal Basilica of St. Mary Major's, Commendatory Grand Prior of the Holy Military Order of Jerusalem, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, Secretary to the Holy Office, Vicar-General of his Holiness.

LOUIS AMAT DI S. FILIPPO E SORSO, born at Cagliari, June 21, 1796; Bishop of Palestrina, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Sommista of Apostolic Letters, Commendatory of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Created May 19, 1837.

ANTHONY MARY CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, born at Santopadre, in the Diocese of Aquino, December 14, 1797; Bishop of Frascati, Grand Penitentiary. Created January 22, 1844.

JEROME D' ANDREA, born at Naples, April 12, 1812; Bishop of Sabina, Perpetual Abbot of S. Maria di Farfa, Commendatory Abbot and Ordinary of SS. Benedict and Scholastica at Subiaco, Commendatory of St. Agnes beyond the Walls. Created March 15, 1852.

LOUIS ALTIERI, born in Rome, July 17, 1805; reserved *in petto* December 14, 1840, and published April 21, 1845; Bishop of Albano, Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church, Arch-Chancellor of the Roman University, President of the Council of State for Finance, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, Archpriest of the Patriarchal Basilica of the Lateran.

CARDINAL PRIESTS.

ANTHONY TOSTI, born in Rome, October 4, 1776; reserved *in petto* February 12, 1838, and published February 18, 1839;

First Cardinal Priest, of the Title of *S. Pietro in Montorio;* Librarian of Holy Church.

Philip de Angelis, born at Ascoli, April 16, 1792; reserved *in petto* September 13, 1838, and published July 8, 1839; of the Title of *S. Bernardo alle Terme Diocleziane;* Archbishop of Fermo.

Engelbert Sterchx, born at Ophem, in the Archdiocese of Malines, Nov. 2, 1792; of the Title of *S. Bartolomeo nell' Isola;* Archbishop of Malines. Created September 13, 1838.

Louis Vannicelli-Casoni, born at Amelia, April 16, 1801; reserved *in petto* December 23, 1839, and published January 24, 1842; of the Title of *S. Prassede;* Archbishop of Ferrara.

Louis James Maurice de Bonald, born at Milhaud, in the Diocese of Rhodez, November 30, 1787; of the Title of *Santissima Trinità al Monte Pincia;* Archbishop of Lyons. Created March 1, 1841.

Frederic John Joseph Celestine Schwarzenberg, born at Vienna, April 6, 1809; of the Title of *S. Agostino;* Archbishop of Prague. Created January 24, 1842.

Cosimo Corsi, born at Florence, June 10, 1798; of the Title of *SS. Giovanni e Paolo;* Archbishop of Pisa. Created January 24, 1842.

Fabius Mary Asquini, born at Fagagna, in the Archdiocese of Udine, August 14, 1802; reserved *in petto* January 22, 1844, and published April 21, 1845; of the Title of *S. Stefano al Monte Celio;* Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Ecclesiastical Immunities.

Nicholas Clarelli-Paracciani, born at Rieti, April 12, 1799; of the Title of *S. Pietro in Vincoli;* Secretary of Apostolic Briefs. Created January 22, 1844.

Dominic Carafa di Traetto, born at Naples, July 12, 1805; of the Title of *S. Maria degli Angeli;* Archbishop of Benevento. Created July 22, 1844.

Xystus Riario-Sforza, born at Naples, December 5, 1810; of the Title of *S. Sabina;* Archbishop of Naples. Created January 19, 1846.

Cajetan Baluffi, born at Ancona, March 29, 1788; of the Title of *SS. Marcellino e Pietro;* Archbishop Bishop of Imola. Created December 21, 1846.

James Mary Adrian Cæsar Mathieu, born at Paris, January 20, 1796; of the Title of *S. Silvestro in Capite;* Archbishop of Besançon. Created September 30, 1850.

Thomas Gousset, born at Montigny-les-Cherlieux, in the Archdiocese of Besançon, May 1, 1792; of the Title of *S. Callisto;* Archbishop of Rheims. Created September 30, 1850.

Francis Augustus Ferdinand Donnet, born at Bourg-Argental, in the Archdiocese of Lyons, November 16, 1795; of the Title of *S. Maria in Via;* Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Created March 15, 1852.

Charles Louis Morichini, born at Rome, November 21, 1805; of the Title of *S. Onofrio;* Archbishop Bishop of Jesi. Created March 15, 1852.

John Scitowski, born at Bela, November 1, 1785; of the Title of *S. Croce in Gerusalemme;* Archbishop of Strigonium or Gran, and Primate of Hungary. Created March 7, 1853.

Camillus di Pietro, born at Rome, January 10, 1806; of the Title of *S. Giovanni a Porta Latina;* reserved *in petto* December 10, 1853, and published June 16, 1856; Prefect of the Supreme Tribunal of *Segnatura di Giustizia.*

Joachim Pecci, born at Carpineto, in the Diocese of Anagni, March 2, 1810; of the Title of *S. Grisogono;* Archbishop Bishop of Perugia. Created December 19, 1853.

Joseph Otmar Rauscher, born at Vienna, October 6, 1797; of the Title of *S. Maria della Vittoria;* Archbishop of Vienna. Created December 17, 1855.

Charles Augustus de Reisach, born at Roth, in the Diocese of Eichstadt, July 6, 1800; of the Title of *S. Cecilia,* holding in commendam that of *S. Anastasia;* Prefect of the Congregation of Studies. Created December 17, 1855.

Clement Villecourt, born at Lyons, October 9, 1787; of the Title of *S. Pancrazio fuori le Mura.* Created December 17, 1855.

George Haulik, born at Tirnavia, of the Archdiocese of Strigonia, April 28, 1787; of the Title of *SS. Quirico e Giulitta;* Archbishop of Zagrabia. Created June 16, 1856.

Alexander Barnabò, born at Foligno, March 2, 1801; of the Title of *S. Susanna;* Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. Created June 16, 1856.

Cyril de Alameda y Brea, of the Order of Minors, Observants, born at Torraien da Valasso, July 14, 1781; Archbishop of Toledo. Created March 15, 1858.

Anthony Benedict Antonucci, born at Subiaco, September 17, 1798; of the Title of *SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti;* Archbishop Bishop of Ancona and Umana. Created March 15, 1858.

Henry Orfei, born at Orvieto, October 23, 1800; of the Title of *S. Balbina;* Archbishop of Ravenna. Created March 15, 1858.

Joseph Milesi-Pironi-Ferretti, born at Ancona, March 9, 1817; of the Title of *S. Maria in Aracoeli;* Legate Apostolic of Bologna, Commendatory Abbot of SS. Vincent and Anastasius at the Three Fountains. Created March 15, 1858.

Peter de Silvestri, born at Rovigo, February 13, 1803; of the Title of *S. Marco.* Created March 15, 1858.

Emmanuel Benedict Rodrigues, born at Villa Nuova di Gaja, in the Diocese of Porto, December 25, 1800; Patriarch of Lisbon. Created June 25, 1858.

Alexius Billiet, born at Chapelle, in Savoy, February 28, 1783; of the Title of *S. Alessio sull' Aventino;* Archbishop of Chambéry. Created September 27, 1861.

Charles Sacconi, born at Montalto, May 8, 1808; of the Title of *S. Maria del Popolo.* Created September 27, 1861.

Michael Garcia Cuesta, born at Macotera, in the Diocese of Salamanca, October 6, 1803; of the Title of *S. Prisca;* Archbishop of Compostella. Created September 27, 1861.

Ferdinand de la Puente, born at Cadiz, August 28, 1808; of the Title of *S. Maria della Pace;* Archbishop of Burgos. Created September 27, 1861.

Angelo Quaglia, born at Corneto, August 28, 1802; of the Title of *SS. Andrea e Gregorio al Monte Celio;* Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. Created September 27, 1861.

Anthony Mary Panebianco, of the Order of Minors Conventuals, born at Terranova, in the Diocese of Piazza in Sicily, August 14, 1808; of the Title of *SS. XII. Apostoli;* Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences and Relics. Created September 27, 1861.

Joseph Louis Trevisanato, born at Venice, February 15, 1801; of the Title of *SS. Nereo ed Achilleo;* Patriarch of Venice. Created March 16, 1863.

Antoninus de Luca, born at Bronte, in the Diocese of Catania in Sicily, October 25, 1805; of the Title of *SS. Quattro Coronati.* Created March 16, 1863.

Joseph Andrew Bizzari, born at Paliano, in the Diocese of Palestrina, May 11, 1802; of the Title of *S. Girolamo degl' Illirici.* Created March 16, 1863.

Louis de la Lastra y Cuesta, born at Cubas, in the Diocese of Santander, December 1, 1803; Archbishop of Seville. Created March 16, 1863.

John Baptist Pitra, of the Order of S. Benedict, born at Champforgeuil, in the Diocese of Autun, August 31, 1812; of the Title of *S. Tommaso in Parione.* Created March 16, 1863.

Philip Mary Guidi, of the Order of S. Dominic, born at Bologna, July 18, 1815; of the Title of *S. Sisto;* Archbishop of Bologna. Created March 16, 1863.

Henry Mary Gaston de Bonnechose, born at Paris, May 19, 1800; of the Title of *S. Clemente;* Archbishop of Rouen. Created December 21, 1863.

Vacant Titles.

S. Lorenzo in Lucina.
S. Agnese fuori le Mura.
S. Marcello.
S. Maria sopra Minerva.
S. Maria in Traspontina.
S. Maria in Trastevere.
S. Lorenzo in Pane e Perna.
S. Pudentiana.

CARDINAL DEACONS.

Louis Ciacchi, born at Pesaro, August 16, 1788; First Deacon, of *S. Angelo in Pescheria*. Created February 12, 1838.

Joseph Ugolini, born at Macerata, January 6, 1783; Deacon of *S. Maria in Via Lata*, and Commendatory of S. Maria in Cosmedin. Created February 12, 1838.

Joseph Bofondi, born at Forlì, October 24, 1795; reserved *in petto* December 21, 1846, and published June 11, 1847; Deacon of *S. Cesareo*, President of the Censo.

James Antonelli, born at Sonnino, April 2, 1806; Deacon of *S. Agata alla Suburra*, Secretary of State to his Holiness, President of the Council of Ministers, Prefect of the Sacred Apostolic Palaces. Created June 11, 1847.

Robert Roberti, born at S. Giusto, in the Diocese of Fermo, December 23, 1788; Deacon of *S. Maria ad Martyres*, Secretary of Memorials to his Holiness. Created September 30, 1850.

Prosper Caterini, born at Onano, in the Diocese of Acquapendente, October 15, 1795; Deacon of *S. Maria della Scalla*, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Council. Created March 7, 1853.

Gaspar Grasselini, born at Palermo, January 19, 1796; Deacon of *SS. Vito e Modesto*. Created June 16, 1856.

Theodolph Mertel, born at Allumiere, in the Diocese of Civita Vecchia, February 9, 1806; Deacon of *S. Eustachio*, President of the Council of State. Created March 15, 1858.

Francis Pentini, born at Rome, December 11, 1797; Deacon of *S. Maria in Portico*. Created March 16, 1863.

Vacant Deaconries.

S. Giorgio in Velabro.
S. Adriano al Foro Romano.
S. Maria in Aquiro.
S. Maria in Domnica.
SS. Cosma e Damiano.
S. Niccola in Carcere.

Summary of the Sacred College.

Cardinals created by Pope Gregory XVI., . .	18
,, ,, Pope Pius IX., . . .	39
,, reserved *in petto*, June 26, 1859, .	1
Vacant Hats, ...	12
Full number of the Sacred College, . .	70

Seventy Members of the Sacred College have Died during the Pontificate of "Our Most Holy Father," of whom twenty-nine were created Cardinals by his Holiness.

APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURES AND INTERNUNCIATURES.

Brussels.—Mgr. Ledochowski, Archbishop of Thebes, *Nuncio*.
Florence and Modena.—Mgr. Franchi, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *Internuncio*.
The Hague.—Mgr. Louis Oreglia di San Stefano, *Internuncio*.
Lisbon.—Mgr. Ferrieri, Archbishop of Sida, *Nuncio*.
Lucerne.—Mgr. Bianchi, *Chargé d' Affaires*.
Madrid.—Mgr. Barili, Archbishop of Tiana, *Nuncio*.
Mexico.—Mgr. Meglia, Archbishop of Damascus, *Nuncio*.
Munich.—Mgr. Gonella, Archbishop of Neocesarea, *Nuncio*.
Naples.—Mgr. Giannelli, Archbishop of Sardia, *Nuncio*.
Paris.—Mgr. Chigi, Archbishop of Mira, *Nuncio*.
Rio Janeiro.—Mgr. Sanguigni, *Internuncio*.
Turin.—Vacant.
Vienna.—Mgr. Falcinelli-Antoniacci, O.S.B., Archbishop of Athens, *Nuncio*.

EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.		*CHURCH OF ROME.*	
Bishops of the Southern Picts.			
		Siricius, . .	A.D. 384
S. Ninian, .	A.D. 397	Celestine, . .	432
S. Palladius, . .	432		
S. Blane, . .	446		
S. Kentigern, . .	540 (?)		
S. Serf, S. Ternan, . .	450		
S. Kessoge, . .	560		
Iona.*			
S. Columba, . .	563		

* The Superiors of Iona were always Priests. [*Bede, lib. iii. c.* 4.] They exercised Episcopal jurisdiction, and were Primates of Scotland. In their Houses in Scotland Bishops resided to perform Episcopal acts, such as the Consecration and Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which, according to the Canon Law of Christendom, none below the Order of Bishops could do. Many of these Bishops were men of saintly life, but they had no Sees. "Thus, while we cannot point out a single Bishop who succeeded to another, we can trace the Abbatial Line in almost unbroken descent from the time of Columba." [*Grub. Eccl. History, vol. i., p.* 139.]

The following illustrations of this peculiar system of Episcopal jurisdiction, as distinct from the Episcopal Order, may perhaps be interesting:—"Now in Ii there must ever be an Abbot and not a Bishop, and all the Scottish Bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an Abbot, not a Bishop." [Quoted from the *Mon. Hist. Brit., p.* 308, which thus translates a passage from the *Saxon Chronicle; vide Grub, vol. i., p.* 137.] The well-known story recorded by S. Adamnan, a successor of S. Columba at Iona, the holder of the Primacy of the Scottish Church, and a Priest, is to the point. He records how Cronan, an Irish Bishop, came to visit S. Columba, and, concealing his Order, wished to unite with the Saint in Celebrating the Holy Mysteries as Brother Priests. The Saint discovered his Order, and said, "Wherefore hast thou laboured hitherto to conceal thyself from us, and so hindered us from yield-

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.		*CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.*	
		Bishops of the Southern Picts.	
		S. Machar (Bishop*),	570(?)
		S. Baithen, . .	597
		Laisrean, . .	598
		S. Cuthen (Bishop),	600
		Virgnous, . .	605
		S. Baldred (Bishop),	608
		S. Wynn (Bishop), .	615
		Segenius, . .	623
		S. Boniface (Bishop),	630
		S. Conan (Bishop), .	648
		S. Finan (Bishop), .	650
		S. Moloch (Bishop), .	650
		Suibne, . . .	652
		Cuminus, . .	657
Theodore, .	A.D. 668	Failbe, . . .	669
		Trumwine (Bishop),	670
		S. Adamnan, . .	679

ing the reverence which is thy due." [*Adamnan, lib. i., c.* 45; *Grub., vol. i., p.* 157.] The same sort of thing, though to nothing like the same extent, existed quite lately in other parts of Europe, indeed exists still. "Down to the year 1752 the Presbyter-Abbot of the great Monastery of Fulda (a Scotch foundation) had under him a Bishop for the purpose of Ordination and other Episcopal functions." [*Grub, vol. i., p.* 137, who refers to the *Acta Sanctorum Octobris, vol. viii., p.* 465.] Until the Revolution the Abbess of the Nunnery of Cistercians, at Huelgas, near Burgos, held in her person the united authorities of Princess Palatine and Bishop, as far as jurisdiction went, over a large tract of country. She instituted to Livings and held her Synods. In the Basque Provinces of Spain there is no Bishop. The whole Civil and Ecclesiastical jurisdiction centres in the *casas consistoriales.* A neighbouring Bishop is procured for such Episcopal acts as Confirmations, Consecrations, and Ordinations.

* We have merely selected a few Bishops whose names occur in History, to show that Bishops existed. Presbyterian Writers ignore the words of S. Bede, who, speaking of the Priest-Abbots, says—"Cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi, etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti." [*Lib. iii., c.* 4.] The names given are not all of the Succession of the Bishops who came over with S. Columba. S. Baldred, for instance, was of the Line of S. Kentigern. The names of the Bishop or Bishops who came from Ireland with S. Columba are unknown. S. Machar was a pupil of S. Columba, and was advanced to the Episcopal dignity at Iona. The Dates given refer not necessarily to their Consecration, but to any mention of them in History—frequently to their Deaths.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Bishops of the Southern Picts.

Conain, (?) .	A.D. 704
Dunchad, . .	707
Dorben, . . .	710
Ceode (Bishop), .	711
Failchu, . . .	716
Fergustus (Bishop), .	721
Killen Fada, . .	724
Killen Droichteach, .	726
Pecthelm (Bishop), .	735
Frithwald (Bishop), .	740
Failbe II., . . .	752
Sleben, . . .	755
Pechtwin (Bishop), .	763
Suibne II., . .	766
Bresul (Bishop), .	772
Ethelbert (Bishop), .	777
Baldwulf (Bishop), .	791
Conmach, . .	801
Kellach, . . .	802
Diermit, . . .	814
S. Glastein (Bishop),	830
S. Guinoch (Bishop),	838
Indrecht (Died), .	854

See of Dunkeld.

BISHOPS AND ABBOTS.

Tuathal, . . .	849
Flaithbertach, . .	865

(The rest untraced.)

See of St. Andrew.

Kellach (Primus), .	909
Fothad (Expelled), .	954
Maelbrigid, . .	962
Kellach II., . .	970
Maelbrigid II., .	995

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.		*CHURCH OF ROME.*	
See of St. Andrew.			
Malmore (Died),	A.D. 1025		
Alwin,	1025		
Malduin,	1028		
Tuathal,	1055		
Fothad II.,	1059		
Interrupted,	1093		
Turgot,*	1109		
Interrupted,	1115		
Robert,†	1124		
Arnold,	1160		
Richard,	1163		
Hugh,	1183		
Roger (Consecrated),	1198		
William Malvoisin,‡	1202		
David de Bernham,	1240	Alexander IV.,	A.D. 1254
Abel,	1254		
Gameline,	1255		
William Wishart,	1273	Nicholas III.,	1277
William Fraser,	1280	Boniface VIII.,	1294
William Lamberton,	1298	John XXI.,	1316
James Bene,	1328		
Interrupted,	1332	Benedict XII.,	1334
William de Landel,	1342		
Stephen de Pay,§	1383		
Walter Trail,‖	1386		
Interrupted,	1401		
Henry Wardlaw,¶	1404		

* Consecrated by Thomas Archbishop of York.
† Consecrated by Archbishop Thurstan of York.
‡ Consecrated in France. § Appears to have Died before Consecration.
‖ Consecrated by the Antipope Clement XVI.
¶ Consecrated by the Antipope Benedict XIII.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

See of St. Andrew.

James Kennedy, . . . A.D. 1442
Patrick Graham (first Archbishop), 1466
William Sheves, ... 1478
James Stewart (not Consecrated), . 1497
Alex. Stewart (not Consecrated), . 1509
Andrew Foreman, ... 1514
James Beaton, ... 1522

SUCCESSION OF "VICARS APOSTOLIC" IN SCOTLAND,

SINCE THE EXTINCTION OF THE HIERARCHY, APRIL 25, 1603.

The Scottish Vicariate was Founded in May, 1694. This was divided into two—the *Lowland* and *Highland Districts*—in February, 1731; and finally into three Districts—the *Eastern*, *Western*, and *Northern*—by Papal Rescript of 13th February, 1827, which is the present arrangement.

The last Roman Catholic Bishop was James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who Died at Paris, 1603.

William Ballantyne, Archpriest, 1652; Died 1661.

Alexander Winchester, Archpriest, 1661.

According to Bishop Hay, there were some others, whom he calls "Prefects," till

Thomas Nicolson, Bishop of Peristachium, was made V.A. of all Scotland, and Consecrated February 27, 1695, at Paris; Arrived in Scotland 1697, and found 25 Priests; Died October 23, 1718, at Preshome, æt. 76.

James Gordon, Born in the Enzie, Banffshire; Bishop of Nicopolis, appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Nicolson, Consecrated at Montefiâscone, April 11, 1706, and Succeeded him as V.A. of all Scotland in 1718; Died at Drummond Castle, March 1, 1746, æt. 82.

John Wallace, Born at Arbroath; Coadjutor to Bishop Gordon, Consecrated September 21, 1720, Bishop of Cyrrha; Died June 30 (or July 11), 1733, at Edinburgh, æt. 83.

Highland District, 1731.

Hugh Macdonald, Born at Morar; Consecrated at Edinburgh, October 2, 1731, Bishop of Diana; Died at Glengarry, March 12, 1773, æt. 72.

John Macdonald, Born in Argyllshire; Consecrated at Preshome, September 27, 1761, Bishop of Tiberiopolis; Died May 9, 1779, æt. 52.

Alexander Macdonald, Born in the Island of Uist, Inverness-shire; Consecrated at Scalan, March 12, 1780, Bishop of Polemo; Died at Samalaman, September 9, 1791.

John Chisholm, Born in Strathglass, Inverness-shire; Consecrated at Edinburgh, February 12, 1792, Bishop of Oria; Died at Lismore, July 8, 1814, æt. 62.

Eneas Chisholm, Born in Strathglass; Consecrated September 15, 1805, Bishop of Diocæsarea; Died July 31, 1818, at Lismore, æt. 59.

Ranald Macdonald, Born at Edinburgh; Consecrated at Edinburgh, February 25, 1820, Bishop of Aeryndela; Died at Fort-William, September 20, 1832, æt. 76.

Lowland District, 1731.

John Wallace, Born at Arbroath; Consecrated at Edinburgh, September 21, 1720 (or October 2, 1721), Bishop of Cyrrha; Died at Edinburgh, July 11, 1733, æt. 83.

James Gordon, as above.

Alexander Smith, Born at Fochabers; Consecrated at Edinburgh, November 13, 1735, Bishop of Misinopolis; Died at Edinburgh, August 21, 1776, æt. 83.

James Grant, Born in the Enzie; Consecrated November 13, 1755, Bishop of Sinita; Died at Aberdeen, December 2, 1778, æt. 69.

George Hay, Born at Edinburgh, 1729; Consecrated at Scalan, May 21, 1769, Bishop of Daulis; Died at Aquhorties, October 15, 1811, æt. 82 (but he had Resigned in 1805).

John Geddes, Born in the Enzie; Coadjutor to Bishop Hay, Consecrated at Madrid, November 30, 1780, Bishop of

Morocco, Superseded on account of his infirmities in 1798 by Bishop Cameron, and Died February 11, 1799, at Aberdeen, æt. 63.

Alexander Cameron, Born at Auchindryne, in Braemar, 1747; Consecrated at Madrid, October 28, 1798, Bishop of Maximianopolis; Resigned in 1825; Died at Edinburgh, February 7, 1828, æt. 81.

Alexander Paterson, Born in the Enzie, 1766; Consecrated at Paisley, August 15, 1816, Bishop of Cybistra; Died at Dundee, October 30, 1831, æt. 65.

Division into Three Districts, September, 1827.

Eastern District, 1827.

This District comprises the sixteen Eastern Counties of Scotland, from the south side of the river Dee (including the Parish of Banchory-Ternan) to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and is divided into seven Provostries.

Alexander Paterson, as above.

Andrew Carruthers, Born at Glenmillan, near New Abbey, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, February 7, 1770; Consecrated at Edinburgh, January 13, 1833, Bishop of Ceramis; Died at Edinburgh, May 24, 1852, æt. 82.

James Gillis, Born in Montreal, Canada, April 7, 1802; Consecrated at Edinburgh, July 22, 1838, Bishop of Limyra; Died at Edinburgh, February 24, 1864, æt. 61.

John Strain, Born at Edinburgh, December 8, 1810; Consecrated at Rome by Pope Pius IX., September 25, 1864, Bishop of Abila.

Western District, 1827.

This District comprises the Shires of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Bute and Arran, Wigton, Dumbarton, Argyll, the Hebrides or Western Islands, and the southern part of Inverness-shire, by a line drawn across the country from Lochalsh to the confines of Aberdeenshire, where it borders with the Northern District.

Ranald Macdonald, as above.

Andrew Scott, Born in the Enzie, September 15, 1772; Consecrated at Glasgow, September 21, 1828, Bishop of Eretria; Died at Greenock, December 4, 1846, æt. 74.

John Murdoch, Born in the Enzie, November 11, 1796; Consecrated at Glasgow, October 20, 1833, Bishop of Castabala; Died at Glasgow, December 15, 1865, æt. 69.

Alexander Smith, Born in the Enzie, June 16, 1814; Coadjutor, Consecrated at Glasgow, October 3, 1847, Bishop of Parium; Died at Glasgow, June 15, 1861, æt. 48.

John Gray, Born at Buckie, June 16, 1817; Consecrated at Glasgow, October 19, 1862, Bishop of Hypsopolis.

James Lynch, Born at Dublin, January 19, 1807; Consecrated at Paris, Nov. 11, 1866, Coadjutor, Bishop of Arcadiopolis.

Northern District, 1827.

This District comprises the Shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Nairn, the northern part of Inverness-shire, the Shires of Ross, Cromarty, and Sutherland.

James Kyle, Born at Edinburgh, Sept. 22, 1788; Consecrated at Aberdeen, Sept. 28, 1828, Bishop of Germanicia.

PREFECTURE OF THE ARCTIC MISSIONS.

The County of Caithness, and the Orkney and Shetland Islands, which lately formed a part of the Northern District, are now, by a recent arrangement, placed under the jurisdiction of the Prefect Apostolic of the Arctic Missions, which in all comprise Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Lapland, part of Hudson's Bay, Orkney, Shetland, and the County of Caithness.

These Missions were established by Pope Pius IX., after the proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The Clergy attached to these Missions are:—

The Very Rev. B. Bernard, Prefect Apostolic, and Rev. Claude Dumahut, residing at Wick, Caithness-shire.

Rev. A. Boller, at Tromsöe, and Revs. E. Maesfrancx and Em. Penffier, at Altengaard, both Stations in Lapland.

Rev. G. Bauer and J. M. Convers, at Thorshavn, in the Faroe Isles.

Rev. J. B. Baudoin and E. M. Dekiere, at Reykiavik, in Iceland.

Rev. Th. Verstraeten, at Lerwick, in the Shetland Isles.

SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

The ancient Line of Scottish Bishops, by whom the greater part of Saxon England had been Evangelized, who had supplied our Northern Dioceses with many Bishops, and furnished many Worthies for the Christian Rolls, came to an end in the person of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who Died April 24, 1603. Seven years afterwards the Church in Scotland received a fresh Succession of Bishops from England, when John Spottiswoode, Andrew Lamb, and Gavin Hamilton were Consecrated respectively Bishops of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway. The *Mandate* for the Consecration, directed to the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester, is in Archbishop Bancroft's Register, at Lambeth, F, 175. But the Record of the Consecration itself is not to be found. In Bishop Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops it is stated to have taken place in the Chapel at London House, Oct 21 [31], 1610. This Succession came likewise to an end, in the person of Thomas Sydserf, who Died Bishop of Orkney, in 1663. But, previously to his Death, another Consecration of Bishops for the Church in Scotland had been obtained from England; for on Dec. 15, 1661, as appears by Archbishop Juxon's Register at Lambeth, f, 237, James Sharp, Andrew Fairfoul, Robert Leighton, and James Hamilton were Consecrated respectively to the Sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunblane, and Galloway; which behold as under :—

DIOCESAN BISHOPS—FROM THE RESTORATION, A.D. 1661, TILL DEPRIVED AT THE REVOLUTION, A.D. 1689.

No.	Names of Bishops.	See.	Names of Consecrators.	Place & Date of Consecration.	Subsequent Events.
1.	James Sharp	St. Andrews	Gilbert London (Sheldon) George Worcester (Morley) Hugh Llandaff (Lloyd) Richard Carlisle (Sterne)	Westminster Abbey, London, Sunday, Dec. 15, 1661.	Murdered May 3, 1679.
2.	Andrew Fairfoul	Glasgow			Died November, 1663.
3.	Robert Leighton	Dunblane			Removed to Glasgow, Oct., 1671; resigned Aug., 1674; died 1684.
4.	James Hamilton	Galloway			Died 1674.
5.	George Haliburton	Dunkeld	James St. Andrews (Sharp) Andrew Glasgow (Fairfoul) James Galloway (Hamilton)	Chapel Royal, Edinburgh, May 7, 1662.	Died 1664.
6.	Murdoch Mackenzie	Moray			Trans. to Orkney, Feb., 1678; died Feb., [1688.
7.	John Patterson	Ross			Died 1679.
8.	Robert Wallace	The Isles			Died 1675.
9.	George Wishart	Edinburgh	Same as above	St. Andrews, June 1, 1662.	Died 1671.
10.	David Mitchell	Aberdeen			Died 1673.
11.	David Strachan	Brechin			Died 1680.
12.	Patrick Forbes	Caithness			Died 1680.
13.	Alexander Burnet	Aberdeen	James St. Andrews (Sharp), and other Bishops	St. Andrews, Sep., 1663.	Translated to Glasgow, 1664; deprived 1669; restored 1674; translated to St. Andrews 1679; died Aug., 1684.
14.	Patrick Scougal	Aberdeen		April 10, 1664.	Died February, 1682.
15.	Andrew Honyman	Orkney		1664.	Died February, 1676.

DIOCESAN BISHOPS—FROM THE RESTORATION, A.D. 1661, TILL DEPRIVED AT THE REVOLUTION, A.D. 1689.

No.	Names of Bishops.	See.	Names of Consecrators.	Place & Date of Consecration.	Subsequent Events.
16.	Henry Guthry	Dunkeld	James St. Andrews (Sharp), and other Bishops	1664.	Died 1676 or 1677.
17.	William Scrogie, D.D.	Argyll		1666.	Died 1675.
18.	Alexander Young, D.D.	Edinburgh		1671.	Trans. to Ross March, 1679; died 1684.
19.	Robert Laurie	Brechin		1671.	Died 1677.
20.	James Ramsay	Dunblane		1674.	Trans. to Ross May, 1684; died Oct., 1696.
21.	John Patterson	Galloway	Alexander Glasgow (Burnet), Alexander Edinburgh (Young), The other Bishop not mentioned	Edinburgh, May, 1675.	Translated to Edinburgh March, 1679; to Glasgow Jan., 1687; died Dec., 1708.
22.	Arthur Ross	Argyll			Translated to Galloway Sept., 1679; to St. Andrews 1684; died June, 1704.
23.	Andrew Wood	The Isles	Alexander Glasgow (Burnet), &c.	May, 1675.	Translated to Caithness 1680; died 1695.
24.	William Lindsay	Dunkeld	James St. Andrews (Sharp), &c.	May 7, 1675.	Died 1675.
25.	James Aitken	Moray		May, 1675.	Trans. to Galloway Feb., 1680; died 1687.
26.	George Haliburton	Brechin		1678.	Translated to Aberdeen 1682; died 1715.
27.	Andrew Bruce	Dunkeld	Alexander St. Andrews, and other Prelates	October 28, 1679.	Translated to Orkney 1688; died 1700.
28.	Colin Falconar	Argyll		October 28, 1679.	Translated to Moray Feb., 1679; died 1686.
29.	Hector Maclean	Argyll		1680.	Died 1687.
30.	Archibald Graham	Isles		1680.	
31.	Robert Douglas	Brechin		1682.	Translated to Dunblane 1684; died 1716.
32.	Alexander Cairncross	Brechin	Arthur St. Andrews, and others not mentioned	June 19, 1684.	Translated, same year, to Glasgow; deprived 1687; trans. to Raphoe 1693.
33.	James Drummond, D.D.	Brechin		Holyrood, Dec. 25, 1684.	Died 1695.
34.	Alexander Rose	Moray		St. Andrews, Mar. 8, 1687.	Translated, same year, to Edinburgh; Primus 1708; died 1720.
35.	John Hamilton	Dunkeld		St. Andrews, No. 30, 1687.	
36.	William Hay, D.D.	Moray		St. Andrews, Mar., 1688.	Died March, 1707.
37.	John Gordon	Galloway	John Glasgow, and other Bishops	Glasgow, Sept., 1688.	

POST-REVOLUTION "COLLEGE" BISHOPS—FROM THE REVOLUTION TILL ABOUT A.D. 1741.

No.	Names of Bishops.	See.	Names of Consecrators.	Place & Date of Consecration.	Subsequent Events.
38.	John Sage	See Note, same column, next page.	John Patterson (Glasgow), Alexander Rose (Edinburgh), Robert Douglas (Dunblane)	Edinburgh, Jan. 25, 1705.	Died June, 1711.
39.	John Fullarton				Appointed Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus 1720; died 1727.
40.	John Falconar		Alexander Rose (Edinburgh), Robert Douglas (Dunblane), Bishop Sage	Dundee, April 28, 1709.	Appointed Bishop of Fife and Brechin 1720; died 1723.
41.	Henry Christie				Died 1718.

POST-REVOLUTION "COLLEGE" BISHOPS—FROM THE REVOLUTION TILL ABOUT A.D. 1741.

No.	Names of Bishops.	See.	Names of Consecrators.	Place & Date of Consecration.	Subsequent Events.
42.	Hon. Archibald Campbell	These "College" Bishops were nominated by the exiled Sovereign. At first they had no fixed Dioceses, though latterly separate Diocesan charges were assigned to them, as may be seen under the head of "Subsequent Events."	Alexander Rose (Edinburgh) Robert Douglas (Dunblane) Bishop John Falconar	Dundee, Aug. 24, 1711.	Appointed Bishop of Aberdeen 1721; resigned 1724; died 1744.
43.	James Gadderar, D.D.		— George Hickes — John Falconar — Archibald Campbell	London, Feb. 24, 1712.	Appointed Bp. of Aberdeen 1724; died 1733.
44.	Arthur Millar		Alexander Rose (Edinburgh) Bishop John Fullarton — John Falconar	Edinburgh, Oct. 23, 1718.	Appointed Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus 1727; died the same year.
45.	William Irvine				Died 1725.
46.	Andrew Cant		John Fullarton (Edinburgh) Bishop Arthur Millar — William Irvine	Edinburgh, Oct. 17, 1722.	Died 1728. Appointed Bp. of Galloway and Primus 1731; Bp. of Edin. 1733; died 1739.
47.	David Freebairn				
48.	Alexander Duncan		John Fullarton (Edinburgh) Bishop Arthur Millar — William Irvine	Edinburgh, 1724, Winter.	Appointed Bp. of Glasgow 1731; died 1733. Died 1727.
49.	Robert Norrie				
50.	James Rose		— Andrew Cant — David Freebairn — Alexander Duncan	Edinburgh, Nov., 1726.	Appointed Bp. of Fife 1731; died 1733. Appointed Bp. of Brechin 1731; died 1742.
51.	John Ochterlonie				
52.	Thomas Rattray		Arthur Millar (Edinburgh) James Gadderar (Aberdeen) Bishop Andrew Cant	Edinburgh, June 4, 1727.	Appointed Bishop of Dunkeld same year —Primus 1739; died 1743.
53.	John Gillan		— David Freebairn — Alexander Duncan — James Rose — John Ochterlonie	Edin., June 11, 1727.	App. Bp. of Dunblane 1731; died 1735. Died 1728.
54.	David Rankine				
55.	William Dunbar		Arthur Millar (Edinburgh) James Gadderar (Aberdeen) Thomas Rattray (Dunkeld)	Edin., June 18, 1727.	App. Bp. of Aberdeen 1733; died 1746. Appointed Bishop of Fife 1733—Primus 1743; died 1757.
56.	Robert Keith				
57.	Andrew Lumsden		Bishop Andrew Cant Thomas Rattray (Dunkeld) Bishop Robert Keith	Edinburgh, Nov. 2, 1727.	Primus 1727; died 1733.
58.	Robert White		Thomas Rattray (Dunkeld) Robert Keith (Fife) William Dunbar (Aberdeen)	Carsebank, near Forfar, June 24, 1735.	Appointed Bishop of Fife 1743—Primus 1757; died 1761.
59.	William Falconar		Thomas Rattray (Dunkeld) Robert Keith (Fife) Bishop Robert White	Alloa, Sept. 10, 1741.	Appointed Bp. of Moray 1742—Primus 1761; Bp. of Edin. 1776; died 1784.

POST-REVOLUTION DIOCESAN BISHOPS—FROM ABOUT A.D. 1742 TILL THE PRESENT TIME.

No. Names of Bishops.	See.	Names of Consecrators.	Place & Date of Consecration.	Subsequent Events.
60. James Raitt	Brechin	Thomas Rattray (Dunkeld) Robert Keith (Fife) Bishop Robert White	Edinburgh, Oct. 4, 1742.	Died 1777.
61. John Alexander	Dunkeld	— Robert White William Falconar (Moray) Robert Keith (Fife) James Raitt (Brechin)	Edinburgh, Aug. 19, 1743.	Died 1776.
62. Andrew Gerard	Aberdeen	Robert White (Fife) William Falconar (Moray) James Raitt (Brechin) John Alexander (Dunkeld)	Cupar-Fife, July 17, 1747.	Died 1767.
63. Henry Edgar	Coadjutor to Fife	Robert White (Fife) William Falconar (Moray) James Raitt (Brechin) John Alexander (Dunkeld)	Cupar-Fife, Oct. 18, 1759.	
64. Robert Forbes	Ross, Caithness, & Orkney	William Falconar (Moray) John Alexander (Dunkeld) Andrew Gerard (Aberdeen)	Forfar, June 24, 1762.	Died 1776.
65. Robert Kilgour	Aberdeen	William Falconar (Moray) James Raitt (Brechin) John Alexander (Dunkeld)	Cupar-Fife, Sep. 21, 1768.	Primus 1784; resigned Diocesan Charge 1786; resigned Office of Primus 1788; died 1790.
66. Charles Rose	Dunblane	William Falconar (Moray) James Raitt (Brechin) Robert Forbes (Ross, &c.)	Forfar, Aug. 24, 1774.	Translated to Dunkeld 1776; died 1791.
67. Arthur Petrie	Coadjutor to Moray	William Falconar (Edinburgh) James Raitt (Brechin) Robert Kilgour (Aberdeen) Charles Rose (Dunkeld)	Dundee, June 27, 1777.	Bishop of Moray in 1777; died 1787.
68. George Innes	Brechin	William Falconar (Edinburgh) Charles Rose (Dunkeld) Arthur Petrie (Moray)	Alloa, August 13, 1778.	Died 1781.
69. John Skinner	Coadjutor to Aberdeen	Robert Kilgour (Aberdeen) Charles Rose (Dunkeld) Arthur Petrie (Moray)	Luthermuir, Sep. 25, 1782.	Bishop of Aberdeen 1786; Primus 1788; died 1816.
70. Andrew Macfarlane	Coadjutor to Moray	Robert Kilgour (Aberdeen) Arthur Petrie (Moray) John Skinner (Aberdeen)	Peterhead, Mar. 7, 1787.	Same year Bishop of Moray; Bishop of Ross and Argyll 1796; died 1819.

POST-REVOLUTION DIOCESAN BISHOPS—FROM ABOUT A.D. 1742 TILL THE PRESENT TIME.

No.	Names of Bishops.	See.	Names of Consecrators.	Place & Date of Consecration.	Subsequent Events.
71.	Wm. Abernethy Drummond	Brechin	Robert Kilgour (late Aberdeen) John Skinner (Aberdeen) Andrew Macfarlane (Moray)	Peterhead, Sep. 26, 1787.	Same year Bishop of Edinburgh; Bishop of Glasgow in 1805) died 1809.
72.	John Strachan	Coadjutor to Brechin			Same year Bishop of Brechin; died 1810.
73.	Jonathan Watson	Dunkeld	John Skinner (Aberdeen) Andrew Macfarlane (Moray) W. Abernethy Drummond (Edin.) John Strachan (Brechin)	Stonehaven, Sep. 20, 1792.	Died 1808.
74.	Alexander Jolly, D.D.	Coadjutor to Moray	W. Abernethy Drummond (Edin.) Andrew Macfarlane (Moray, &c.) John Strachan (Brechin)	Dundee, June 24, 1796.	Same year Bishop of Moray; died 1838.
75.	Daniel Sandford, D.D.	Edinburgh	John Skinner (Aberdeen) Jonathan Watson (Dunkeld) Alexander Jolly (Moray)	Dundee, Feb. 9, 1806.	Died 1830.
76.	Patrick Torry, D.D.	Dunkeld & Dunblane	John Skinner (Aberdeen) Andrew Macfarlane (Ross, &c.) Alexander Jolly (Moray)	Aberdeen, Oct. 12, 1808.	Now the United Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane; died 1852.
77.	George Gleig, LL.D.	Coadjutor to Brechin	John Skinner (Aberdeen) Alexander Jolly (Moray) Patrick Torry (Dunkeld, &c.)	Aberdeen, Oct. 30, 1808.	Bishop of Brechin 1810; Primus 1816; resigned Primacy 1837; died 1848.
78.	William Skinner, D.D.	Aberdeen	George Gleig (Brechin) Alexander Jolly (Moray) Daniel Sandford (Edinburgh) Patrick Torry (Dunkeld, &c.)	Stirling, Oct. 27, 1816.	Primus 1841; died 1857.
79.	David Low, LL.D., D.D.	Ross and Argyll	George Gleig (Brechin) Alexander Jolly (Moray) Patrick Torry (Dunkeld, &c.)	Stirling, Nov. 14, 1819.	Bishop of Moray 1838; resigned Argyll 1847; resigned wholly 1851; died 1855.
80.	James Walker, D.D.	Edinburgh	George Gleig (Brechin) Alexander Jolly (Moray) William Skinner (Aberdeen) David Low (Moray, &c.)	Stirling, March 7, 1830.	Primus 1837; died 1841.
81.	M. Russell, LL.D., D.C.L.	Glasgow & Galloway	James Walker (Edinburgh) William Skinner (Aberdeen) David Low (Moray, &c.)	Edinburgh, Oct. 8, 1837.	Died 1848.
82.	David Moir, D.D.	Coadjutor to Brechin			Bishop of Brechin 1840; died 1847.
83.	Chas. Hughes Terrot, D.D.	Edinburgh	Patrick Torry (Dunkeld, &c.) William Skinner (Aberdeen) David Low (Moray, &c.) Michael Russell (Glasgow, &c.) David Moir (Brechin)	Aberdeen, June 2, 1841.	Primus 1857; resigned Primacy 1862.

POST-REVOLUTION DIOCESAN BISHOPS—FROM ABOUT A.D. 1742 TILL THE PRESENT TIME.

No.	Names of Bishops.	See.	Names of Consecrators.	Place & Date of Consecration.	Subsequent Events.
84.	Alexander Ewing, LL.D., D.D., D.C.L.	Argyll and the Isles	William Skinner (Aberdeen) Michael Russell (Glasgow, &c.) Charles H. Terrot (Edinburgh)	Aberdeen, Oct. 28, 1847.	
85.	Alex. Penrose Forbes, D.C.L.	Brechin			
86.	Walter John Trower, D.D.	Glasgow & Galloway	William Skinner (Aberdeen) Charles H. Terrot (Edinburgh) Alexander Ewing (Argyll, &c.) Alexander P. Forbes (Brechin)	Glasgow, Sep. 21, 1848.	Resigned 1859; appointed by the Queen's Mandate Bishop of Gibraltar 1863.
87.	Robert Eden, D.D.	Moray, Ross, and Caithness	William Skinner (Aberdeen) Charles H. Terrot (Edinburgh) Alexander Ewing (Argyll, &c.) Walter J. Trower (Glasgow, &c.)	Edinburgh, Mar. 9, 1851.	Primus 1862; foundation-stone of his Cathedral laid at Inverness, Oct. 17, 1865, by the Abp. of Canterbury.
88.	Charles Wordsworth, D.D.	St. Andrews, Dunkeld, & Dunblane	William Skinner (Aberdeen) Charles H. Terrot (Edinburgh) W. J. Trower (Glasgow, &c.)	Aberdeen, Jan. 25, 1853	
89.	Thos. George Suther, D.C.L.	Aberdeen & Orkney	Charles H. Terrot (Edinburgh) Alexander Ewing (Argyll, &c.) C. Wordsworth (St. Andrews, &c.)	Edinburgh, June 24, 1857.	
90.	Wm. Scot Wilson, LL.D.	Glasgow & Galloway	Charles H. Terrot (Edinburgh) A. P. Forbes (Brechin) W. J. Trower (*Resigned*) C. Wordsworth (St. Andrews, &c.) W. H. De Lancey (W. New York)	Edinburgh, Apr. 26, 1859.	
91.	Thos. Baker Morrell, D.D.	Coadjutor to Edin.	Robert Eden (Moray, &c.) A. P. Forbes (Brechin) Alexander Ewing (Argyll, &c.) W. S. Wilson (Glasgow, &c.)	Edinburgh, Feb. 2, 1863.	

EARLY BISHOPS IN SCOTLAND

BEFORE THEY POSSESSED TERRITORIAL LIMITS OR SEES.

Palladius. A.D. 430.

Historians are far from being unanimous as to the native country of this memorable man; though they all agree that this "Chief Apostle of the Scottish Nation" was a Grecian. Some are of opinion that he was the same Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, who wrote the Life of S. Chrysostom; but this is contradicted by Vossius and Usher. All that seems to be said, with certainty, concerning him, as is to be gathered from Nennius the Briton, Probus Hibernus, Joceline, Tinmouth, &c., is, that in the year 430, Pope Celestine sent him over (as Prosper in his Chronicon says) *ad Scotos credentes in Christum*—"to the Scots that believed in Christ;" by which expression it would appear that the Scots were Christians before his coming. Abp. Spottiswoode says that he was sent to Scotland chiefly to resist the Pelagian Heresy which began to spread in the Scottish Church. Old Writers tell us that he came first to Ireland to preach the Gospel there, where, they say, he met with little success, God having reserved Ireland for S. Patrick. Our Historians, Fordun, Major, Boëce, Lesly, &c., write that he came to Scotland in the Reign of Eugene, the son of Fergus II.; that he Consecrated Servanus or S. Serf (one of his disciples) Bishop of the Orkneys, and Tervanus or S. Ternan (another of them, whom he Baptized when an infant) Bishop of the Picts; and that at last he Died at Fordoun, in the Mearns, where to this day his memory is kept up by a yearly Market, called *Pady Fair*.

The Church of Fordoun, where S. Palladius long Ministered, Died, and was Buried, is a midland Parish in the County of Kincardine. The Kirk is romantically situated upon the eastern slope of the Hill of Strathfinla, overhanging the mountain stream of the Luther. Within the Chapel of S. Palladius, which is a small building in the Graveyard, the bones of that Saint are said to have been deposited in a Niche in the east end of the building. The Niche is now built up, and surrounded by a plain moulding. There is also a curious Piscina (used for washing the Priest's hands before Celebration, or for rinsing the Altar Vessels) within the Chapel, here represented. It is of rude masonry, cut out of a single stone, which measures 2 feet by 18 inches; the arch is 18 inches high, and 11 inches broad. It is locally believed that this Chapel was erected at the time of the reputed Death of S. Palladius, in 452; and keeping this in view, some think that the Gothic arch of the Piscina is one of the earliest known examples of the kind existing in Scotland: ideas, however, for which there appears to be no good ground. The original Church is said to have sunk, and another was built upon its top.

According to Butler [Lives of the Saints *(Palladius)*, July 6] the Relics of Palladius were held in so great esteem by Bishop Schevez of S. Andrews, in whose Diocese the Church was situated, that he had them collected together, and deposited in a silver Shrine set with diamonds. To this period (1478-1496), most probably, the oldest part of the Chapel also belongs; and, according to Tradition, the Shrine was afterwards stolen by the sacrilegious Knight of Pitarron, from which time, it is said, the Family fortunes of the Wisharts began to decline.

The old Barons of Glenfarquhar and Monboddo bury underneath this Chapel, which is now used as a Female School; and at the entrance door stands a Sculptured Stone, carved upon one

side. "The Fordoun Stone" is said to have been raised to commemorate the Death of King Kenneth III., who, according to Tradition, was killed in that neighbourhood, through the stratagem of Finella, wife of the Thane of the Mearns. This murder is said to have been committed while the King was passing either to or from the Shrine of S. Palladius, to which, among several other Shrines, he went by way of penance, for the part he had in the assassination of Duffus.

If it be true that Palladius Baptized Ternan when a child, and Consecrated him Bishop of the Picts, he must have lived a good while; and, indeed, Polydore Virgil, in his History of England, brings him down to the Reign of Constantine, who succeeded his brother Dovgard in the year 457. On the other hand, Historians who lived nearer Palladius' time seem to insinuate that he Died soon after his coming over; and in S. Patrick's Office it is said, that Patrick came to Ireland after Palladius had left it with little fruit of Preaching, and Died in the country of the Picts;—from which Usher concludes that it is not probable that he lived beyond the year 432, and so could not both Baptize Tervanus when a child, and Consecrate him a Bishop too.

Boëce, Lesly, and Spottiswoode join in the opinion of the possibility of mistake as to Chronology, from Boëce's saying that Tervanus was a child when Palladius Baptized him. Scotland at that time was far from being universally *Christian*, even from the account of those who carry its Conversion farthest back, so that Tervanus might have been a *man* when converted and Baptized, and might, in the course of a year or two (as we find many such instances in early history), be made a Bishop for his singular zeal and abilities; and Boëce might say that he was Baptized in his infancy to countenance his scheme of the nation having been so long Christian, which would not have been so likely if there had not been found an instance of adult persons having been Baptized so many years after their first conversion. Whether it be so or not, we may well believe that Palladius was in Scotland (as above narrated), and that he Died and was Buried in Fordoun. [*See Spottiswoode's History, as also M'Lauchlan's Early Scottish Church, in loco.*]

Servanus *or* S. Serf. A.D. 443.

Fordun tells us that Palladius appointed S. Serf his Coadjutor, or Assistant-Bishop. Later Writers mention that Palladius sent him to the Orkneys to convert the heathens of those Islands. Usher mentions a manuscript Life of S. Serf, full of fables, by the Prior of Lochleven. It is not unlikely that there were two Bishops of the name of Serf, or Tervanus—one, the disciple of Palladius, the other, of Columba—and that their actions were mixed up together by our Writers. The ordinary residence of S. Serf was at his Monastery of Culross, on the Forth, where he received and brought up the youthful Kentigern. He probably Died there in the beginning of the 6th century, and at that place a Cistercian Abbey was founded in after times, and dedicated to his honour. In the same neighbourhood was the Priory of Lochleven, also dedicated to him, originally a Culdee Monastery, and subsequently a Cell of St. Andrews.

The Aberdeen Breviary [*Brev. Aber.*, 1*st July*] contains in full the Legend of S. Serf. The miracles attributed to him are numerous. For example:—On one occasion a poor man had killed his sow in order to provide refreshment for the Saint and his followers; but such was the merit of the Saint, that, although a large portion of the sow had been eaten, the generous host found it alive immediately after! On another occasion, S. Serf was sorely tempted with many questions by the Devil in a Cave at Dysart, in Fifeshire, where the Cave still exists. "Auld Nick," utterly unsuccessful in his assaults on Serf, entered into a neighbour of his—a "*miserable Cod*," whom he rendered so voracious that no amount of food could satisfy him. S. Serf, getting alarmed in case of explosion, corked up the man's mouth with his thumb, when "Nick," terrified at being thus incarcerated, roared and screamed until let out at the hole, when he ran off at full speed! Again:—A thief stole a sheep belonging to the Blessed Servanus. He killed and ate it forthwith; but suspicion falling on him, he hastened into the presence of the Saint, where he endeavoured to vindicate himself. He swore solemnly, like most thieves, that he was innocent; whereupon the bleating of the eaten sheep was

heard in the throat of the thief, which so affected his conscience that he begged S. Serf's pardon for stealing and digesting his unique sheep! Once more:—The inhabitants of Dunning were harassed by a dreadful Dragon, which destroyed both men and cattle. The Saint, alone, went to battle with this ugly visitor, armed with the Breastplate of Faith, and, poking and ramming him hard with his Pike Staff, he slew him. In memory of this event, the place is to this day called *Vallis Draconis*, i.e., *The Glen of the Dragon*.

There are several Churches dedicated in honour of this Saint, particularly that of Alva in the Ochil Hills, where there is a Well known by *S. Serf's Well*. John Major says—"Servanum episcopum Palladius ordinât. . . . Ex isto patet, quod episcopus in necessitate at uno episcopo consecretur, et non est de episcopi essentia, quod a tribus ordinetur." That is—"Palladius Ordained Servanus Bishop. . . . From which it is evident, that a Bishop may be Consecrated by *one* Bishop in a case of necessity; and it is not of essential importance that he be ordained by three Bishops."

NETHALEN. A.D. 452.

HILDEBERT. A.D. 490.

TERNAN *or* TERVAN. A.D. 496.

As mentioned under PALLADIUS, S. Ternan is said to have been Baptized by him. Within or in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of the Southern Picts, more than one Church was dedicated to his memory. His name was especially connected with the Church of Upper Banchory on the Dee, in the County of the Mearns and Diocese of Aberdeen, still known as Banchory-Ternan, where there may have been a Monastery founded by S. Ternan himself, or by his successors.

In the St. Andrews Missal (commonly called the "Missal of Arbuthnot," from the only Copy known to exist having belonged to the Parish Church of S. Ternan of Arbuthnot, in the Diocese of St. Andrews) there is a Hymn for the F. of S. Palladius, which commemorates in connexion with his Life the events noticed above, including a statement about S. Kentigern which is entirely erroneous. The sequel illustrates the allusion.

"Scotis fidem prædicavit,
Terenanum baptizavit
Præsulem sanctissimum;
Kentigernum fonte lavit;
Et Servanum ordinavit
Suum suffrageneum."

That is—"He Preached the Faith to the Scots; he Baptized Ternan, the most holy Chief; he washed Kentigern in the Font [which would seem to imply that Kentigern was an adult when Baptized]; and Ordained Servanus his Coadjutor."

From the Aberdeen Breviary we get the following Collect for the Feast of S. Ternan, Bishop and Confessor, 12 June:—"*O Lord, Defend us by Thy protection, and evermore keep us from all iniquity by the intercession of the Blessed Ternan Thy Confessor and Pontiff. Through the Lord.*" As also this Lection:—The Blessed Ternan is said to have descended from noble Scotch parents in the Province called *the Mearns*. The Blessed Palladius, admonished by an angelic revelation, Baptized and taught him. The holy boy, hearing of the fame of the great Gregory, desired to journey to Rome to follow his words and works. The Blessed Gregory, knowing this, received the youth with honour; and at the end of seven years he promoted him to the Episcopal rank, that he might return to evangelize his own country.

Pope Gregory presented S. Ternan with a little Bell, which, however, he and his companions found so ponderous that, unable to carry it, they left it behind them at Rome. But morning after morning the Bell was found lying beside the Saint, borne on its journey by Divine power, until at length the Bell and its owner reached their destination in Scotland, both "safe and sound!"

Again. One Convecturius, who was Prince of the Territory where S. Ternan lived, seeing the Saint approach, with a number of followers, said, "Hypocrite, what doest thou in my Territory?" S. Ternan replied, "We seek thy salvation, that thou mayest know God, and serve Him alone." But Convecturius said, "Cease from those deceiving words." The Saint, repulsed, drew off. The other, beginning to retire too, his foot adhered firmly to a stone. The Saint, seeing him thus glued, prayed that his unfortunate "hoof" might be released, whereupon it came away, and he was Baptized!

On another occasion, S. Machar of Aberdeen sent to S. Ternan for the use of some seed-corn. S. Ternan, having none to give

on loan, sent instead some sacks of sand. Machar, moved by a like faith, sowed the sand, and reaped an abundant harvest!

"Junii 12. S. Tarnane, Archbischop of the Pichtes, Ordineit be S. Padie, vnder King Eugenius 2. A.D. 455." [*Adam King's Kallendar*, 1588.]

The Collect for his Day, given in the Arbuthnot Missal, is this:—"O God, Who by Thy Providence hast exalted the Blessed Ternan to be Archbishop of the Picts, that he might turn them from their heathen darkness to the true light of Thy Divinity, Grant us, we beseech Thee, that, by his glorious prayers and merits, we may be delivered from the perils of the present life and from the fires of hell." His Hymn this:—

1. Almi patris Terrenani
Attolamus Christiani
Laudes et preconia.

2. Ipsum pie deprecemur
In hoc die veneremur
Ejusque solemnia.

3. Vas et lampas sanctitatis
Pacis se per claritatis
Diregebat federa.

4. Nostre matris ardens zelo
Lucis fulgens nunc in celo
Decorantur opera.

5. Presulatus hic honore
Dei plebis et amore
Fama creuit lucida.

6. Sydus tale sibi datum
Celum gaudet: fore natum
Gaudet et Albania.

7. Carmen freus castitatis
Vas ut esset puritatis
Edomare studuit.

8. Inter Sanctos numerari
Et in luce collocari
Celesti promeruit.

9. Hic egenos releuauit
Cibis! potu satiauit!
Nudis vestem tribuit.

10. Prudens pius castus mitis!
Palmes crescens vere vitis!
Virtus ejus claruit.

11. Deprecamur hunc patronum
Ut ascendens Dei thronum
Prece sua! meritis!

12. Nos qui culpa summus rei
Sorti jungat summe spei
Salvet et ab inferis.

13. Jesu Christe! tristi nece
Nos Ternani pia prece
Saluos duc ad gaudia:

14. Ut muniti sancta cruce
Per fruarum tua luce
Per eterna secula.

[Vide Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, by Joseph Robertson, LL.D.,* p. 50.—Spalding Club.]

* While these pages are passing through the Press, the Newspapers announce the Decease of an old acquaintance—Dr Joseph Robertson, who, when made aware

Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, has the following Note in Page lxxiii. of the Preface to his Edition of "The Missal of Arbuthnot," printed at the "Pitsligo Press" in Burntisland, by his Brother, The Rev. George Hay Forbes, in 1864:—

"S. Ternan Died at Banchory, on the river Dee, within his native province. Here, not far from a fresh-water lake containing one of those stockaded islands known among the Irish by the name of 'crannoges,' his relics were preserved until the Reformation, together with his Bell, called the *Ronnecht* (doubtless a square Bell, such as those preserved at Birnie and Cawdor), and his Copy of the Gospel of S. Matthew enclosed in a 'tyster' or

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of my intention to remodel Bishop Keith's Historical Catalogue, wished success in what he pronounced, to my chagrin, to be "a bad book to work up." He said that he and several others had tried to do what I was doing, but that they had stopped. I was crushed in spirits by such an opinion coming from so superior an authority. However, he at once gave permission to make whatever use I pleased of all his literary labours. I bewail his Departure (I have no doubt) to the better World, very sincerely.

"Died, Joseph Robertson, Esq., LL.D., Curator of the Historical Department of H.M. General Register House, aged 56 years, at 23 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, December 13, 1866."

He was a Native of Aberdeen, Born in 1810. He was Educated at the Parish School of Udny and then at Marischal College, and his literary bias displayed itself at an early age. In conjunction with some other Students, he started, while little more than twenty, *The Aberdeen Magazine*, which, however, had only a short existence. He afterwards published, under the title of "The Book of Bon Accord," vol. i., a Guide-Book to Aberdeen, full of Antiquarian research. His career as a Journalist began in the North, but it was chiefly as Editor of *The Glasgow Constitutional*, and afterwards of *The Edinburgh Courant*, that he became generally known as a vigorous and learned Writer on the Conservative side of Politics. His *forté*, however, was more among Black Letter Tomes than among Newspapers; and for years past, and until the close of his life, he filled with great efficiency an office (mentioned above) which was entirely congenial to his tastes. So highly were his qualifications appreciated, that his salary was raised from £300 to £600. Few literary men went through a greater amount of hard work. He Edited numerous Books for the Bannatyne, Spalding, and Maitland Clubs, contributed an able Article to *The Quarterly Review*, on "*The Ecclesiastical and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*," and issued numerous other Publications, involving immense labour, from the public Repositories and private Charter Chests of the Country. His stores of accurate knowledge will be valuable to future Historians, and his memory will long be cherished by a wide intellectual circle, who loved him for his genial amiability and personal worth. He was a Vestryman of S. Columba's (Episcopal) Church, Edinburgh; but he chiefly attended Dalkeith and Roslin Chapels. He was an intimate friend of Bishop Forbes, who came to see him on his death-bed. Dr. Robertson has left a widow and four children. Another member of the Family, a son of great promise, was accidentally killed about two months previous, at the Callander Railway Station.

case of metal wrought with gold and silver—for thus the Saints of old testified their exceeding reverence for the Word of God."

An account of the CHURCH OF S. TERNAN AT ARBUTHNOT, as also of the MISSAL and PSALTER, is given under ARBUTHNOT PARISH. [*Vide* "PAROCHIAL BOARD," MONASTICON, *Volume II. of this Work.*]

MIDDAN. A.D. 503.

FERGUS. A.D. 505. Patron of Glammis.

COLMAN. A.D. 512.

The Patron Saint of Kilcolmonell, on the east of Knapdale in Argyll, and of Colmonell in Ayrshire.

MAKKESSOCH. A.D. 520.

RONAN. A.D. 603.

The Scotch Kalendar has two of this name, one at Feb. 7, of whom Adam King says:—*S. Ronane, bischop in Scotland and confess vnder King Malduine" (Catech.)*, and who, though not noticed in the Kalendar of the Aberdeen Breviary, is mentioned in the Propr. of SS. of Febr. as "*Episcopus apud Kilmaronem in Livenax.*" He, and not Marnock, or Conan (as in *Orig: Paroch: vol. i. pp.* 34, 503), is the Patron Saint of KILMARONOCK, on the east side of Loch Lomond, in Dumbartonshire. [*Reeve's S. Adamnan's Life of S. Columba, p.* 416, *note.*]

There are some interesting Legends and Sketches of an Oratory of this Saint given in "*Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, &c., in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland,*" published by Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh, 1861, of which the following is an abbreviation:—I saw three or four Crosses, though only one that was whole—a rough, weather-worn, stumpy thing, standing some two or three feet high, in the middle of the Burying-ground, with three holes bored through. It was an old custom for people to put two candles on the Stone-Altar of S. Ronan's *Teampull*, the night before the New Year, and to come and look through the holes of the Cross (called *Eilean Rona*), to see the effect of the light outside coming through the Door and the Window over it. In this Teampull (still standing, showing

the rude architecture adopted in Scotland so soon as stone became substituted for wood in Church-building) there was remembered a *wooden pin*, turned up like a hook, upon which Saint Ronan hung his Hat when he went in! For centuries the inhabitants have guarded and cared for this Oratory with jealousy. The walls are of great thickness—at their thinnest 4 feet. Turf and lime made from shells are always put in when the wind blows down any bits of the wall. The building is very small—11½ feet in length, 7 feet 2 inches wide from wall to wall at the ground, and tapering to 23 inches at the roof, where great flat stones lie across. S. Ronan did not stay long in it, for the Rudh people were so bad, and vexed him so much with their evil ways, that he prayed to be delivered out of their company. He prayed three times, and, after the third time, he got warning in a dream to go down to the shore—to Port à Stoth, just below where the Fish-house is; and going there, a whale took him on its back, and carried him to Rona. There he got peace, for even the wind and the sea at their wildest would scarcely be heard through so much thickness of dead wall. Within so stout a casing, no sound could have got near him, save what went through the Window and Door; and these are such peep-holes, that a handful of turf would have filled them up. If anything troubled him, it must have been his "*shop-door*," for, to get through it, one has to draggle forward, lying full-length on the ground. After S. Ronan went away on the whale (the inhabitants relate), the Devil came to pay him a visit in his *Teampull*. He had a mind to go in, but when he looked through the door and saw S. Ronan at the Altar, and the Candles burning on it, he was afraid. The Candles required no snuffing—they were *Cuddy-oil candles*, just what are still used in the Island, about the Ness, and in the Sandwick houses. The Devil went straight to the shore—to the place he came up from, just below where the *Teampull* stands—and raised a tempest, thinking to blow the *Teampull* and everything that was in it out of the Island; but it was too strong: only, the wall that has the door through it was driven in, so that Saint Ronan, fearing it would burst, had to get up and put his back to it to keep it and push it even again. The Devil kept the wind raging

for three days and three nights; but seeing, in spite of it, the *Teampull* would not blow off, and that S. Ronan was a brave man, and always at the same place, with his candles, never minding—went away, but leaving the bend in the wall, just as he had made it; for S. Ronan, with all his strength, was never able to pull it out straight again! At the Butt end of Lewis there is an equally-current version of this Legend, and also of the *Scratched Rocks*—marked on the Ordnance Map *Leac na Sgròb*:—On coming ashore, Ronan found that the place was inhabited by monstrous hairy animals resembling dogs, with long claws and great round red eyes glowing like hot coals. These for a time molested and worried the Saint, but at length being subdued by him, they ran backwards down the cliffs into the sea, and were never heard of more. The clawings made in the rocks during their exit are certainly *strange looking*,—although the Geologist could explain all the wonderment in a twinkling.

Roman Catholics occupied the Island of Rona, and built another Teampull, which was called *Teampull nam Manach*. It was outside the Grave-yard, and about 15 yards from the east end of the present Teampull: it was roofed with timber, and thatched with straw, and was about the size of the west end of the present temple, with an Altar in the middle, 4 ft. square by 3 ft. high, and having a round gray stone on the top. The roof and part of the wall was pulled down 400 years since [I have given the account as I got it from the source mentioned], but the Altar and part of the wall (3 ft. in height) were standing when Angus Gunn was on the Island 50 years ago.

Rona lies between the Island of Skye and the mainland of Applecross. The mind's eye gets troubled with visions of "*ane little isle, lying towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score miles of sea, callit Ronay.*" O these endless little isles! and of all little isles, this Ronay! Yet, much as has been seen, not to see *thee*, lying clad with soft verdure, and in thine awful solitude, afar off in the lap of wide ocean,—not to see thee with the carnal eye, will be to have seen nothing! Yet three score miles—rocks, surge, uninhabited, uncouth landing-places,—how to get at it and upon it—that is a question! How, in less commodious days,

did *the High Dean of the Isles* get to it? How did *Mr Daniel Morison, Minister of Barvas,* get to it? How did the "*Stone Doctor*" get to it? How did *Saint Ronan,* riding stride-leg, with his necromantick *Hat* and its incorruptible *Pin,* on the back of a whale, get to it? *How?* If, gentle Reader, you have your solution all ready, you may depend that S. Ronan will turn round upon you with the repartee of Samson—"*If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle.*"

Dagamus. A.D. 605.

Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus (Roman Bishops) followed up the litigation about administering Baptism and observing Easter, which S. Augustine commenced when he was sent into Britain about the year 518. These three wrote as follows [translated from the Latin]:—"L., M., and J., Bishops, servants of all the servants of God, to our lords and dearest brethren, the Bishops and Abbots through all Scotland. Whereas the Apostolic See, according to the custom it hath observed in the rest of the world, did send us to Preach the Gospel unto the heathen in these Western parts, and that it happened us to come into this Isle which is called Britain, we held in religious reverence both the Scots and Britons, believing that they did walk after the custom of the Universal Church; but after we had known the Britons, we judged the Scots to be better minded; yet now we perceive by Dagamus, the Bishop who is come hither, and by Columbanus, the Abbot in France, that the Scots differ nothing in their observations from the Britons; for Bishop Dagamus, being here, refused not only to eat with us, but even to stay in the same inn or lodging."

Archbishop Spottiswoode, in his History, says that he finds no answer returned to this Letter. Some thirteen years after, Honorius, Bishop of Rome, moved the matter anew, and, in his Letters directed to the Church of Scotland, exhorted them "That they being a few, and seated in the utmost corners of the earth, should not think themselves more wise than the ancient or modern Churches of Christ through the whole world; and that they should not celebrate another Easter contrary to the Paschal

Compts and Synodal Decrees of the Bishops of the whole world." —N.B. At this far back time, I cannot always get dates to tally.

Pope Honorius dying, Severinus, who succeeded, insisted for an answer, which was sent; but he also departing this life before the same came to Rome, the Clergy there replied as follows:— [*Translated*] "Hilarius the Archbishop, Conservator of the privileges of the Apostolic See, and John the Deacon, in the Name of God Elect of the same See, likewise John the Pronotary and Conservator of the said privileges, and John the Servant of God, Counsellor of the Apostolic See, to our best Beloved and most Holy Bishops, Thomianus, Columbus, Chromanus, Dimaus, and Bathanus, and to the Presbyters, Chromanus, Hermannus, Laustranus, Stellanus, and Sergianus, also to Saranus, and the rest of the Doctors or Abbots of Scotland. The Letters which were brought unto Pope Severinus, of blessed memory, have to this time received no answer, by reason of his decease. We having now unsealed them, lest questions of such consequence should be too long unsatisfied, do perceive some of your Province to be renewing an old Heresy against the Orthodox Faith, and ignorantly refuse to celebrate our Easter, in which Christ was Offered, observing the fourteenth day of the Moon, after the manner of the Hebrews." Then showing how and when Easter should be observed, they subjoin touching the Pelagians these words:—"We farther understand that the poison of Pelagian Heresy is again breaking out among you; wherefore we exhort you to beware, and keep your minds free of that venemous superstition; for ye should not be ignorant how that execrable Heresy is Condemned, and by us every day Anathematized, notwithstanding that two hundred years have passed since the same was Abolished; therefore we beseech you not to stir the ashes of those who have had their arms once burnt and consumed."

Bede says that this Letter "was full of learning, and contained evident proofs that Easter should be kept upon the Sunday which falleth betwixt the fifteenth and twenty-first of the Moon; whereas it was the custom of the Scots Church to keep it upon the Sunday falling betwixt the fourteenth and twentieth,"—which he calls "an heresy." [*Spottiswoode's History* (*copied from Bede*), *pp.* 24, 25.]

Baldred. A.D. 606.

S. Baldred is said to have succeeded S. Mungo in the See of Glasgow. He is styled Bishop and Confessor.

The Bass Rock (rising abruptly to the height of 420 feet above the level of the sea, about two miles from the shore, and three miles east from the ancient Royal Burgh of North Berwick) presents itself as one of the most striking objects in the Frith of Forth; and to the visitor in summer, when the dark-browed Rock is encircled with myriads of sea-fowl—Solan Geese, wheeling around it in all varieties of plumage, and screaming in all the notes of the aquatic scale, the scene appears like enchantment. About half way up the southern slope, or accessible side of the Bass, are the ruins of what is termed "S. Baldred's Chapel." The following are specimens of this Saint's miracles, collected from Boëtius, Dempster, and the Aberdeen Breviary: —There was a great rock between the said Island (the Bass) and the adjacent land, which remained fixed in the middle of the passage, often causing shipwrecks. The Blessed Baldred, moved by piety, ordered himself to be placed on this rock; which being done, *at his nod* the rock was immediately lifted up, and, like a ship driven by the wind, proceeded to the nearest shore, and thenceforth remained in the same place as a memorial of this miracle, and is to this day called "*S. Baldred's Coble*," or *Cock-Boat*. There are also "*S. Baldred's Cradle*" (another rock which Tradition says is rocked by the winds and the waves), "*Baldred's Well*," and "*Baudron's* (Scotch name for Baldred) *Statue*," which was demolished by "an irreverent mason." We are informed by a modern Writer, who has made S. Baldred the hero of a Poem, that a small rock at the mouth of Aldhame Bay still bears the name of "*Baudron's Boat.*" [*St. Baldred of the Bass, and other Poems; by James Miller. Edin.*, 1824.]

Boëce states that S. Baldred Died on the Bass, on the 6th March, A.D. 606, though others say that Aldhame was the place. The Aberdeen Breviary gives the sequel: The inhabitants of the three Parishes, Aldhame, Tyningham, and Preston, as soon as they knew of S. Baldred's Death, assembled in three different

troops at Aldhame, where he breathed his last, severally begging his body. But as they could not agree among themselves, they, by the advice of a certain old man, left the body unburied, and separately betook themselves to prayer. Morning being come, they found three bodies perfectly alike, and all prepared with equal pomp for interment!

With regard to the old *Chapel of the Bass*, though it may mark the spot of Baldred's humble Cell, there is reason to believe that it is of comparatively modern date. It would appear that the Island of the Bass at one time formed a Parish, and that the "Parish Kirk in the Craig of the Bass" was Consecrated, in honour of S. Baldred, so late as 1542, when it is more than probable the structure was first erected under the patronage of the notorious Cardinal Beaton. "1542. The v. d. of Janr. M. Villielm Gybsone, byschop of Libariensis and Suffrageneus, to Dawid Beton, Cardynall and Archebysschop of Santandros, consecrat and dedicat the paris Kirk in the craig of the Bass, in honour of Sant Baldred, bysschop and confessor, in presens of maister Jhon Lawder, arsdene in Tenidaill, noter publict." [*Extracta ex Chronicis Scocie, p.* 255. *Printed by the Abbotsford Club*, 1842.]

Tradition says that it was customary for the Cistercian Nuns of the neighbouring Abbey of North Berwick to pay an annual Pilgrimage to another old Chapel in the adjacent Island of Feddery, the ruins of which still remain. Probably they visited the Bass Chapel also. In 1529 (full thirty years before the "Reformation") they were reduced to great poverty, from their Convent having been pillaged, burnt, and destroyed. In 1544 there were 22 of these Nuns, as we learn from a Document which not one of them was able to sign; each of them, from the Prioress downwards, having this added to her signature by the Notary—"With my hand at ye pen." [*Carte Monialium de North Berwick, p.* 60. *Printed for the Bannatyne Club.*]

As the Bass could furnish few or no "hearers," we are not surprised to find in the "Buik of Assignations of the Ministers' and Reidars' Stipends for the year 1576," the following entry—"Bass and Auldhame neidis na reidaris." All we can say of its future fate is comprehended in one sentence, written by Fraser of

Brea in 1677—"Below the garden there is a Chapel for Divine Service; but in regard no minister was allowed for it, the ammunition of the garrison was kept therein." Notwithstanding this desecration, we are informed (from the *Statistical Account, North Berwick, vol. ii. p.* 331) that "a young lady, in the presence of her father, was here solemnly confirmed in the Roman Faith and profession; and the due Ritual services were gone through in the presence of the Keeper of the Bass and his boat-assistant."

SLEZER'S VIEW OF THE BASS IN ITS FORTIFIED STATE—1690.

1. The Bastion, having Thomas Hog's Cell on the left. Hog was a rigid Covenanter. He was born in Tain, Ross-shire. He was ordered to be shut up in the "closest prison in the Bass," as he was thought to do more hurt to the opposite Cause sitting in his elbow-chair, than twenty others could do by traversing the whole country. He was Minister at Kiltearn. Wodrow says, that on his death-bed he ordered his grave to be dug in the threshold of his Church, that his people might regard him as a sentinel placed at the door to keep out intruders; and on his Tombstone was written this Inscription—

THIS . STONE . SHALL . BEAR . WITNESS .
AGAINST . THE . PARISHIONERS . OF . KILTEARN .
IF . THEY . BRING . ANE . UNGODLY . MINISTER .
IN . HERE.

An arched staircase, part of which still remains, leads down underground, from the east end of the Castle, to the Bastion, on arriving at which the visitor finds himself in a Cavern, arched overhead, dank and dripping, with an opening towards the sea, which dashes within a few feet below. It was in this Dungeon-keep of the old Castle that Hog was deposited.

2. The Crane.

3. West Turret.

4. Governor's House.

5. On the east, the Prison and Soldiers' Barracks. 5. On the west, ditto, containing Blackadder's Cell. This Cell is about 7 feet by 8 feet, situated on the Ramparts, with a small window facing the south. Blackadder (who was Minister at Traquair) seems to have been a little better off than his brethren in the inner prison, the remains of which, though unroofed and unfloored, may be still seen. He Died on the Bass, at the age of 70, and he was Buried in the Churchyard of North Berwick, where a Tombstone with an elaborate Poetic Epitaph recounts all his good qualities.

6. East Turret.

7. S. Baldred's Chapel, afterwards the Powder Magazine.

8. Garden.

The earliest proprietors of this Island on record were the ancient Family of the Lauders, who, from this, were usually designated *The Lauders of the Bass*. A Charter of it in favour of Robert Lauder, from William de Lambert, Bishop of St. Andrews, dates as far back as 1316. The Island (which rather resembles one huge rock or stone than an island, not more than a mile in circumference) is now the property of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., and is leased by a tenant, called the "Keeper," for £38 of rent. This is exclusive of the pasturage of the Island, but includes a small patch of ground at Canty Bay, on the shore. The principal produce of the Bass, on which the "Keeper" depends for the means of paying his rent, is the young gannets or solan geese. The bird lays but one egg, and places it upon the point of a rock, with nothing like a nest beneath, yet so firmly, that the mother can go and return without injury to it; but if any one remove it from its place, by no art can it be balanced or fixed again: left at liberty, it rolls off into the sea.

It is well known that the Bass Rock was the place selected by Government as a State Prison, and in which some forty "Covenanters" were incarcerated and cruelly treated, during periods varying from a few months to upwards of six years. An

interesting volume (which we have used in the above), titled "*The Bass Rock, its Civil and Ecclesiastic History, Geology, Martyrology, Zoology, and Botany,*" by Hugh Miller and others, was published in 1848, which, though smacking strong of bias in certain departments, yet merits perusal.

ASAPH. Disciple of S. Mungo.

ETHERNAN, ERNAN, *or* MERNOC. A.D. 635.

The word *Mernoc* is a contraction of *Mo-Ernin-occ*, the prefix denoting *my*, and the suffix *little*—an expression of affection. The name is preserved in Scotland, in Kilmarnock and Inchmarnock. The Festival of the Saint is appointed in the Aberdeen Breviary for the 25th October. His Obit is given at the year 635. Disciple of S. Colme.

AIDAN. A.D. 635-651.

King Donald IV. was implored by Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrid (a noble and virtuous Prince, whose chief study was to promote the Christian Religion), by old familiarity, to help him with some worthy and learned man who could instruct his people in the Faith. King Donald, recommending the matter to the Clergy, one Cormanus was elected to go; but his labours proving unprofitable, he returned about the end of the year, and, in a Synod of the Bishops and Clergy, informed them that the Britons were a people indocile and froward,—neither desirous nor capable of instruction. It grieved the Synod exceedingly to hear this, and while they were consulting what to do, Aidanus, a learned and reverend Preacher, is said to have advised them "not to give over the work at any hand, for that the bad success of Cormanus' labours might possibly proceed from himself, that had not used the people tenderly, nor according to the Apostle's rule, fed them at first with milk; and therefore desired some other approved man might be employed of new, who would possibly do good among them."

This opinion allowed by all, none was thought fitter for this service than he who had given the advice; and so with common

consent was Aidanus Ordained Bishop, and appointed to that Charge. Being come thither he set himself to amend the fault which he supposed Cormanus had committed, and so tempered his doctrine, that multitudes of people did daily resort unto him to be instructed. It was a great hinderance to him at first that he was not skilled in the Saxon tongue, neither did the people understand his language; but this defect the King himself supplied, interpreting to the auditory all that Aidanus delivered in his Sermons. So by the King's zeal and Aidanus' diligence, such numbers were brought to the Christian profession, that in the space of seven days, fifteen thousand persons were Baptized by him.

Whether this people were more happy in their King or in this Bishop, it is difficult to say. For the King, he did so excel in piety and prudence that, as Bede writes, "all the nations and provinces within Britain were at his devotion; and not the less his heart was never lifted up within him, but still he showed himself courteous and affable, and of the poor most compassionate." Among examples of his liberality towards these, the same Bede relates, "that, sitting at table on Easter-day, and Aidanus by him, when it was told that a number of poor men were at the gate expecting his alms, he commanded to carry the meat that was set before him unto them, and the platter of silver wherein it was, to be broke in pieces, and distributed among them. Aidanus beholding it, took the King by the right hand, and kissing it, said, 'Nunquam marcesat hæc manus,' that is, 'Never let this hand consume or wither.' Which, as Bede says, came also to pass. For being killed in battle, and his arm and his hand cut off, the same were enclosed in a Silver Shrine, and remained for many years uncorrupted in the Church of S. Peter at Bambrough." Bede relates how Bishop Aidan foretold to certain seamen a storm that would happen to them on a voyage to Kent, to bring home the daughter of King Edwin for a wife to Oswy, and how he gave them a phial of holy oil to allay it; how the same Aidan, by his prayers, saved the royal City when fired by the enemy; and how the post of the Church on which Bishop Aidan was leaning when he Died, could not be burnt when the

rest of the Church was consumed by fire. These, and the other miracles he reports, I leave upon the credit of the Writer.

As to Aidan, he was an ensample of Abstinence, Sobriety, Chastity, Charity, and all other Episcopal virtues; for, as he taught, so he lived; he was idle at no time, nor did he permit any of his retinue to be so, but kept them in a continued exercise, either reading Scripture or learning the Psalms of David by heart. If he was invited to any Feast (as rarely he went), he made no stay, but, after a little refreshment taken, got himself away. In Preaching he was most diligent, travelling through the country, for the greater part on foot, and instructing the people whereso-ever he came. King Oswald gave him "an extraordinarily fine foal of a mare," to use in crossing rivers. In a word, he was deficient in no duty required of a good Pastor; and having Governed the Church in those parts most happily the space of seventeen years, he Died in the Isle of Lindisfarne (now called Holy Island), the place he chose for his Residence, where he was also Buried. [*See Bede and Spottiswoode.*]

Finan. A.D. 650.

After Aidan's Death, which happened in the year 651, Finanus was Ordained Bishop, and sent to the "Northumbers" from Icolm-kill. He followed his predecessor in all things, and was greatly troubled by Romanus, or Conanus (as others name him), about the observing of Easter. This Conanus, Born in Scotland, had lived some years beyond sea, and was much taken by the Roman Rites; for advancing of which he left his Station in Kent, and coming to Northumberland, challenged the Bishop to a dispute. The Bishop answered, that he would not refuse to dispute, but that he would admit of no alteration in Church Rites, whilst he lived; and so for the time that he sat Bishop, Easter was cele-brated after the ancient manner of the Scots. Finanus, in the meantime, Converted the East Saxons and Mercians. Having Baptized Penda, the Prince of Mercia, he sent with him four Preachers, who reformed all that part of the country. Divina or Duina, a Scotchman, was one of those Preachers, and was Con-secrated Bishop by Finanus in the year 656. In the Catalogue

of the Bishops of Lichfield, he is first placed. There succeeded to him Kellach, a Scotchman also; but he, renouncing his charge, because of the contentions that arose, returned to his own country. Finan, having governed the Churches of Northumberland the space of ten years, Died in Lindisfarne, and was Buried in a

RUINS OF LINDISFARNE PRIORY.

Church which he himself had there erected. After the manner of the Scots, he made it, not of stone, but of hewn rock, and covered it with reeds; and the same day it was dedicated in honour of the Apostle S. Peter, by Abp. Theodore. Bp. Eadbert afterward took off the thatch, and covered both walls and roof with plates of lead. [*Spottiswoode, pp.* 28-29.]

The remains of this Priory (as shown in the Cut), situated off the coast of Northumberland, are singularly beautiful in their ruin. Sir Walter Scott has described the whole as forming

> "A solemn, huge, and dark red pile,
> Plac'd on the margin of the Isle,"

and which, it is to be feared, will be lost to the next generation, notwithstanding the care that is said to have been of late years bestowed on them. The material is a soft red freestone, which wastes rapidly under the action of the elements. Bede says—"Which place, as the tide flows and ebbs twice a-day, is enclosed by the waves of the sea like an Island; and again, twice in the day, when the shore is left dry, becomes contiguous to the land." In the Edition published by Bohn, Dr. J. A. Giles adds in a Note—"From the Monastery of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, all the Churches of Bernicia, from the Tyne to the Tweed, had their beginning; as had also some of those of the Deira, from the Tyne to the Humber. The prospect from the Island is beautiful. To the northward you command the Town of Berwick, over an arm of the sea, about seven miles in breadth. At near the same distance, to the south you view Bambrough Castle, on a bold promontory. On the one hand you have a view of the open sea, which, at the time of our observation, was calm and resplendent, scattered over with vessels; and, on the other hand, a narrow channel, by which this land is insulated, about two miles in width. The distant shore exhibits a beautiful hanging landscape of cultivated country, graced with a multitude of hamlets, villages, and woodlands." This Monastery has attained celebrity among our early Monastic Establishments, being founded A.D. 635, upon the arrival of S. Aidan out of Scotland, to introduce Christianity among the Northumbrians, where he founded his Episcopal See, afterwards transferred to Durham. Merciless hordes of Danes often burst down upon this Island, so Holy to all but them, and burnt, destroyed, and murdered what they could not captivate. Its fame, too, is indissolubly connected with the celebrity of Saint Cuthbert, whose name will preserve it from oblivion, so long as the records of piety adorn our annals.

Colman. A.D. 651.

So great was the affection of the "Northumbers" to these preceding Bishops, that they would accept of no other but a Scotchman: whereupon Colman was brought, and placed in that See. In his time the controversy about Easter was again awakened, and more hotly followed than before. There was great dealing to make him conform, but he would not forsake the course that his predecessors had kept. After divers conferences, a public Discussion was in the end condescended to, for deciding the question. The place was chosen at Whitby (Bede calls it Sternshalt),

a Religious House in Yorkshire, whereof Hilda, a learned and devout woman, was Abbess. She was a professed adversary to all the Rites of Rome, especially to Clerical Tonsure, which made Colman more willingly agree to the meeting. Oswy, King of Northumberland, with Elfred, his son, were present in person, and many Ecclesiastics of all degrees. The reasoners were Colman on the one part, who was assisted by the Scottish Clergy, and Hilda, the Abbess; on the other part, Agilbert, a Frenchman, Bishop of the East Saxons, Wilfrid and Agatho, Presbyters, with Jacob and Romanus, two learned men. Cedda, lately Consecrated a Bishop by the Scots, was chosen to be *partis utriusque interpres*, that is, the recorder of all that should be spoken by either party, or enacted in that conference and meeting. The King himself inclined to Colman, but his son favoured the other party, because Wilfrid had been his tutor.

When all were placed in their seats, the King said, "That it was meet they who served one God, and looked to be heirs of one Kingdom in the heavens, should keep one Rule and Form, and not vary in their Rites and Ceremonies; therefore he desired, seeing they were come together for composing of differences, especially touching the Celebration of Easter, that they should calmly enquire what was the most ancient and best Form, to the effect all might observe and follow the same." Then turning towards Colman, he wished him to deliver his opinion and reasons; who answered as follows—"The Easter which I observe I received from my Elders, who did send me hither, and Ordained me Bishop; all our Forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have Celebrated Easter in the same manner that I do; and if any think light of this, the Blessed Evangelist S. John, the Disciple whom our Lord especially loved, with all the Churches whereof he had the oversight, observed the same, which to us is a Warrant sufficient."

Agilbert being desired next to declare his mind, excused himself by the want of the English tongue, entreating the King that Wilfrid might be allowed to answer for them all; which granted, Wilfrid began in this sort—"The Easter which we keep, we have seen observed at Rome, where the holy Apostles Peter and Paul

did Preach, and suffered Martyrdom. As we travelled through France and Italy, we saw the same Order everywhere kept; and by relation, we hear that the Churches of Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and to be short, the whole Christian world, observe the same time; only these men and their followers, the Britons and Picts, with some remote Islands, and not all these, do foolishly contend in this point against the whole world."

Here Colman, interrupting his speech, said—"It is a marvel you should call our doing *foolish*, seeing we follow the ensample of that great Apostle who was held worthy to lie in the Lord's bosom, and is known to have lived most wisely."

Wilfrid replied—"Far be it from me to charge S. John with folly; he observed the rites of Moses' Law according to the letter, the Church as yet Judaizing in many things, and the Apostles not being able to abdicate on a sudden the whole observations of the Law which God had ordained; for this cause did S. Paul Circumcise Timothy, offer Sacrifices in the Temple, and shave his head at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla; which things he did only to eschew the offence of the Jews. In this consideration, S. James said to the Apostle S. Paul, Thou seest, brother, that many thousands of the Jews do believe, yet are they all zealous followers of the Law. But the light of the Gospel now shining throughout the world, it is not lawful for a Christian to be Circumcised, or to offer carnal sacrifices to God. Thus S. John, keeping the custom of the Law, began the celebration of Easter upon the fourteenth day of the first month, at evening, not caring whether it fell upon the Sabbath Day or any other day of the week. But S. Peter, preaching at Rome, when he considered that the Lord did rise from the dead on the first day after the Sabbath, thought good to institute Easter on that day. And that this is the true Easter to be observed by all Christians, it is clear by the Nicene Council, which did ratify and confirm the same by their Decree. But you neither follow the example of S. John nor S. Peter, nor doth your celebration of Easter agree either with the Law or Gospel. For S. John, observing it according to the Law, had no respect to the first day after the Sabbath, whereas you keep not Easter but on the first

day after the Sabbath. Saint Peter did celebrate Easter from the fifteenth of the moon to the twenty-first, which you do not; for you keep Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth day, and often you begin Easter on the thirteenth day at night, whereof the Law maketh no mention; neither did our Lord, the Author of the Gospel, eat the Passover on the thirteenth day, but upon the fourteenth, at night; and at the same time he did celebrate the Sacrament of the New Testament in remembrance of his Death and Passion; so, as I have said, you neither agree with Law nor Gospel, with S. John nor with S. Peter, in the celebration of the greatest Festivity."

To this Colman answered—"And did Anatholius, then, who in the Ecclesiastic History is so highly commended, go against both the Law and the Gospel, when as he said that Easter ought to be kept from the thirteenth day to the twentieth? or shall we think our most reverend Father Columba and his successors, who were all dear unto God, did transgress in observing Easter after that manner? They were men of great piety and virtue, as their Miracles have declared, and I, making no doubt of their holiness, will endeavour to follow their order and discipline."

Then said Wilfrid—"It is known that Anatholius was a godly and learned man; but what have you to do with him that observe not his customs; for he followed the true rule of keeping Easter, and observed the cycle of nineteen years, which either you know not, or if you do, ye set at nought, although the same be observed in the Universal Church of Christ? He did so account the fourteenth day, as he acknowledged the same to be the fifteenth at night, after the manner of the Egyptians, and so the twentieth day he believed to be the twenty-first in the evening; which distinction you know not, as appears by this, that sometimes you keep Easter on the thirteenth day, before the full moon. As to your Father Columba and his followers, whose rule and precepts, confirmed by Miracles, you profess to follow, I may answer, that in the Day of Judgment the Lord will say to many that Prophesied in his name, did cast out Devils, and wrought other Miracles, I know you not: but God forbid I should speak this of your Fathers, seeing it is better to believe good of those we know not

than ill; therefore, I will not deny them to have been the Servants of God and beloved of Him, seeing they served God with good intent, though in simplicity; neither do I think the Order they keep in Easter did hurt them much, so long as they had none among them that could show the right observation thereof. If the truth had been showed them, I doubt not they would have followed the same as well in this matter as in others which they knew. But if you and your associates should refuse the Decrees of the Apostolic See, or rather of the whole Church allowed by Holy Scripture, now after you have heard the same, without all question you sin heavily. Howbeit your Fathers were holy men, you must not think that a few dwelling in the corner of a remote Isle are to be preferred to the Universal Church of Christ; and if Columba your Father, yea, and ours also, if he was of Christ, was mighty in Miracles, yet is he not to be equalled to the Prince of the Holy Apostles, unto whom the Lord said—'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail; and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.'"

The King, who had hearkened diligently unto all which they spake, taking hold of these last words, asked Colman "If it was so that the Lord had spoken these words unto Peter?" He answered "That it was truth." "And can you show," says he, "that the like authority was given to your Father Columba?" Colman answered, "No." Then said the King, "Do both agree in this, that these words were spoken to S. Peter, and that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to him?" They answered "That they did." Then said he, "Seeing S. Peter is the Door-keeper of Heaven, I will follow his rule in everything, lest when I come to Heaven's gate the doors shall be shut against me." These Speeches of the King, full of simplicity, were seconded with the acclamations of many of the hearers, and the victory adjudged to the adversaries of Colman.

But he, nothing moved therewith, retained still his opinion, and would not change; yet fearing that some trouble might arise if he should make longer stay in those parts, he resigned his Bishopric, in which one Tuda a Scotchman succeeded, who

submitted to the Roman observation of Easter, and to receive the Clerical Tonsure; but he did not live a whole year, and Died of the Plague.

Colman, returning into Scotland, was welcomed by his countrymen; for he was in great esteem, and bare no small authority, both in the Church and State, before he went into England, as appeared in the insurrection made against King Ferqhard. The Nobility having consulted to depose him from his Kingdom for the detestable cruelties he had committed, they were only kept back by the authority of Colman, who told them, "that the punishment of Kings belonged to God, and that He, ere long, would take vengeance of Ferqhard's wickedness," which, as he foretold, came to pass; for the King, after a few days, being out hunting, was bitten by a wolf, and falling into a fever, such a putrefaction ensued in his body, that out of every part there issued abundance of lice and vermin, which made him abhorred of all men. Languishing in this consumption a long time, and touched with a bitter remorse for his wicked life, he sent for Colman, to whom he expressed great sorrow for the ill life he had led, entreating the help of his prayers; and, to testify his humiliation, he desired to be carried forth to the next fields, wrapped in sackcloth, where, after an open confession made of his wickedness, he was Absolved by Colman, and shortly after Died.

The memory of this, which was yet fresh in the minds of people, procured for Colman great love and reputation; but he, making short stay at home, went soon after into Ireland, where he built a Monastery for the English and Scots that followed him thither. They not well agreeing, he bought a piece of ground, and founded a Religious House for the English apart. Bishop Lesly, in his Chronicle, writes, that, after this, he passed into Germany, and having travelled through Bohemia, Hungary, and a great part of Greece, as he returned by Austria, he was killed by some Pagans in those parts. For this he cites Johannes Stabius, the Historiographer of Maximilian the First; but whatever became of him, he was a man of great integrity. [*Spottiswoode, pp.* 29-34.]

DIUMA. A.D. 656.

KYRINUS *or* KIRSTINUS, surnamed BONIFACE, Ross-shire. A.D. 660.

There came into Scotland an Italian named Bonifacius, a grave and venerable person, as he is described, and was judged by the vulgar sort to be the Pope. Some have written that he was elected Successor to Gregory the Great, but declined the Charge from a desire to promote Religion in these Northern parts. I rather think (says Spottiswoode) that he came hither to confirm our acquaintance with the Roman Church. However that may be, for the pains he took in Preaching the Gospel, and the Churches he erected in this Kingdom, he deserves honourable remembrance. For, landing in the river Tay, at the mouth of a little water that divided the countries of Angus and Mearns, he there built a Church to the memory of S. Peter the Apostle; another, not far from thence, he built at Telin, and a third at Restennoth: and having finished these works, he visited the countries of Mar, Buchan, Murray, and Bogieland, Preaching the Gospel whithersoever he came; neither did he rest till he came to the country of Ross, and choosing Rosemarkie for the place of his residence, he erected a Church there, where he was Buried.

Boniface is said to have been preferred to be Bishop of Mentz by Pope Gregory II. Some Writers affirm that he was Born in England. But of what country soever he was, none ever adventured more for the Pope than he did; for he is said to have brought the Bavarians, Thuringians, Hessians, and a great part of Germany, to submit themselves in all matters Ecclesiastic to the See of Rome; yet was he therein greatly opposed (besides some Germans) by two of the Scottish nation, Clemens and Sampson, who at the time remained in those parts. These did openly in their Sermons inveigh against him as a corrupter of Christian Doctrine. Bonifacius going on in his course, and seeking to make reformation amongst the Frizons, was, with fifty-four of his followers, killed in the sixtieth year of his age, and has therefore a chief place in the Roman Martyrology. [*Spottiswoode, pp.* 37-39.]

MACHARIUS. A.D. 665.

GLACIANUS.

GERVADIUS.

MORNAN. A.D. 666.

THOMIANUS. DIMAUS.
COLUMBUS. BATHANUS.
CHROMANUS.

CUTHBERT. A.D. 685.

Bishop of Lindisfarne. "Hic Sanctus Cuthbertus, filius regis, in Hibernia natus, et ad tempus cum Sancto Columba apud Dunkelden educatus." That is—This Saint Cuthbert, the son of a King, was born in Ireland, and educated contemporary with Saint Columba at Dunkeld. [*Fordun's Scotich. iii.* 51.]

WIRO. A.D. 689.

Baronius tells us in his Annals of two of our countrymen, Wiro and Plechelmus, that came to Rome to visit, as he says, *limina Apostolorum*. Wiro, he says, had been earnestly entreated to accept the Charge of a Bishop; but it being a custom in the Scottish Church first to elect their Bishops, then to send them to Rome for Confirmation, he took this occasion to visit the Holy City. But the Scottish Church had no such custom before that time; nor will it be shown that, before these two, any went to Rome, either to be Consecrated or Confirmed. They indeed obtained what they sought, and were Consecrated by Pope Honorius, who used them with much respect, that, upon the report they should make, others might be allured to keep the same course. Wiro returning, made an ample discourse of their entertainment, and incited many to try the same way, yet made no long stay at home; for we find him, shortly after, turn Confessor to King Pepin, with whom he found such favour that he built a Monastery in Franconia, to the memory of S. Peter, and, retiring thither in his old age, there Died. [*Spottiswoode, p.* 37.]

PLECHELMUS. A.D. 689.

What became of Plechelmus is not known; only we find both him and Wiro present at a Synod in Utrecht, called by Pope Sergius in the year 697, and in the Records, Plechelmus styled *Episcopus candidæ casæ,—Bishop of Candida Casa.*

MOLOCH. A.D. 697.

Molochus, a learned Bishop of this country, taking delight in the company of Bonifacius, followed him in all his ways; and

that he should not be separate from him in Death, gave order that he should be interred in the same Church, and near to him; for he outlived him many years, and Died in the ninety-fourth year of his age. His bones were afterwards translated to Lismore, in Argyll. [*Spottiswoode, p.* 38.]

COEDDI. A.D. 712. Bp. of Hy.
VIMIN. A.D. 715.
FERGUSTUS. A.D. 721.
SIDULIUS.

TRUMWIN. Died A.D. 763.

The Bishopric of Lindisfarne previously extended as far as the Forth, but at this time a separation took place, and Trumwin fixed his See at the Monastery of Abercorn, on the Forth.

MACGLASTIAN. A.D. 814.
MOROK. A.D. 817.
TIGERNAK. A.D. 823.
MANERE. A.D. 824.
BERCHAM. A.D. 839.
MACHAN. A.D. 856.
GUINOCHE. A.D. 875.
MACHAR. A.D. 887.
TARKIN. A.D. 889.
ERCHAD. A.D. 933.
FINGIN. A.D. 964. "Anachoreta, et episcopus Tae, obiit 966."
BLAAN. A.D. 970-994.
ENGLATIUS.
BOERNELLUS. A.D. 977.
COLMOC.
MOVEAN.

The following List of Scotch Bishops are invoked in a "Processional Litany of the Monastery of Dunkeld," copied from a MS. Scotichronicon by Prior Brockie, of S. James', Ratisbon:—

S. MARTIN.
S. NINIAN.
S. PALLADIUS.
S. SERF.
S. PATRICK.
S. MODOCH.
S. FERRANACH.
S. MAKKESSOCH.
S. MAKKNOLOCH.
S. CARNACH.
S. CONVALL.
S. BALDRED.
S. COLMACH.
S. COMACH.
S. KELLOCH.
S. FOTHALH.
S. CUTHBERCH.
S. EDHAN.
S. FINNANCH.
S. COLMAN.
S. MARNACH.
S. MOLOCH.
S. NOTHLAN.
S. MARNAN.
S. RUMOLD.
S. TIGERNACH.
S. MEDANACH.
S. MACHUT.
S. CORMACH.
S. DAGAMACH.

THE SEE OF ST. ANDREWS.

Of the Fourteen Dioceses into which Scotland was formerly divided, that of St. Andrews first claims attention. It does so, not only as one of the most ancient of the Scottish Sees, but as having been from a very early age a recognised centre of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and ultimately, both under the Papal Domination and the later Reformed Episcopacy, the Seat of the Scottish Primacy and place wherein was founded the Metropolitan Church.

A prior claim to antiquity is indeed possessed by Abernethy, which formed, in matters Civil and Religious, the Capital of the Pictish Kingdom; but its character as an early Seat of independent Church authority was of comparatively brief duration, its transfer to St. Andrews—or Kilrymont, as it was at first called—having been partially effected by Ungus, King of the Picts, and upon the Conquest of that people, finally completed by Kenneth M'Alpine, King of the Dalriadic Scots.

By the Ninth Century, Abernethy had thus lost its former title to pre-eminence, and at length even the temporalities with which it was originally endowed were, in the Reign of William the Lion, absorbed by the newly founded Abbey of Arbroath.

For variety of associations, no locality is more abundant than St. Andrews, and no place that we have ever visited is so well worth seeing as is this second Iona. In the dawn of Christianity, here was founded the citadel of our Holy Faith, and here rose the dignified Pharos from which the light of Evangelization for ages afterwards brilliantly sparkled. The shadows of the past are strongly marked at every step which the thoughtful visitor takes within the precincts of this fortified City. As he gazes upon those majestic and substantial grey Ruins, which still defy the tooth of time and the winds of the tempest, he cannot but pensively muse on scenes and glories now gone for ever. The three lofty Towers of the Cathedral, that of S. Rule's, Trinity Parish Church, and S. Salvator's Church and College, when viewed a few miles off, whether from the Bay (which has been so often a terror to the mariner) or from any of the inland parts, ever trim anew the lamp of History and cause some buried portraiture to start again into living

form. The austere old Steeples, as they raise their summits in isolated grandeur, overlooking the precipitous cliffs and rocky ramparts which breast the German Ocean, are indeed indelible marks upon the tablets of Time.

While we write, our page becomes crowded with personages and events that once again come up before us from among the irretrievable demolition.

> "Ye Holy Towers, that shade the wave-worn steep,
> Long may you rear your aged brows sublime."

An air of stillness and melancholy broods over this ancient Royal Burgh, amid all its Ecclesiastic fragments—spectral and desolate. Upon the Sea, whereon the Student, by the Statutes of the College (ever since the *Fowls' Heugh* catastrophe), is at his peril prohibited from adventuring, not a single sail is to be seen for hours. At the same time, magnificent views are at command, either from the top of S. Rule's or from the *Scores*. The Forfarshire Coast, crowned by the gentle undulations of the Sidlaws and Grampians, and the Bell Rock Lighthouse, standing far out in the deep like a sheeted apparition, are both within the range of vision.

After considerable research, I have made up my mind to preserve, with the Author's kind permission, what deserves to be better known than it is, viz., the following able Paper by William Forbes Skene, Esq., read at a Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 10th June, 1861, and Printed in their *Transactions, vol. iv., p.* 300.

NOTICE OF THE EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENTS AT ST. ANDREWS.

Although occupying the most prominent position in our ancient Church Hierarchy, and with a Diocese extending from the Borders of England to the River Dee, we know little as yet of the early History of St. Andrews, except that it was a foundation of unknown antiquity, with a Legendary History which derives its origin from Greece; and its Historians have hitherto been content to repeat these Legends without attempting to reduce them to the sober realities of History. Bishop Keith, in his "*Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*," merely gives the substance of these Legends, with a few Lists of its Bishops prior to the Eleventh Century, when he commences its history. His Editor, Bishop Russell, throws no additional light on its early history; and its latest Historian, The Rev. C. J. Lyon, adds nothing to this.

Claiming to be the oldest Church in Scotland, to have been at one time the sole Episcopal, and in later ages unquestionably the Metropolitan See, St. Andrews demands that some attempt should be made to clear up its Early History.

The Traditionary accounts of the earliest Ecclesiastical settlements at St. Andrews are to be found in the Legends of three different Saints in our Kalendar, viz.—S. Cainich or Kenneth, 11th October; S. Regulus, 17th October; and S. Adrian, 4th March. S. Cainich or Kenneth, who is the same with the Irish S. Kenneth of Achaboe, the Patron Saint of Kilkenny, was of the early Irish Church, and a contemporary or companion of S. Columba, and is frequently mentioned in Adamnan's Life of that Saint. Although Adamnan mentions Columba alone as having made the celebrated visit to Brude, King of the Northern Picts, at his Palace near Inverness, which resulted in his Conversion to Christianity, the old Life of S. Comgall printed by Fleming in his "Collectanea" says that he was accompanied by S. Kenneth and S. Comgall, who took an equal share in the King's Conversion. S. Columba was of the Scottish race of the O'Neills, but both S. Cainich and S. Comgall were of the race of the Irish Picts of Ulster; and it was probably their affinity of race to the Scottish Picts which led to their being associated with Columba in this undertaking.

The same affinity of race will account for S. Cainich having penetrated so far into the Pictish Province as St. Andrews. There are many dedications to him in Scotland. He is commemorated in the "Festology" of Angus the Culdee, written in the Ninth Century, on the 11th of October; and in a Gloss it is said, "Achaboe is his principal Church, and he has a Church at Kilrymont in Alba," that is, in Scotland. Kilrymont is, as we shall see, the Celtic name of St. Andrews. The Gloss goes on to give the following account of why S. Cainich went to so remote a place among the Picts:—"Once upon a time, when Cainich went to visit Finnia, he asked him for a place of residence; I see no place here now, said Finnia, for others have taken all the places up before thee. May there be a desert place there (that is, in Scotland), said Cainich."

It was one characteristic of the asceticism of the early Irish Church, that its Clergy were in the habit of retiring to some desert place, to lead the lives of hermits, completely isolated from all intercourse with their fellow-creatures for a certain number of years; and we find that almost all their leading Saints, at least once in their lives, retired to some solitary spot, where they led the lives of hermits for some years.

From the desire expressed by Cainich to find a *desert* place, his Church at Kilrymont seems to have been a hermit Church of this description. It is, however, doubtful whether the situation of this hermitage of Cainich's was the same with that of S. Andrew's, and whether the name Kilrymont is not used loosely, or in a wider sense, for the district about it, for in the Aberdeen Breviary S. Cainich is thus referred to—"Sancti Caiynici abbatis qui in *Kennoquhy* in diocesi Sancti Andrei pro patrono habetur." Kennoquhy, or Kennoway, is a Parish in

Fife, about twenty miles from St. Andrews, and, as it seems to have taken its name from him, and is the Church with which he is principally associated in the Scottish Kalendars, it may have been in reality the site of this foundation. Be this as it may, this was a Columban foundation anterior to the year 600, in which year Tighernac records the death of S. Cainich.

For the next and the most important foundation at St. Andrews, and from which it took its name, we must go to *the Legend of S. Regulus*. There are several editions of this Legend, but it is only necessary for our purpose to notice three. One, and apparently the oldest, is a short account of the Legend of the foundation of St. Andrews, preserved in the Colbertine MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris. The second, which is much larger and more detailed, is to be found in a MS. in the Harleian Library in the British Museum, written in the end of the Seventeenth Century, apparently a Copy of an older MS., containing a List of the contents of the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, now lost, with Copies of some of the pieces in it. This Legend seems to have been put together in the early part of the Fourteenth Century. And the third is the Legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen. In comparing these three Editions, it will be convenient to divide the Narrative into three distinct Statements.

The first is the removal of the relics of S. Andrew from Patras to Constantinople. The Colbertin account states that S. Andrew, after preaching to the northern nations, the Scythians and Pictones, received in charge the District of Achaia with the city of Patras, and was there crucified: that his bones remained there till the time of Constantine the Great, and his sons Constantius and Constans, for 270 years, when they were removed to Constantinople, where they remained till the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.

The account in the MS. of the Priory of St. Andrews states, that in the year 345 Constantius collected a great army to invade Patras, in order to revenge the martyrdom of S. Andrew, and remove his relics: that an angel appeared to the custodiers of the relics, and ordered Regulus, the Bishop, with his Clergy, to proceed to the sarcophagus which contained his bones, and to take a part of them, consisting of three fingers of the right hand, a part of one of the arms, the pan of one of the knees, and one of his teeth, and conceal them, and that the following day Constantius entered the city, and carried off to Rome the Shrine containing the rest of his bones: that he then laid waste the Insula Tyberis and Colossia, and took from thence the bones of S. Luke and S. Timothy, and carried them along with the relics of S. Andrew to Constantinople.

The Aberdeen Breviary says, that in the year 360 Regulus flourished at Patras in Achaia, and was custodier of the bones and relics of S. Andrew: that Constantius invaded Patras in order to revenge the martyrdom of S. Andrew:

that an angel appeared to him, and desired him to conceal a part of the relics: and that after Constantius had removed the rest of the relics to Constantinople, this angel again appeared to him, and desired him to take the part of the relics he had concealed, and to transport them to the Western Regions of the world, where he should lay the foundation of a Church in honour of the Apostle.

Here the growth of the Legend is very apparent. In the oldest Edition, we are told of the removal of the relics to Constantinople, without a word of Regulus. In the second, we have the addition of Regulus concealing a part of the relics in obedience to a vision; and in the third, we have a second vision directing him to found a Church in the West. This part of the Legend, as we find it in the oldest Edition, belongs, in fact, to the Legend of S. Andrew, where it is stated that, after preaching to the Scythians, he went to Argos, where he also preached, and finally suffered martyrdom at Patras; and that, in the year 337, his body was transferred from Patras to Constantinople with those of S. Luke and S. Timothy, and deposited in the Church of the Apostles, which had been built some time before by Constantine the Great.

Mr Skene says,—When I visited Greece in the year 1844, I was desirous of ascertaining whether any traces of this Legend still remained at Patras. In the town of Patras I could find no Church dedicated to S. Andrew, but I observed a small and very old-looking Greek Monastery, about a mile to the west of it, on the shore of the Gulf of Patras, and proceeding there I found one of the Caloyeres, or Greek Monks, who spoke Italian, and who informed me that the Monastery was attached to the adjacent Church of S. Andrew, built over the place where he had suffered martyrdom. He took me into the Church, which was one of the small Byzantine buildings so common in Greece, and showed me the sarcophagus from whence, he said, the relics had been removed, and also, at the door of the Church, the spot where his Cross had been raised, and a Well called *S. Andrew's Well*. I could find, however, no trace of S. Regulus.

The second part of the Legend in the oldest Edition represents a Pictish King termed Ungus, son of Urguist, waging war in the Merse, and being surrounded by his enemies. As the King was walking with his seven *comites*, a bright light shines upon them; they fall to the earth, and a voice from Heaven says, "Ungus, Ungus, hear me an Apostle of Christ called Andrew, who am sent to defend and guard you;" he directs him to attack his enemies, and desires him to offer the tenth part of his inheritance in honour of S. Andrew. Ungus obeys, and is victorious.

In the St. Andrews Edition, Ungus's enemy is said to have been Athelstane, King of the Saxons, and his camp at the mouth of the river Tyne. S. Andrew appears to Ungus in a dream, and promises him victory, and tells him that his

relics will be brought to his kingdom, and the place where they are brought is to become honoured and celebrated. The people of the Picts swear to venerate S. Andrew ever after, if they prove victorious. Athelstane is defeated, his head taken off, and carried to a place called Ardchinnichun, or Portus Reginæ.

The Breviary of Aberdeen does not contain this part of the Legend.

The third part of the Legend in the oldest narrative represents one of the custodiers of the body of S. Andrew at Constantinople, directed by an angel in a vision to leave his home, and to go to a place where the angel will direct him. He proceeds prosperously to "verticem montis regis id est rigmond." Then the King of the Picts comes with his army, and Regulus, a Monk, a stranger, from the city of Constantinople, meets him with the relics of S. Andrew at a harbour which is called "Matha, id est mordurus," and King Ungus dedicates that place and city to God and S. Andrew, "ut sit caput, et mater omnium ecclesiarum quae sunt in regno Pictorum," *i.e.*, "that it may be the head and mother of all the Churches which are in the Kingdom of the Picts." It must be remembered here, that this is the first appearance of the name of *Regulus* in the old Legend, and that it is evidently the *same* King Ungus who is referred to in both parts of the story.

The St. Andrews Edition of the Legend relates this part of the story much more circumstantially. According to it, Regulus was warned by the angel to sail with the relics towards the north, and wherever his vessel was wrecked, there to erect a Church in honour of S. Andrew. He voyages among the Islands of the Greek Sea for a year and a half, and wherever he lands he erects an Oratory in honour of S. Andrew. At length he lands "in terra Pictorum ad locum qui Muckros fuerat nuncupatus nunc autem Kilrymont dictus," *i.e.*, "in the land of the Picts at a place which had been called *Mukross*, but is now *Kilrymont;*" and his vessel having been wrecked, he erects a Cross he had brought from Patras. After remaining there seventeen days and nights, Regulus goes with the relics to Forteviot, and finds there the three sons of King Hungus, viz., Owen, Nectan, and Finguiene, who being anxious as to the life of their father, then on an expedition "in partibus Argatheliæ," give the tenth part of Forteviot to God and S. Andrew. They then go to a place called "Moneclatu, qui nunc dicitur Monichi," and there Finchem, the Queen of King Hungus, is delivered of a daughter called Mouren, who was afterwards buried at Kilrymont, and the Queen gives the place to God and S. Andrew. They then cross the mountain called Moneth, and reach a place called "Doldancha, nunc autem dictus Chondrochedalvan," where they meet King Hungus returning from his expedition, who prostrates himself before the relics, and this place is also given to God and S. Andrew. They return across the Moneth to Monichi, where a Church was built in honour of God and

the Apostle; and from thence to Forteviot, where a Church is also built. King Hungus then goes with the Clergy to Kilrymont, when a great part of that place is given to build Churches and Oratories, and a large territory is given as a *Parochia*. The boundaries of this Parochia can still be traced, and consisted of that part of Fife lying to the east of a line drawn from Largo to Nauchten. Within this line was the district called *the Boar's Chase*, containing the modern Parishes of St. Andrews, Cameron, Dairsie, Kemback, Ceres, Denino, and Kingsmuir; and besides this district, the following Parishes were included in the Parochia, viz.: Crail, Kingsbarns, Anstruther, Abercromby, St. Monance, Kelly, Elie, Newburgh, Largo, Leuchars, Forgan, and Logie Murdoch.

It is impossible to doubt that there is a historic basis of some kind to this part of the Legend. The circumstantial character of the Narrative is of a kind not likely to be invented. The place beyond the Moneth or Grampians called Chondrochedalvan, is plainly the Church of Kindrochet in Braemar, which was dedicated to S. Andrew. Monichi is probably not Monikie in Forfarshire, as that Church was in the Diocese of Brechin, but a Church called Eglis Monichti, now in the parish of Monifieth, which was in the Diocese of St. Andrews, and Forteviot was also in the Diocese of St. Andrews.

According to the account in the Breviary, Regulus, after the relics had been removed to Constantinople, takes the portion he had concealed, and sails with them for two years till he arrives "ad terram Scottorum," where he lands and enters the "nemus porcorum," or "grove of swine," and there builds a Church, and Preaches to the neighbouring people far and wide. Hungus, King of the Picts, sees a company of angels hover over the relics of the Apostle, and comes with his army to Regulus, who Baptizes him, with all his servants, and receives a grant of the land, which is set apart to be the chief Seat and mother Church of Scotland.

Such being the leading features of these Legends, the eastern part so closely associated with the general tradition regarding the translation of the relics of S. Andrew in the Fourth Century, and the western or Scottish part so interwoven into the events of the Reign of a certain Ungus, son of Urguist, King of the Picts, the first question is, When did this King reign?

In the oldest Lists of the Pictish Kings there appear two Kings bearing the name of Angus or Ungus, son of Urguist, and two only. The first reigned for thirty years, from the year 731 to 761, when his Death is recorded by Tighernac, and also in the short Chronicle appended to Bede, in the following terms:—"761. Ængus mc Fergusa rex Pictorum mortuus est." [*Tigh.*] "Anno Dcc. lxi., Oengus Pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus perduxit carnifex." "Angus, son of Fergus, King of the Picts,

Died, who passed through his Reign, from beginning to end, a bloody tyrant with cruel wickedness." [*Chron. ap. Bedam.*]

The second Reigned in the following Century for twelve years, and his Death is recorded only in the Annals of Ulster, under the year 834: "834. Œngus mac Fergusa rex Fortrenn moritur."

In the List of Kings extracted from the Register of the Priory of S. Andrews, the foundation of St. Andrews is attributed to this second Angus, as after his name the Chronicle adds, "Hic œdificat Kilrymont."

Fordun applies to this King that part of the Legend which relates to the war against the Saxons and the victory under the auspices of S. Andrew; but he applies the other part of the Legend, narrating the arrival of S. Regulus, and his reception by the Pictish King, to an early Ungus, son of Urguist, supposed to have Reigned in the Fourth Century.

The old Lists know of no such King, and this is a palpable attempt to reconcile History with the Tradition of a S. Regulus in the Fourth Century, which is quite inconsistent with the Legends themselves, as it is plain from all of them that they regarded the whole of the transactions as belonging to the same King Ungus—his victory against the Saxons under the auspices of S. Andrew leading to the reception of S. Regulus and the foundation of the Church. There is one authority, however, for the foundation of S. Andrews having been attributed to the first Angus; for Hearne, in his Edition of Fordun, in that part where he narrates the war against the Saxons, and the vision of S. Andrew, under the second King Ungus, adds in a note—"Hæc omnia tribuuntur Ungo filio Urgust qui multis annis prior est, in fine cujusdum exemplaris Bedæ." "All this is attributed, in the end of a certain Copy of Bede, to another Ungus, son of Fergus, who lived long prior."

I have been unable to discover the MS. of Bede here referred to; but as there is appended to some MSS. a short Chronicle in which the Death of the first and more celebrated Ungus in 761 alone is recorded, we may assume that this is the prior King here meant. That he was the real King Ungus of the Legends, is corroborated by other circumstances:—

1. Bede records, that the King of the Picts placed his Kingdom under the patronage of S. Peter in the year 710, and knows of no veneration of S. Andrew among them, which he could hardly have omitted stating if it had existed at that time; it must therefore have been after the conclusion of his History, in 731, that it took place. St. Andrews appears to have existed as a known Ecclesiastical Establishment in 747, for in that year Tighernac has the Death of Tuathalan, Abbot of Kilrymont: "747. Mors Tuathalain Ab. Cindrigmonaidh." If founded between these two dates, it must have been in the Reign of the first Ungus.

2. The longer Legend points also strongly to this King; for in the part which seems based on History, there are three things told of him,—

(1) That he warred against the Saxons of Northumbria.

(2) That in the year in which St. Andrews was founded, he was absent on a great expedition in Argyll.

(3) That he had three sons, who gave a tenth part of Forteviot to S. Regulus, the eldest of whom was called Owen.

Now we trace none of these events during the Reign of the second Ungus, but we find them all attributed to the first. In 740, during the Reign of the first Ungus, Eadbert, King of Northumbria, is said to have been "occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos," and Athelstane may have been his General. "Anno 740. Edilbaldus rex Merciorum per impiam fraudem vastabat partem Northanhymbrorum eratque rex eorum Eadbertus occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos." "Edilbald, King of the Mercians, was laying waste, by impious fraud, the part of the Northumbrians, and Eadbert, their King, was occupied with his own army against the Picts." [*Chron. ap. Bedam.*] In 736 Tighernac records a great expedition of this Ungus, the son of Urguist, into Argyll, when he says—"Angus mac Fergusa rex Pictorum vastavit regiones Dailriada et obtinuit Dunad (the capital) et compussit Creich et duos filios Selbaiche catenis aligavit id est Dougal et Feradach et paulo post Brudeus mac Angusa mac Fergusa obiit." "Angus, son of Fergus, King of the Picts, laid waste the regions of Dailriada, and took Dunad, and burned [the fort of] Creich, and bound with chains the two sons of Selbaiche, that is, Dougal and Feradach, and a little after Brudeus, son of Angus, son of Fergus, Died." And in the same year 736, the "Annales Cambriæ" record the Death of Owen, King of the Picts, showing that the Brudeus of Tighernac bore that name, and that he was son of Angus.

We may therefore hold, that the King who placed the Kingdom under the patronage of S. Andrew, and founded St. Andrews, was Angus, son of Fergus, who Reigned from 731 to 761, and that the year of the foundation was the year 736, when the expedition to Dalriada, afterwards called Argathelia, took place.

It is plain that, if this was the true Date, the Tradition which brings S. Regulus direct from Patras or Constantinople to Scotland with the relics in the Fourth Century is a mere Legend, connected more intimately with the relics than with the foundation of St. Andrews, and that we must look to some nearer quarter as the immediate source from whence they were brought, and from whence the veneration of St. Andrews was derived.

It will assist us in this inquiry, if we keep in mind the leading facts in the Ecclesiastical History of Northumbria.

Northumbria derived her Christianity and her Church from two different

sources, which were in spirit and character opposed to each other. These were the Irish Church, founded by Patrick, and extended over the Picts by S. Columba, and the Anglo-Saxon Church, founded by Augustine. The one followed Eastern Traditions; the other was closely connected with Rome. The Northumbrians were Converted in 617, by Paulinus, of the Augustinian Church; and a Bishopric was founded by him, the chief Seat of which was York. This Church remained till 633, when it was overturned by Cadwalla, King of the Britons.

Oswald, who recovered the Kingdom in 634, and had been educated in exile in Iona, introduced Columban Clergy from Iona, and Lindisfarne became the chief Seat of this Church. The Columban Church lasted for thirty years, till 664, when the great Council of Whitby was held to determine the contest between the two Churches as to the two great subjects of dispute—*the proper time for keeping Easter*, and *the Tonsure*. The head of the one party was Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and of the other, Wilfrid. The contest ended with the defeat of the Columban party,-who were driven out, and Wilfrid was subsequently made Bishop, the Seat of the Bishopric being restored to York. Bede tells us that Wilfrid administered the Bishopric of York, and of all the Northumbrians, and *likewise of the Picts*, as far as the dominion of King Oswy extended. In a former part of his History he tells us that Oswy not only held nearly the same dominions as his brother Oswald, to whom he had succeeded, but also had, for the most part, subdued and made tributary the nations of the Picts. Wilfrid therefore included in his Jurisdiction a part of the Nation of the Picts. What part that was, we shall see immediately.

In the year 678 Wilfrid was expelled from the Bishopric, and it was divided into two Dioceses, corresponding to the two Provinces of Bernicia and Deira, Bosa being made Bishop of the one, and Eata of the other; and in 681, three years after, it was divided into four Dioceses, two new Districts being created; the one was Hexham, over which Trumberct was made Bishop, and the other was the Province of the Picts, at that time subject to the King of Northumbria, over which Trumwine was made Bishop.

In the year 685, Ecfrid, King of Northumbria, in attempting to penetrate through the range of the Sidlaw Hills, was slain in Battle at Dunnichen by the Picts. Bede informs us that, as the result of this Battle, the Picts recovered their Land which had been held by the Angles, and adds these remarkable words: "*Among the many English that then either fell by the sword, or were made slaves, or escaped by flight out of the country of the Picts, the most revered man of God, Trumwin, who had received the Bishopric over them, withdrew with his people that were in the Monastery of Abercorn, seated in the country of the Angles, but close by the arm of the sea which parts the lands of the Angles and of the Picts.*"

It is quite clear from this passage, that the part of the Country of the Picts which had been subject to the Angles, which was included in Wilfrid's Bishopric, and was afterwards made a separate Bishopric under Trumwin, was the Country on the north side of the Frith of Forth, viz., Fife and Kinross, and perhaps part of Forfar, as far as the Sidlaw Hills; but that for safety the Seat of the Bishopric was at Abercorn, on the south side.

The influence of the Anglic Church, which had thus held for twenty years the Southern part of the Pictish Province under its care, seems to have continued after the Church itself had left; for in 710 Bede informs us that Nectan, King of the Picts, renounced the error by which he and his nation had till then been held, in relation to the Observance of Easter, and submitted, together with his people, to celebrate the *Catholic* time of our Lord's Resurrection. He sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, in Northumberland, requesting instruction, and likewise that he would send Architects that he might build a Church after the Roman manner, which he promised to dedicate in honour of the Blessed Peter; and that he and all his people would always follow the custom of the Holy Roman Apostolic Church.

Ceolfrid accordingly wrote a long Letter in support of the Roman Usages; and Bede goes on to say, that on this Letter being read in the presence of the King and many others of his most learned men, and carefully interpreted into his own language by those who could understand it, he rejoiced, and declared that *hereafter he would continually observe the Roman time of Easter*, and that *the Tonsure should be received by his Clergy*. The Cycles of nineteen years were sent throughout all the Provinces of the Picts; and the Nation, thus reformed, rejoiced as being newly placed under the direction of S. Peter, and made secure under his Protection.

In short, the whole Pictish People passed over from the Columban to the Anglic Church. The Columban Clergy were expelled, as appears from a notice in Tighernac under the year 717, and Anglic Clergy introduced: "717. Expulsio familiæ Ie trans dorsum Britanniæ Nectano rege." "Expulsion of the Fraternity of Iona across Drumalban, by King Nectan." The Legend of Bonifacius, on 16th March, shows us the introduction of a new Clergy and the foundation of new Churches, which were dedicated to S. Peter, and that Apostle became for a time the Patron Saint of the Kingdom.

In 674, thirty-six years before this event, Wilfrid had founded the Church of Hexham. Bede tells us, that Wilfrid had been educated by the Scottish Monks at Lindisfarne, but, having doubts of the correctness of their ways, went to Rome for instruction; and it is recorded of him by his Biographer Eddi, that when he first conceived the purpose of endeavouring to turn the Northumbrians

from Columba to Rome, he went to a Church in Rome, dedicated to S. Andrew, and there knelt before the Altar, and prayed to God, through the merits of his holy Martyr Andrew, that he would grant him the power of reading the Gospels aright, and of preaching the eloquence of the Evangelists to the people. His prayer was answered by the gift of persuasive eloquence; and feeling himself peculiarly under the guidance of that Apostle, he dedicated his Church of Hexham to S. Andrew. Bede tells us that on another occasion, when returning through France to Britain, he fell sick at Bordeaux, and, when nearly dead, he saw a vision, in which a person in white garments appeared to him, and told him he was Michael the Archangel, and announced to him that he should recover through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In consequence of this incident, two Chapels were erected at Hexham, one dedicated to S. Michael and the other to S. Mary.

The Roman dedications in Northumbria had hitherto been usually to S. Peter, and thus was introduced among them the veneration of S. Andrew. The peculiar combination of the principal dedication to S. Andrew, with Chapels to S. Michael and S. Mary, arose out of the incidents in Wilfrid's Life, as is very plainly stated by Richard of Hexham, and *affords presumptive evidence, wherever they are found, of the Church having been derived from some Church founded by him.*

Wilfrid died in 709, and was succeeded in the Bishopric of Hexham by Acca, who was alive when Bede wrote his History. Of him Bede records, that being an active person, and great in the sight of God and man, he much adorned and added by his wonderful works to the structure of his Church, *which is dedicated to the Blessed Apostle Andrew;* for he made it his business, and does so still, to procure *relics* of the Blessed Apostles and Martyrs of Christ from all parts; besides which, he very diligently gathered the history of their sufferings. The Northumbrian Church already possessed relics of S. Peter and S. Paul; for the Pope Vitalian, writing to King Oswy, after the Council of Whitby, says, "We have ordered the blessed gifts of the Saints, viz., the relics of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Holy Martyrs Laurentius, John, and Paul, and Gregory, and Paucratius, to be delivered to the bearers of these our Letters, to be by them delivered to your Excellency;" and it can hardly be doubted that Acca, in collecting relics of the other Apostles, would not fail to obtain relics of the Patron of his great predecessor Wilfrid, and the Apostle to whom his Church was dedicated; and this he appears to have done, for in the "Liber de Sanctis Ecclesiæ Hagulstadensis et eorum Miraculis" there is this statement—"Moreover the Church of Hexham was decorated with precious ornaments, and enriched with the *relics of S. Andrew*, and other Saints."

The parallel between the history of the Northumbrians and the Picts in this

respect can hardly fail to strike every one. The Northumbrians, expelling the Columban Clergy, dedicating to S. Peter, and then receiving at Hexham the dedication to S. Andrew, and the Bishop of Hexham active in introducing relics; and, sixty years later, the Picts, expelling the Columbans, dedicating to S. Peter, and receiving from some unknown quarter the dedication to S. Andrew, accompanied by his relics. *It raises a strong presumption, at least, that in searching for the source of the veneration of S. Andrew among the Picts, we should turn our eyes first to Hexham.*

When Bede closed his History, Acca was still alive, and Bishop of Hexham; and when this great *light* leaves us, we are in comparative darkness; but a few incidents are still recorded which may afford us some clue out of the mist.

In the year 732 Simeon of Durham has this notice—"Acca Episcopus eodem anno de sua Sede fugatus est." *i.e.*, "Bishop Acca was expelled from his See in the same year." Richard of Hexham, who must have known the Hexham Traditions regarding Acca, adds this remarkable passage—"Qua autem urgente necessitate pulsus est vel quo diverterit scriptum non reperi (no written record of where he went to). Sunt tamen qui dicunt (here is the Tradition) quod eo tempore episcopalem sedem in Candida inceperit et præperaverit." *i.e.*, "By what urgent necessity he was driven forth, or whither he directed his steps, I do not find recorded. But there are some who say that at that time he commenced and prepared an Episcopal See at Whitehern." It was believed he had founded an Episcopal Seat in Candida or Whitehern.

That Acca founded no Bishopric there, is certain; for Bede, in closing his History in 731, says, that in the Province of the Northumbrians four Bishops now preside—Wilfrid in York, Edilwald in Lindisfarne, Acca in Hexham, and Pecthelm in that which is called Candida, which, from the increased number of believers, has lately become an additional Episcopal Seat, and *has him for its first Prelate*. Candida was therefore a Bishopric before Acca left Hexham, and *Pecthelm* was the *first* Bishop. But another passage in Richard of Hexham throws light upon his meaning. After the Pictish Kingdom had disappeared in the Ninth Century, and the Picts of Galloway alone remained as a separate People, it was a common mistake among the Anglic Writers to attribute to Galloway, and its Episcopal Seat Candida, what was true of the Pictish Province north of the Forth. Thus, Florence of Worcester places *Trumwine* as Bishop of Candida, though we know from Bede that the Picts he presided over were *north* of the Frith of Forth; and Richard of Hexham, in quoting the passage from Bede already referred to, when he says that Wilfrid's Bishopric of York extends over the Picts subject to Oswy, and over whom Trumwine was afterwards placed, adds, after the words *super Pictos*, "quia Candida Casa nondum episcopum proprium

habuerat," *i.e.*, "because Whitehern had not yet its own Bishop,"—showing that he applied what Bede tells of the Picts north of the Forth to Candida.

It is plain that when Acca was banished by the King of Northumbria, he could not have founded a Bishopric anywhere within his territories; and (Mr Skene says) I hold the Hexham Tradition to have been that Acca had fled out of the Country, and it was believed had founded a Bishopric among the Picts, where Wilfrid and Trumwine had presided before him—that is, in Fife. Now, it is a remarkable coincidence that Acca, the venerator of S. Andrew, the importer of relics, should have fled in 732, and that a report should have got up that he had founded a Bishopric among the Picts, and that St. Andrews should have been actually founded, as we have seen, by the King of the Picts, and part of the relics of S. Andrew have been brought to it in 736, four years after his flight.

Let us see, then, if there are any resemblances between St. Andrews and Hexham to corroborate this presumption; and the first we observe is a very striking one—Kilrymont, like Hexham, was dedicated to S. Andrew; and in the St. Andrews Legend a List of its Chapels are given, and two of them are as follows, one "in honorem S. Michaeli Archangeli," and the next "in honorem Stae Mariae Virginis." There was thus at St. Andrews, as well as at Hexham, a principal dedication to S. Andrew, with Chapels to S. Michael and S. Mary, the group peculiar to Churches deriving their foundation from S. Wilfrid, or from Churches founded by him, as Hexham was.

Another resemblance may possibly be a mere coincidence. Lindores, dedicated to S. Andrew and S. Mary, is in the midst of a wood termed of old *Earnside Wood*. It is within the Parochia given to S. Regulus. Sibbald is puzzled that it should bear the name of *Earnside*, seeing that the Earn does not flow there; but there was a Place with nearly the same name near Hexham, where there was a Chapel dedicated to S. Michael. Richard of Hexham says—"Est enim oratorium quoddum in veneratione Sancti Michaeli Archangeli dedicatum ultra flumen Tinæ in Monte ripæ ejusdem amnis remanenti qui Anglice Erneshou latine mons aquilæ dicitur." *i.e.*, "There is a certain Oratory or Chapel dedicated to S. Michael beyond the River Tyne, on a rising ground on the bank of the River, called in Anglo-Saxon Erneshou, in Latin *Mons Aquilæ*, or Eaglesmount."

It seems that Acca's route can be traced by the dedications to S. Andrew; for the usual route from Northumbria to the region north of the Forth at that time was by the Ferry called Earlsferry, from Gulaneness to Newburn, and the Church of Gulane, on the south side of the Forth, was likewise dedicated to S. Andrew.

According to this view, then, the Historical basis of the Legendary foundation of St. Andrews by Regulus, was its foundation in the year 736 by Acca and

his refugee Clergy, who brought the veneration of S. Andrew and his relics from Hexham. The Picts were at the time at war with the Angles; and when expelled from Northumbria, his natural refuge was with the sister Church among the Picts, where the immediate successor of Wilfrid could not fail to have powerful influence; and this view is corroborated by the peculiar respect paid by the Scots to Hexham even as late as the Reign of David I. Richard of Hexham informs us, that during the wars of Stephen, when the Scots so repeatedly ravished the south of England, and burnt Churches and Monasteries everywhere, Hexham was always respected. He says—"In this raging and tempestuous Period, that noble Monastery of Hexham, though in the very midst of the collision, yet, on account of the merits of its Tutelary Saints, Andrew the Apostle, and Wilfrid, Bishop and Martyr, and of its other Patron Saints, Acca, Alcmund, and Eata, Bishops and Confessors, offered the most tranquil security to its people, and those who took refuge in it, and afforded them all a safe asylum from hostile assaults." David, King of Scotland, and Henry, his son, guaranteed to that Monastery, its brethren, and all belonging to it, continued security from hostilities; and this they confirmed by their Charters, which are still preserved.

A successor had been appointed to Acca in Hexham; but he appears to have returned and Died there in the year 740, four years after the foundation of St. Andrews.

The next Legend which bears upon the History of St. Andrews is that of S. Adrian, at 4th March.

The best Edition of this Legend is in the Aberdeen Breviary, and it is as follows:—Adrian was a native of Hungary, and after Preaching there for some time, was seized with a desire to Preach to other people; and having gathered together a company, he set out "ad orientales Scotiæ partes que tunc a Pictis occupabantur," *i.e.*, "to the Eastern parts of Scotland, which were then occupied by the Picts,"—and landed there with 6606 Confessors, Clergy, and People, among whom were Glodianus, Gayus, Minanus, Scobrandus, and others, Chief Priests. These men, with their Bishop, Adrian, "delato regno Pictorum," *i.e.*, "the Pictish Kingdom being destroyed,"—did many signs, but afterwards desired to have a Residence on the Isle of May. The Danes, who then devastated the whole of Britain, came to the Island, and there slew them. Their Martyrdom is said to have taken place in the year 875.

It will be observed that they are here said to have settled in the east part of Scotland, opposite the Isle of May, that is in Fife, while the Picts still occupied it; that the Pictish Kingdom is then said to have been destroyed; and that their Martyrdom took place in 875, thirty years after the Scottish Conquest under Kenneth M'Alpin. Their arrival was therefore almost coincident with the Scot-

tish Conquest; and the large number said to have come, not the modest twenty-one who arrived with Regulus, but 6606 Confessors, Clergy, and People, shows that the Traditionary History was really one of an Invasion, and leads to the suspicion at once that it was in reality a part of the Scottish occupation of the Pictish Kingdom. This suspicion is much strengthened by two corroborative circumstances: 1st, The year 875, when they are said to have been slain by the Danes, falls in the Reign of Constantine, the son of Kenneth Macalpin, in his fourteenth year, and in this year the Pictish Chronicle records a Battle between the Danes and the Scots, and adds, that after it, "occasi sunt Scotti in Coachcochlum," which seems to refer to this very slaughter. 2nd, Hector Boëce preserves a different Tradition regarding their origin. He says—"Non desunt qui scribant sanctissimos Christi martyros Hungaros fuisse. *Alii ex Scotis Anglisque gregarie collectos.*" *i.e.*, "Some write that the most Holy Martyrs of Christ were Hungarians. Others (say) that they were collected from the Scots and English." There was therefore a Tradition that the Clergy slain were not Hungarians, but a body composed of Scotti and Angli. But Hadrian was a Bishop; he landed in the East of Fife, within the Parochia of S. Regulus, and he is placed at the head of some of the Lists of Bishops of St. Andrews as first Bishop. It wast herefore the Church of St. Andrews that then consisted of Clergy collected from among the Scotti and the Angli. The Angli probably represented the Church of Acca, and the Scotti those brought in by Adrian. The real signification of this occupation of St. Andrews by Scottish Clergy will be apparent when we recollect that the Columban Clergy, who had formerly possessed the chief Ecclesiastical Seats among the Picts, had been expelled in 717, and Anglic Clergy introduced—the cause of quarrel being the difference of their Usages. Now, the Pictish Chronicle states, as the main cause of the overthrow of the Pictish Kingdom, a century and a half later, this very cause. It says—"Deus enim eos pro merito suæ malitiæ alienos ac otiosos hæreditate dignatus est facere quia illi non solum Deum missam ac præceptum spreverunt sed et in jure aequalitatis *aliis* aequi *pariter* noluerunt." *i.e.*, "For God, on account of their wickedness, deemed them worthy to be made hereditarily strangers and idlers; because they contemned not only God, the Mass, and the Precept (of the Church), but besides refused to be regarded as on the same equality with others." They were overthrown not only because they despised "Deum missam et præceptum," but because they would not tolerate the other party. And this great grievance was removed, when St. Andrews appears at the head of the Scottish Church in a solemn Concordat with the King Constantine, when, as the Pictish Chronicle tells us, "Constantinus Rex et Cellachus Episcopus leges disciplinasque fidei atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorum que *pariter cum Scottis* devoverunt custodiri." *i.e.*, "King Constantine and Bishop Kellach

vowed to preserve the laws and discipline of the Faith and the rights of the Churches and Gospels, equally with the Scots." Observe the parallel language of the two passages. In the one, the "Picti in jure æqualitatis aliis," that is, the Scottish Clergy, "aequi pariter noluerunt," and in the other the King and the Bishop of St. Andrews "vowed to preserve the laws and discipline of the Faith" "*pariter cum Scottis*," the thing the Picts would not do. It seems plain, therefore, that the Ecclesiastical element entered largely into the Scottish Conquest; and a main cause and feature of it was a determination on the part of the Scottish Clergy to recover the Benefices they had been deprived of. The exact coincidence of this great Clerical Invasion of the Parochia of St. Andrews by Ecclesiastics, said by one Tradition to have been Scots, and the subsequent position of St. Andrews as the head of the Scottish Church, points strongly to this as the true Historic basis of the Legend of S. Adrian.

The Norman Kalendar is full of early Martyrs of the name of Adrian, who are celebrated on the first few days of March, and probably a confusion of identity led to the idea that he was a Hungarian. His true name of a Scot was probably Odran, as the name of the Patron Saint always enters largely into those of the Clergy of the Place, with the usual prefix of Gilla or Maol; and we find a subsequent Bishop of St. Andrews called Macgilla Odran, son of the servant of Odran. The corrupt form of it was Magidran, which is simply the Irish Mo, with the insertion of a g, *euphoniae gratia*, *i.e.*, for the sake of sound; and Odran is Macgidran by the same law which makes Colman Mocholmoc, Aidan Madoc, &c. As Magidrin, he appears on Macduff's Cross, the Boundary-Stone between the Dioceses of St. Andrews and Dunblane. The Parishes of Flisk and Lindores, both within the Parochia, are dedicated to Macgidrin, and a Church near Dron is called after him corruptly Exmagirdle.

His Day is the 4th of March, and on the same day we find in the Irish Kalendars S. Magrido or Magrudo, *Episcopi et Confessoris*. Colgan could find no Church in Ireland to connect him with; but his Day being the same with that of Adrian or Odran, and the resemblance of the name, make me suspect that this is our Saint in his Irish disguise.

There are strong reasons for thinking that the Scottish Clergy who accompanied Kenneth M'Alpin came from Ireland, and were mainly connected with the Diocese of Kildare. The first Abbot of Iona after the Scottish Conquest was also Abbot of Kildare. [865. Ceallach ab Cilledare, et ab Ja quievit. An. ult.] We have seen that two of the Chapels of St. Andrews were connected with Acca's Church, being dedicated to SS. Michael and Mary. Other two of them point equally to Kildare. The sixth was "in honorem Stæ Brigidæ virginis," the Patron Saint of Kildare; the seventh, "in honorem Mouren cujusdam

virginis." This could hardly have been the Mouren previously mentioned, as it is differently spelt, and the expression "cujusdam virginis" could not have been used with propriety; but in 829, just before the Scottish conquest, Died Muren, Abbess of Kildare. The Church of Leuchars, near St. Andrews, is dedicated to S. Athernasc. His Day is the 22nd December; but in the same Day appears in the Irish Kalendar S. Athernasc of Claonadh, near Clare, in Leinster, in the County of Kildare. The Church of Abercromby, now St. Monan's, was dedicated to S. Monan, who is said to have accompanied Adrian. His Day is the 1st of March, but it is the Day of S. Monan, the first Bishop of Clonfert, whose Death is recorded by Tighernac in 571, and whose dedication he must have brought from Ireland.

Till now the difficult question has been reserved of Who was S. Regulus? did he ever exist, or was he merely a part of the fable? because the History of this Scottish Establishment throws some light upon it.

In the Legends, Regulus is closely connected with the history of the translation of the relics from Patras to Constantinople; but he is also interwoven into the history of the foundation of St. Andrews by King Ungus, and the one part of the Legend belongs to the Fourth Century, while the other has its historic basis in the Eighth. There is thus an interval of four Centuries between the two parts of the Legend; and it follows, that S. Regulus must either belong to the Legend of the relics of S. Andrew, and his name and veneration have been brought to this Country with the relics; or else he was a real man, who belonged to the history of the foundation of the Church in the Eighth Century, and whose name was subsequently added to the Legend of the relics.

In favour of the latter view we have the fact, that one of the Chapels at St. Andrews was dedicated to him, and there are other dedications to him throughout Scotland. On the other hand he is said to have been accompanied by two Clergy from Nola, seven Hermits from the *Insula Tyberis*, and three Virgins from Colossia; but these Places are mentioned in the early part of the Legend, and are unquestionably connected with the history of the relics of S. Andrew in the Fourth Century, as appears from S. Jerome, Paulinus, and others.

S. Regulus is commemorated on two different Days in Scotland. In the Aberdeen Breviary, his Legend is introduced on the 30th of March; but this is the Day on which S. Regulus, the first Bishop of Silvanectis or Senlis in Gaul is commemorated. This S. Regulus was also a Greek, and came from Greece to Gaul in the Fourth Century. He was popularly called S. Rule, and at Silvanectis was a Church called that of S. Andrew in *nemore*, while the Scottish Church of S. Andrew was in *nemore porcorum*.

The usual Day assigned to S. Regulus in Scotland is the 17th October, but

again this is the Day of S. Riaguil of Muicinsi, in Lochderg, in Ireland, who was a contemporary of S. Columba, and Muicinsi is *insula porcorum*. The 30th March was probably the Day on which the Anglic Church, established by Acca, commemorated him; and it is not impossible that Acca may have brought the relics of S. Andrew from France, and the Legend of S. Regulus with them; while the Scottish Church which superseded it under Adrian may have identified him with their own Irish S. Regulus.

The foundation of that wondrous fabric of fabulous history which has been reared by our Historians from John of Fordun to Hector Boëce, was laid in the end of the Thirteenth and beginning of the Fourteenth Centuries.

St. Andrews was the head of the second Scottish Church which superseded the Pictish Church in the Ninth Century. It represented in a peculiar manner the Scottish population, and was intimately connected and closely allied with the Scottish Royal House that occupied the Throne. The spirit of rivalry which pervaded all Ecclesiastical foundations, and a desire to base her high position and pretensions upon spiritual pre-eminence, led her to push her claims to antiquity very far, and to assert a pre-eminence above all other Churches. We have seen that, in the third and latest Legend, the story had advanced from the foundation of a Church to the conversion of the King and people to Christianity by S. Regulus; and in the celebrated Letter from the Scottish Barons to the Pope in 1320, it is broadly stated that the Scottish Nation had been converted by the Nuncio who brought the relics of S. Andrew, while there is no allusion to either Ninian or Columba, the real Apostles of Scotland.

The process by which a fabulous antiquity was given to St. Andrews was a very simple one. The events of the latter part of the Eighth and first half of the Ninth Century were, first, placed at an early period, coincident with the removal of the relics of S. Andrew from Patras to Constantinople; and secondly, they were suppressed at their proper period.

There was thus a fictitious history containing the foundation of St. Andrews, placed before the foundation of Whitehern by S. Ninian, or of Iona by S. Columba, and the true history of the last half of the Eighth and first half of the Ninth Century has disappeared from our Annals. Upon this basis the fabulous Historians reared the superstructure of their History, and through one channel or another it can be traced to St. Andrews. Its germs are found in the end of the Thirteenth and beginning of the Fourteenth Centuries. It received its first artistic development from John of Fordun, and the crowning capital was placed upon it by Hector Boëce.

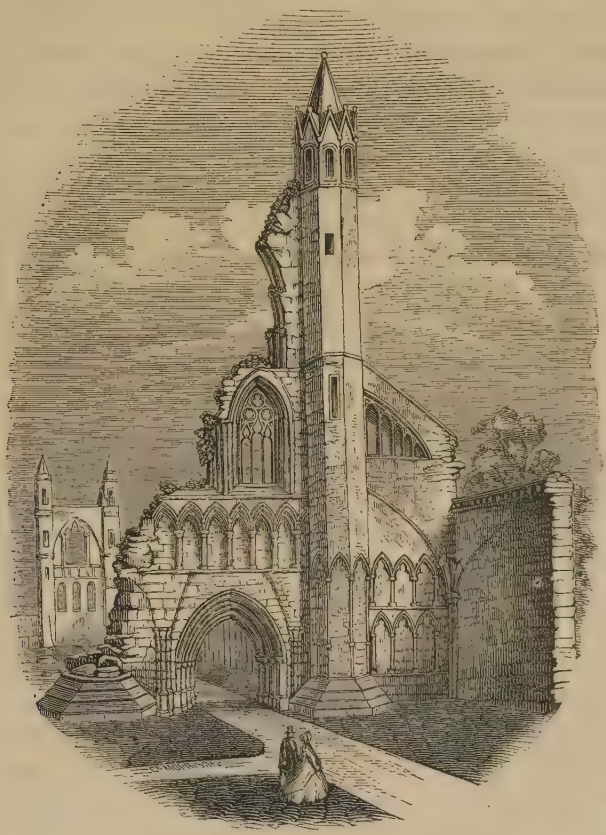
GEORGE MARTINE'S ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SEE OF ST. ANDREWS.

(Written in 1683; Published in 1797. Borrowed chiefly from Fordun's Scotichronicon.)

The Peights, Pights, or Picts, who inhabited of old all the East Coast of this Kingdom, with the inland Country thereof, had not the blessing of the Gospel so early among them as their neighbour Nation, the Scots; although it is believed that shortly after the conversion of the Scots (*i.e.*, about an hundred years, as some count), the Picts in small numbers came to embrace the Faith. Others think that that Kingdom and people were Christian as early as the Scots, by reason of their vicinity to and converse with the Christians among the Romans. But some conjecture that the grand and chief occasion of the Picts' general and national turning to Christianity from Heathenism was as follows:—During the exile of the Scots, after their great overthrow at the Water of Doune, in Carrick, where King Eugenius I. was killed (albeit Bede makes it later), one Regulus, a Greek Monk, living at Patrae, a City of Achaia, by whom the relics of S. Andrew the Apostle were preserved and kept, about the year 370 (but according to Dempster, in the year 365, in his *Apparatus*, *p.* 64), was warned in a Vision by night (three nights before the Emperor Constantius came to the City with a purpose to translate these relics to Constantinople) to go to the Shrine in which these relics were kept, and to take out thereof the Arm-bone, three Fingers of the Right Hand, a Tooth, and one of the Lids of the Apostle's Knees, which he should carefully preserve, and carry with him to a Region towards the West, situate in the utmost parts of the world. Spottiswoode names the country *Albion*. Regulus, at first, troubled with the strangeness of the Vision, after a little time resolved to obey. So putting the relics in a little box, he went to sea, taking as partners with him Damianus, a Priest; Gelasius and Tubaculus, two Deacons; eight Hermits, and three devoted Virgins, whose names are expressed in sundry ancient Records. [*Fordun's Scotichronicon*, *lib. ii.*, *cap.* 59-61; *see them in Usher*, *p.* 656; *and the Liber Pasletensis*, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 47, *as cited by the MS. of the Bishops and Archbishops of St. Andrews.*]

After they had with much toil and hazard passed through the Mediterranean Sea, they coasted along France and Spain, and after long travel fell into the German Ocean, where they were long tossed with grievous tempests, till at last, by force of a storm, the Ship was driven into the Bay, near the place where St. Andrews now stands, and there split asunder on the rocks. But Regulus and his company were all brought safe to shore, having nothing left them but the relics, which they were careful above all things to preserve.

As to the Vision thus narrated, albeit Spottiswoode and Usher, two excellent Authors, lay small stress upon it, and the latter counts it no better than a Fable, yet neither of them, nor any other Author of credit, ever called in question or disproved Regulus' coming to this Kingdom and Place above named with S. Andrew's relics, nor the rest of the History in the other circumstances thereof; and our Writers, besides those formerly named, have borne testimony to the same, as *Hector Boethius, lib. vi., fol.* 108*; and Leslie, lib. iii. in Fethelmaco.* Buchanan, indeed, omits it; but his temper is known.



WEST END OF CATHEDRAL.

The fame of their arrival, and of the relics they had brought with them, being spread abroad, many of the Picts, in whose Kingdom they had settled, at the place now called St. Andrews, resorted to them—some for devotion, others for curiosity. And amongst others, Hergustus, King of the Picts for the time,

and who had then dominion of that part of the country, coming hither, when he had beheld the gravity and piety of the men, and the form of their Service, was so taken therewith that he settled a constant Abode for them in the same Place, and took order for their entertainment. The Place then was a forest for wild boars, and was called in the country language *Muckross, i.e.*, a *Land of Boars*, from *Muc* a *sow*, and *Ross* a *land* or *island*. Archbishop Usher mentions another Place of the same name, Muckross, which he derives from the British *Mock Rhos, porci locus*. [*Lib. de Britan. Eccles. primordiis, p.* 445.] This King changed the name of the place afterward into *Kilrymont, i.e., Cella Raimondi*, or, according to others, *Cella Regis in Monte*, or *Regmund*. [*Cambden's Britannia, fol.* 703.] Shortly after, Hergustus gave to Regulus and his company all the lands of that Forest, with all the men dwelling therein (says the MS.), and his own Palace (says Spottiswoode and Leslie); and near thereto erected a Church, the same whereof (with the Steeple yet entire) we see a part yet remaining on the south-east side of the ruined Cathedral (built many years after), called to this day the *Church of S. Rule;* of which place Dempster, in his *Apparat., p.* 62, says—"*Sti Andreae Fanum nobile est terra et mari convenarum emporium, commodo in Fifa situ conditum ab Hergusto Pictorum Regi, in gratiam Sti Reguli, nominatumque Kirkrewel, quasi Reguli templum, et a Pictis Regmund, vel Conrumunt.*" An old Memorial bears, that Oeng or Ung, King of the Picts, granted unto God and S. Andrew that it should be the Mother of all Churches in the Kingdom of the Picts. [*Cambden redevivus, p.* 119.]

Here did Regulus and his company abide, himself living thirty-two years after his arrival, serving God devoutly, and for their austerity of life were in great reputation with all men. The good and holy lives of Regulus, his companions, and their successors, living in Cells at S. Rule's Church, was the occasion, and proved the effectual means both for the kindly reception and good opinion, veneration, and entertainment of the Christian Religion and these Religious men, among that bloody, savage, and barbarous People, the Picts; and contributed to the recalling of the Scots in the time of King Fergus II., as some conjecture. After which, Religion began to thrive apace in both Kingdoms; for this Fergus II. being settled, and the minds of the Scots and Picts being calmed, and their animosities in some measure allayed by the Gospel and its precepts, he put all things in the Church and State in the former good order they had been in before the expulsion of the Scots, restoring the Churchmen to their places, and erecting for them a Religious House in the Isle Iona, now Icolmkill, the Seat of the Bishops of the Isles to this day, and endowed their Library with some books he had brought with him from Rome, at the sacking whereof he was present, under Alarik, King of the Goths. The famous Bede [*lib. iii., cap.* 4, *et lib. v., cap.*

10] ascribes the building of this Religious House to S. Columba, after the year 565.

For all we have said of the Picts' early Conversion, the same Bede [*Hist. Gent. Anglorum, lib. ii., cap.* 4] ascribes the Conversion of the South Picts to Ninian (a Briton he calls him), who lived not long after the arrival of Regulus, *i.e.*, near the end of the Fourth Century; and of the North Picts to S. Columba, in the year 565; at least, he Preached among them. And yet the same Author, in the last words of Chap. iii. of that Book, says—"*Picti Scotorum Monachis praedicantibus fidem Christi acceperunt.*"

The Place and Priests there at length acquired and long enjoyed a great veneration for their devotion, so that many came from foreign places to visit them and the sacred relics of S. Andrew, which were long here kept and preserved most carefully. One of those Pilgrims, at his being at the Place, left a *votiva tabula* hung up in the Church with these verses:—

Hic sinus iste Maris, male fertile littus, opima
  Transcendit patriae fertilitate loca.
Hic regio, prius orba, viret; paupercula pridem,
  Nunc dives; dudum foeda, decora modo.
Huc etenim veniunt orare remota tenentes
  Castra viri; patrio turba profecta solo.
Francus magniloquus, belli Normannus amator,
  Textor Flandrensis, Theutonicusque rudis,
Anglicus, Almannus, Hollandus, Pictavus expers
  Velleris; et caedis Andegavensis amans:
Qui Rhenum Rhodanumque bibunt, Tiberimque potentem,
  Andreae veniunt huc adhibere preces,
Nos quoque, si tantos inter modo nomen habemus,
  Venimus huc vecti prosperiore rota.

TRANSLATION.

This bay and shore of the sea, though rough and boisterous, contains a most fertile country; this region, once poor, foul, and desolate, is now rich, beautiful, and flourishing. Hither come to pray a crowd of men from the most distant regions—the loquacious Frenchman, the warlike Norman, the Flemish weaver, the uncivilized German, the Englishman, the Saxon, the Hollander, the naked Pict, the savage Angerian; and strangers from the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Tiber, come to seek the prayers of S. Andrew. We, too, if our humble names may be noticed among so many, have come to solicit the same favour.

ON S. RULE'S CHURCH.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. ROBERT SKINNER.

ALTHOUGH I have had abundant opportunities of acquiring the best information on this confessedly obscure subject—having constantly resided in St. Andrews for nearly ten years, I have some hesitation in offering this Paper to those who are interested in the matter.

The height of the Tower of this singular Church, from the true base (which lies four feet under the soil) to the summit, is 112 feet, while the Choir is only 31½ feet long. The Apse, the remains of which were lately laid open and again buried, was found to have been about 15 feet from west to east, which, with the Choir, stands upon a remarkably broad base with a broad chamfer. The breadth of the Choir internally is 19 feet 10 inches, and the Arch leading into the Apse is 25½ feet in height; while the Arch under the Tower, which was intended to connect the Choir and Nave, is 28 feet 2 inches. From the floor to the top of the Side Walls is 33 feet 7 inches, and to the apex of the original high pointed Roof, as shown by the grooves upon the Tower Wall, is 59 feet 5 inches. The floors of the Apse and the Choir (however unaccountable it may be) appear to have been on the same level. Internally the Apse itself is 13 feet 10 inches broad, and its Arch about 9 feet in width.

The Windows, of which there are four in the Choir, are extremely simple, and are Round-headed, the Arches being cut out of a single block. They are splayed boldly within and without, are placed at a considerable height from the floor, and measure, within the space for the glass, 6 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 8 inches.

This ancient Church, with all its disproportions, has, notwithstanding, a certain gracefulness about it, and for the excellence of the stone and masonry it may be said to be unequalled. Its position, too, before the erection of the existing Priory Wall, must have been very striking, standing as it does on the summit and centre of what must have been Kilrymont proper, of a remote age. Around this Church, or rather one which it displaced upwards of 700 years ago, probably stood the few scattered houses which formed the germ of the future Ecclesiastical Metropolis, then called in the Celtic language of the day *Kil-righ-monaidh*. That a Church of a former period stood on this site, is very probable, from the circumstance of so many sculptured Tomb-stones having been dug up in the surrounding soil, and particularly the famous *St. Andrews Sarcophagus*, which, from its structure, was evidently designed to lie on the floor of a Church.

Of the many difficulties connected with this ancient Church of S. Rule, the Tower presents the most formidable. That it was built about the close of the

Eleventh Century, most authorities concede; but whether it was originally designed to stand in connexion with the Chapel still attached to it, is a question. We may also fairly doubt whether we now behold the Tower in all its original integrity. I think from the evidence which I shall produce we have reason to believe that the builder of the Tower may have had at first no intention of connecting it with a Chapel, but that it was designed for a Campanile and place of security, like the Round Towers of Ireland, and those of Brechin and Abernethy. I have it on the authority of a learned Irish Antiquary that the *round* form of tower in England was gradually superseded by the *square* about the commencement of the Twelfth Century; and on a minute examination of the whole struc-

EAST END OF CATHEDRAL. S. RULE'S.

ture of S. Rule, the same gentleman and I both arrived at the conclusion, that the Tower had originally stood alone (for however short a time); that it was then solid from the base to the summit, with the exception of a low Door on the south side, and the Windows near the top. Such a lofty beautifully-proportioned Tower could never have been designed to stand in connexion with a Chapel of such dimensions. I would therefore humbly suggest, upon the well-founded supposition that the Tower was a solid Campanile, that Bishop Robert, the founder of the Priory of Canons Regular of St. Andrews about A.D. 1144, found the lofty Campanile too good a thing for that purpose only, and having boldly conceived the design, caused the east and west walls of the Tower to be slapped through, and bearing arches introduced to support the mass of walls left above them, designing to have a Nave on the west side and a Choir with Apse on the east,

connected by these Archways. Probably the resources of that Bishop were not so great as to admit of his laying the foundation of the Cathedral of which we have yet the ruins; hence the evident temporary character of the one we are now treating of, which might properly be called his *pro*-Cathedral. Had the whole of the present structure of S. Rule been built at the same time, we should doubtless have had the usual Lantern Tower for the centre, springing from four piers, and the whole cruciform. The Bishop, however, had soon good reason to regret his temerity, as the deviation of the courses of the masonry immediately above the Arches evidently caused them to be built up again, and the design of having a Church on the *western* side of the Tower was abandoned.

On the Capitular Seals [See Page 97], to a pretty late period, is to be found the representation of a Church; and if it be meant to represent S. Rule's, then certainly there must have been a Nave on the west of the Tower; but as the other evidence is against that idea, it must, I think, represent no particular one, but merely *a* Church. Besides, the Sextons (one of whom is very old) have never come upon the traces of walls in that direction in digging graves. Upon the whole, I have no doubt that preparations for a Nave had been commenced, and portions of the walls, now acting as buttresses on the north and south-west angles of the Tower, are evidences of it; but from what has been already said, and from the fact that the roof-mark on the Tower has never been finished to this day, the Nave could never have been completed and used for Divine Service; and that the walls referred to were no part of the Tower originally, is also certain, as I have myself seen that the chamfered basement of the Tower passes *behind* the said walls, which must therefore have been an afterthought. But as there are still some traces of a Porch or Vestibule within the walls of the western Archway now rebuilt (of Thirteenth Century work), I have reason to suppose that a building once existed there, but nothing like the Nave of a Church.

On the North and South Walls of the Chapel are several Crosses, variously and rudely formed, probably the work of the Freemasons who were engaged on the structure, or of pilgrims to S. Rule's Shrine; but indeed in the garden walls and houses of the residents in every street almost are to be found scores of Crosses of similar kinds, incised on stones which have been quarried from the numerous Ecclesiastical Edifices with which the ancient City once abounded. Thus we have really "sermons in stones," such signs teaching the Doctrine of the Passion in an age when very few could read or write; and others indicating the Doctrine of the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity. This latter symbol is very distinctly seen in connexion with a rune on the south side of the Tower. First we detect a faint initial Cross, followed by Runic letters from three to four inches long, representing (as a learned Norse scholar has told me)

Rulr ⋘ Sainr; in English, S. Rule; in Latin, Regulus Sanctus. This Inscription signifies the dedication of the Church to Regulus, one of the earliest Christian Missionaries, who came to St. Andrews about the age of the great Columba, and is very probably identical with Riagaile, Abbot of Mucinis, a Monastery in Lough Derg, on the borders of Galway, not more than twenty miles distant from the Abbacy of Agaboe, from whence, in the Sixth Century, came Cainich, another Missionary, who built (as the Annals of the Four Masters say) a Church at Kilrighmonaidh, in Alba, formerly the name of St. Andrews.

MARTINE ON S. RULE'S AND ON THE PRESENT CATHEDRAL.

S. Rule's Church, called *Vetus ecclesia*, the old Church, or *Vetus templum*, the old Temple, is a little but handsome antique Edifice. The walls yet stand, and, as is commonly believed, were built near the end of the Fourth Century, by Hergustus, King of the Picts, in S. Regulus' days. It is built of a good large freestone, bigger than any in the rest of the Buildings about the Monastery. The Chapel is built on the east of the Steeple, and struts and projects out upon it about two feet; which strutting, with the allowance of the thickness of the east gable of the Chapel, makes it to be in length without the wall 31½ feet, the breadth 25 feet; whereas, within walls, the length is only 26 feet and the breadth 20 feet. It is of good ashler work, and there are but 21 stones in the height, which yet will be near 31 feet. There are in it four Windows in the side walls, two to the south and two to the north, exactly corresponding and over against each other. The sole of each Window is about 12 feet from the ground; the height of the Window is about 5 feet, and breadth 1½ feet. The Chapel has a Door to the east, about 24 feet high, and has been above 9 feet wide. Just opposite to the east Door, in the body of the Steeple, is another Door on the west, of the same dimensions; but this last has been built up, and only a lesser Door and Entry left, 6 feet high and 4 broad. The Chapel has had at several times three Roofs, as appears by the raggling in the body of the Chapel eastward. It has been a Place extremely well contrived and fitted for Devotion and Religious Offices, and of old had a small neat Turret on the east gable, fallen long ago.

S. Rule's Steeple, commonly called the *Four-nooked Steeple*, stands close adjoining to the Chapel, making up the west gable thereof, built at or near the time the Chapel itself was built. It is a piece of notable architecture, and is an equilateral quadrangle, each side being 20 feet without. It is strongly built, 103 feet in height, and, since I remember, was well bound and strengthened with

great oak branders from the top near to the bottom, which are now gone and destroyed for some 30 feet down from the top, upon which stood of old a very sloping Spire, not high. This Steeple seems to have been of good esteem of old, for the Chapter had the same, with S. Rule's Chapel on the east and another Chapel on the west of the body of the Steeple (but one entire work therewith), for their *ensign armorial*, and had the icon of these three all joined in one body upon their Common Seal, without anything beside but a pot or cornucopia, some mullets and flourishing; and the circumscription was, *Sigillum ecclesiae Sti Andreae Apostoli in Scotia.* [See opposite Page.] From the figure of the Seal, and the print and graving on it, and the raggling on the body of the Steeple, it is evident and certain that there was also a little Church on the west side of the Steeple, close and contiguous thereto, but lesser, lower, and shorter than S. Rule's Chapel, and steeper in the Roof; so that the Steeple stood in the middle, between two Chapels (all being one continued work), S. Rule's on the east and this other on the west, which is now quite demolished, and nothing known thereof but that it hath been; and it was much higher than that Chapel of S. Rule on the east of the Steeple; and it had to the west a pretty Turret, with a Door to the south, beside the west Entry. The Steeple itself is yet in good case, except as to the binding branders above mentioned, which of late are much decayed, yea and sacrilegiously embezzled. [This building is now (1797) in the same state as described by the Author, and is a very curious piece of architecture. It was of late fresh pointed, and had the staircase and binding beams within it repaired, so that it seems now to be in better case than when Mr. Martine wrote.—*Editor of Martine's Reliquiae Divi Andreae.*]

The Cathedral Church, called sometimes the *New Church*, or the *Conventional Church* (as in the Manuscript Book of the Bishops and Archbishops of St. Andrews), was built about 40 paces from this Steeple, towards the north-west. This Church was first founded by Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews, descended of the house of Arnot (an honourable and ancient Family in Fife), about the middle of the Twelfth Century [1162], and was called *Kilrewle* in the time and presence of King Malcolm IV., and was in building the time of fourteen Bishops, not being finished till Bishop Lamberton's time, who, in the year 1318, completed the work, and Dedicated the Church with great solemnity, giving the same day to the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews the Churches of Dairsie and Abercromby. So the Church was 160 years in building; and considering the time it was demolished, viz., 11th June, 1559, it stood entire 240 years; and from the foundation to the razing thereof (occasioned by a Sermon of John Knox against idolatry, preached at Crail to a giddy lawless multitude) was just 400 years.

There goes a Tradition that there were collections made for this work not

only through the most parts of Europe, but also that many of the Canons were Artizans, especially Masons, and wrought at the work, which was no ways inconsistent with their Office; for Pope Pelagius *monachis haec tria attribuit, quietem, orationem, et laborem manuum.* [*Duaren. de S. Eccles. Min., p.* 87.]

[The above Seals are nearly identical, and are Capitular. They represent the Church of S. Rule with a Stone Roof. The one on the left hand has the Inscription SIGILL ECLESIE SANCTI ANDREE APOSTOLI IN SCOCIA—The Seal of the Church of Saint Andrew the Apostle in Scotland. The I and two Ls are conjoined, and look like an H P. At the lower part of this Seal are three Semicircles interlaced, emblematic of the Three Persons in One Godhead. On each side of the central Tower are different Crosses, the one above the Roof of the Nave of the Church being a S. Andrew's Cross, and the one above the Chancel being a Cross Pateé. There is also a Cross Maltese below this, immediately above the apex of the Gable. Above, on the same side of the Seal, is an Estoile or Star. On the left side, opposite, is a Right Hand held out from the Tower, with the fingers folded in the act of Benediction. Above the Hand is a Crescent.—The Seal on the right side of the page has the Inscription SIGILLUM CAPITULI SANCTI ANDRIÆ—The Seal of the Chapter of Saint Andrews. The Tower has foliage on either side, and in the lower part there is a Vase with foliage.]

This Church, while it stood and was entire, had five Pinnacles, and a great Steeple on the top of the Church. Of these Pinnacles, two stood on the west gable, where was an Entry to the Church, and were pretty and handsome, joined by a Vault or Pend, till they surmounted the Roof of the Church, and then they

divided into two little neat Steeples. One of these fell about years ago, immediately after the people, coming from a Burial, had passed by under it, but without any skaith or hurt to any person in any kind. The other stands yet entire, and with a small expense might be secured for ages to come. They were in height from the ground 100 feet. In the east part of that which yet stands, which is the southmost of the two, are to be seen Doors, to which they ascend by little narrow stairs within the body, the Doors serving as issues therefrom to so many Galleries in the wall of the Church, after the form of the Church of Holyroodhouse.

Upon the East gable of the Cathedral Church, which is yet entire, there stand two other Pinnacles or Turrets, joined also in the body by a Vault or Pend, which served as an East Light to the Church, till they also overtop the Roof, and then dividing into two, they ascend into two several Spires or Pyramids; they are yet entire, and are in height from the ground 100 feet. On the west side of these are also to be seen three Doors in each, for Entries to the foresaid little Galleries, that were upon the inner walls of the Church, which stood upon the inner Ranges or Rows of Pillars, 16 feet within the outmost side walls. Of these Pillars, sixteen were on each side.

At the place where the main and cross Church met there were four Pillars which were greater than the rest, something easterly of the middle of the Church. Upon these great Pillars stood the chief Steeple of the Church, erected a great deal larger and higher than any of the rest; but that and the Walls of the Church, and the Pillars whereupon it stood being totally demolished, no account can be given either of the height or figure thereof, only the foundations of the Pillars yet appear, and are easily discerned.

The last Steeple, Turret, or Pinnacle belonging to and upon the Church, stood upon the south gable of the cross Church; but it is quite defaced, having fallen years ago. The foundation is easily discerned by the rubbish and holes in the ground where the foundations of the Pillars were.

The Figure of the Church was a Cross, that is, a main Church standing east and west, and a cross Church nearer the east end than the west, both joined to make one Church; and when it was in its integrity, was covered with copper, and set extremely well off at a distance when the sun shone.

For the Dimensions of the Cathedral Church, take them as follows. The full length of the main Church, from the east gable to the west gable, including the thickness of both, is 370 feet of English measure. The length of that part of the South Wall yet standing, which comes no farther than to the side of the cross Church from the west, is 200 feet—the just length of the Parish Churchyard Dyke, standing in the middle of the Town. The length of the cross Church

from south to north is 180 feet. The breadth of the main Church between the two ranges of Pillars is 30 feet, and betwixt South and North Side Walls, including Pillars and all betwixt them, is 65 feet.

The Cathedral Church was well furnished with many fair, great, and excellent Bells, which at the razing of the Church were taken down and put aboard of a Ship to be transported and sold. But it is reported, and certainly believed in this Place, that the Ship which carried off the Bells sunk in a fair day, within sight of the Place where the Bells formerly hung.

The Cathedral was Burnt casually anno 1378 [Boethius says, by a jackdaw carrying a burning twig to its nest], and was Repaired by Sir Stephen Pay, the fifteenth Prior, *in tecturis, opere lapideo ligno et plumbeo. Item: hic reedificavit duas columnas ex australi parte ecclesiae juxta Altaria Sancti Michaelis et Laurentii.* [The state of these Ruins of the Cathedral at present (1797) seems to be much altered. The stones (some of which are very soft) are greatly mouldered, and many of them quite demolished. The three Pinnacles, viz., the two on the east end and one on the west, are the most entire, the stones with which they are built being of a harder and closer texture than those of the other parts of the Building. The South Wall of the Nave is also pretty entire. The East Gable is much mouldered, and in a few years will probably fall. The general appearance of the remains of this large Building makes a curious contrast with the entire Steeple of S. Rule's which stands beside it, and which is vastly more than twice as old. S. Rule's Steeple is built of a much harder and more compact stone than the Cathedral, and the Masonry is also much better. The Architecture of S. Rule's is not Gothic, the Arches above the Doors and Windows being uninterrupted Semicircles.—*Editor of Martine's Reliquiae Divi Andreae.*]

Upon the west of the Church there stood a Lycaeum, where the famous Scotus' quodlibets were taught. [No vestige of this Building now remains.—*Editor Rel. Divi Andreae.*]

PRESENT STATE OF THE RUINS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

The Ruins stand in a broad green sward. Towards the Sea is the fortified Wall (having *mœnia* and *muri*) built by Prior Hepburn, with Towers and Niches, from which the French Gunners turned their Cannon on the Castle of Cardinal Beaton. "The Golden Gate" of the Abbey (upon which can be traced the Reforming Flames of 1559)—Early Decorated, plain but good, termed "the Pends"—stands at the west end of the Cathedral. The solitary south-western Turret, terminating

in an octagonal Lantern Pinnacle, with a Round-headed Window, 100 feet high; the west side of the south Transept, and the south wall of the Nave, with fourteen Windows, still remain. Great part of the Nave of twelve Bays, 200 feet by 62 feet, was completed in 1279. The Choir of five Bays, 98 feet by 33 feet long; the Transept, 160 feet long; and three Bays of the Nave, were completed in 1271. The Transept had an eastern Aisle. The Presbytery, west wall of the south Transept, four Bays of the south Aisle, and the wall of the Nave west of the crossing, are Transitional Norman. The other eight Bays to the west, the west Door, and the Chapter House southward of the south Transept, are Pure

TRANSEPT, SOUTH NAVE, AND WEST TURRET.

Early English. The six westermost Lights of the south Nave Aisle are Pointed; those remaining are Round-headed. The Great West Door is of five Orders, with the Dog-tooth Moulding. Above it is an Arcade of eight Trefoiled Arches, with three Trefoiled Circles in the head. The south Aisle and Turret are Arcaded. The East End, founded 1162, has three Round-headed Windows over the High Altar. Above them was a similar Window with Trefoiled Tracery, and of three Lights, under a Pointed Arch.

All that remain of this Metropolitan Church are the east Gable, part of the west Front, the Wall on the south side of the Nave, and that of the west side of the South Transept. In this last may be seen the remains of some interlaced

Arches, and the ruins of the Steps by which the Monks descended from the Dormitory to the Church to perform their midnight Services.

Not a Monument remains of any one of the Archbishops or Bishops who presided over this See. The "Reformers" did not even spare the graves of the mighty dead: their rings, croziers, golden crosses, and chalices, as well as the costly official vestments which enshrined their corpses in leaden coffins, were all sacrilegiously pillaged. The most *extraordinary visitations*, "unto the third and fourth generation," have ever befallen those who have meddled with Persons and Things Dedicated to the Service of God.—*Ps. lxxiv., cv.* 15.

MARTINE ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE BISHOPRICK FROM ABERNETHY TO ST. ANDREWS.

While the Kingdom and Nation of the Picts continued, both the Metropolis of the Country and the chief Church among them were then at Abernethy [now a small village in Strathearn]. [*Fordun's Scotichronicon, lib. iv., cap.* 12.] The Collegiate Church there was dedicated to Brigida, or S. Bride (of old the Saint of the Douglasses), who Died at Abernethy about 518. But when Kenneth II., King of Scots, in a just revenge of his Father King Alpine's Death (killed and butchered by the Picts), had totally subdued and finally extinguished that people, and the Kingdom had fallen to him by the right of conquest, like a pious and brave Prince he gave another face to the Church, giving it a greater outward splendour than former ages had seen, and Translated the Episcopal See from Abernethy to the *Church of S. Rule*, and ordained it from thence to be called the Church of S. Andrew, and the Bishop thereof "*Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*," *i.e., the Principal Bishop of Scotland*, causing Churches, Chapels, Oratories, with their Priests, and all sorts of Religious Men, to be held in great reverence; and this towards the middle of the Ninth Century, about the year 840. [*Says Dempster in his "Apparat." from Roger Hovedun.*] And adds, "*Mansitque is antistes in praecipuo honore poene* 300 *annis, et dicebatur* Maximus Scotorum Episcopus; which honour was not new to the See, for it had enjoyed the same long before: witness *Camden, in fol. p.* 703, where he cites "*Antiquae Schedae, in quibus legitur, Oengus sive Ungus Rex Pictorum Sto Andreae dedit ut esset caput et mater ecclesiarum in regno Pictorum.*"

It is observable, that the Kings, Scotch and Pictish, for the most part were very favourable to the Church, and to Religious Men; particularly Hungus, King of the Picts, bestowed upon the Church of St. Andrews (as a token of his gratitude and thankfulness to God for a Victory over Athelstane, King of the

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West Saxons, near Haddington, being then in a great state; though others more probably say, that this Athelstane was a Dane, who had Northumberland granted to him by King Alured, in the Reign of Achaius, King of Scotland) great and rich gifts, as *Chalices, Basins, the Image of Christ in Gold, and of the Twelve Apostles in Silver, and a Case of Gold for preserving the Relics of S. Andrew;* and restored to the Spirituality the Tithes of all corn and cattle within his Realms; exempting Churchmen from answering before temporal judges. He then also appointed *S. Andrew's Cross* to be the cognizance of the Picts in their wars, and otherwise; and upon the extermination of that Kingdom and People, the Scots assumed it, and use it to this day. But his (King Ungus') Successor, Feredith, King of the Picts, about the year 800, bare a heavy hand upon the Church, spoiled her Rents, and took away her Ornaments; for which the judgment of God overtook him and his successors and his people, under Drusken their King, a few years after.

By the Kingdoms being enlarged, and the Scots acquiring the whole Realm of the Picts, the Church received a farther extension in bounds, and therewith an addition of more wealth and state, a better fixing, and from that time a clearer succession in her Rulers and Officers, though as yet the Kingdom was not divided into Dioceses, nor our Bishops otherwise distinguished nor named, but were only called *Scotorum Episcopi;* he at St. Andrews being *Episcopus maximus.* This administration of the Church lasted till the time of Malcolm III., who first divided the Realm into Dioceses, appointing every Bishop the limits of his jurisdiction, at which time Bishops came to have special designations in Scotland; and then to the Bishop of St. Andrews was committed the oversight of Fife, Lothian, Merse, Stirlingshire, Angus, and the Mearns; and, at the same time, Malcolm III. gave to the See of St. Andrews the Lordship of Monymusk, upon the occasion of his Vow, at the Town of Monymusk, to S. Andrew, the Titular Saint and Patron of the Scots. [*Buch., lib. viii., p.* 213. *Impress. Ultrajecti,* 1688.]

RANK AND TITLES OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

The Archbishops of St. Andrews, independent of their being Primates of all Scotland, and exercising an immediate Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over eight Dioceses, were "Lords of Regality" over three extensive Districts. A Lord of Regality had a free jurisdiction within himself, and was not subject to the Sheriff. The first of these was Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, of which the Marquis of Huntly was Hereditary Bailie, and who paid to the See an annual Feu-duty of £300 Scots. The second was Kirkliston, in Linlithgowshire, which extended

over the whole of the Diocese south of the River Forth. Of this the Earls of Winton, and latterly the Lairds of Hopetoun, were Hereditary Bailies. The third was St. Andrews, which included the Counties of Fife, Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine; and of which the Learmonths of Dairsey, and latterly the Earls of Crawford, were Hereditary Bailies. These Regalities comprehended only certain Parishes, Superiorities, and Feu-farms, which lay within the above Counties, from which the Archbishop drew a Revenue, and over which he exercised a temporal Jurisdiction; his Bailies representing him in his absence.

Such was the *Civil* Division of the Archbishop's Jurisdiction; but in regard to the *Spiritual* Division of his Diocese, it consisted, before the disjunction of the See of Edinburgh, of two Archdeaconries, viz., those of St. Andrews and Lothian; of nine Rural Deaneries, presided over by their respective Officials; and 245 Parishes. In Provincial Councils he took his seat next to Abbots and Priors of Monasteries. This Dignitary was first Peer of the Kingdom, ranked next the Royal Family in Scotland, and took precedence accordingly. He Crowned the Sovereigns. He was constant Chancellor of the University, and could confer Degrees *ad libitum*. He was Legate of the Apostolic See, *i.e.*, Vicar of the Pope. *Legatus a latere* was one sent direct from the Papal Court. *Legatus natus* was one so born, by privilege of rank, or possessions, or benefices. His Titles were Lord of the Lordship and Priory of St. Andrews, Lord Keig and Monymusk, Lord Kirkliston, Lord Dairsey, Lord Monimail, Lord Scotscraig, Lord Tyningham, Lord Byrehills, Lord Polduff, Lord Bishopshire, Lord Muckhartshire, Lord Stow, Lord Angus, Lord Little Preston. He had Palaces at Stow, Linlithgow, Kinghorn, and Inchmurtach; and Houses of an inferior description at Torrie, Dairsey, Monimail, Muckart, Kettins, Linton, and Monymusk. Within his own above-mentioned Regalities, the Archbishop was supreme Judge in almost all Civil and Criminal Cases; and, in his own Consistorial Court of St. Andrews, he had exclusive jurisdiction in whatever related to wills, marriage, divorce, alimony, adultery, scandal, perjury, etc. He had the right, within his bounds, to appropriate all escheats of goods and forfeited property; to coin money, and levy Custom-house duties on wool, hides, skins, flesh, fish, and other goods within the City and Territory of St. Andrews; and also the whole of the *cocket-duty*, part of which had before been received by the King. The power and privilege of *Admiralty* belonged to the Archbishop, who had the power of issuing and directing *cockets*, *i.e.*, safe-conducts or passes to all ships outward bound from Ports within his Jurisdiction. The Cocket Seal had on one side the King's Arms, with his circumscription, and on the other side S. Andrew bearing his Cross, with the circumscription SIGILLUM COQUETAE STI ANDREAE. Finally, the Archbishop was perpetual Moderator and President of all National Synods, and Patron of 131

Benefices; and before the "Reformation," no Abbot or Prior within the limits of his extensive Diocese could be appointed, without his sanction and confirmation. In respect to the Archbishop's Jurisdiction within the walls of the City, the Provost and Bailies could not act without his permission. Every Burgess, on being admitted to his rights, was obliged to swear allegiance to him, as well as to the King; and to pay him a small sum annually, under the name of "Homage-money." On the other hand, the Archbishop took an oath, that "he would maintain and defend the Provost, Bailies, and Council, and the whole inhabitants of the City, the town, lands, liberties, and estate, by law, at Court, Council, Session, and Justice, in all their honest actions and causes." [*Lyon's Hist., vol. ii.*]

REVENUES OF THE SEE.

It is not easy to determine these with accuracy, as they arose from various sources, and differed considerably at different times. In the Thirteenth Century they amounted to about £40,000 of our money. In December, 1561, an Act of the Privy Council commanded all the Prelates of Scotland to give in a Return of their Revenues, in order that one-third might be deducted from them. Archbishop John Hamilton gave in his at about £3000 Scots in Money, and 139 chalders of Grain, which would amount to nearly as much more. This, though more than the same sum in Sterling money now, was in all probability below what it even then was, considering that it was the Primate's interest to give in as diminished a Return as possible.

The history of this Property may be given in brief as follows. After the Murder of Archbishop Hamilton, the Earl of Morton obtained a grant of it, and put into the See a "*Tulchan Bishop*," through whom he might more conveniently draw the yearly income. On the passing of the "Annexation Act" in 1587, it fell to the Crown, which immediately conferred it on the favourite Duke of Lennox. In 1606, on the re-establishment of Episcopacy, James VI. recovered the Property from the Duke of Lennox, and restored it to the See. During the Great Rebellion, the University of St. Andrews obtained a grant of it, subject to some deductions. At the Restoration, it was once more applied to its legitimate destination,—the Principals of the University receiving certain annual pensions out of it till an equivalent was provided from other sources. Finally, at the Revolution, in common with all other Diocesan Property in Scotland, the Revenue lapsed to the Crown, which has as much right to it as I have. [*Ibid.*]

BISHOPS OF THE SEE OF ST. ANDREWS.

The first Fifteen Bishops of this See are variously related, according to the Catalogues of the following Writers:—

I.—ACCORDING TO FORDUN.

1. Fothad I.
2. Kellach I.
3. Malisius I.
4. Kellach II.
5. Malmore.
6. Malisius II.
7. Aluinus.
8. Malduinus, son of Gilander.*
9. Tuchald.
10. Fothad II.,† } who all Died Elect.
11. Gregorius, }
12. Cathre, }
13. Edmarus, }
14. Godricus, }
15. Turgotus. 1109.
16. Eadmerus. 1117.
17. Robertus. 1122.

Electus est Robertus Prior de Scona in Episcopum ad instantiam Regis Alexandri I. et terram, quae Cursus Apri dicitur, quae ab Ecclesia Sti Andreæ ablata fuerat, ex integro restituit, ea conditione, ut inibi constitueretur religio, ut per Regem Alexandrum præordinatum fuerat, et per regium equum Arabicum, cum proprio fraeno et sella, opertum pallio grandi et pre-

Robert, Prior of Scone, was Elected Bishop at the instance of King Alexander I.; and the land, which is called the "Boar's Chase," which had been taken away from the Church of St. Andrews, he entirely restored, on this condition, that Religion should there be fixed, as had before been ordained by King Alexander, and that, by witness of the Royal Arabian Steed, with

* "According to *Tighernac*, Maelduin, son of Gilla-Odhran, Bishop of Alba, and the glory of the Clergy of the Gaedhill, rested in Christ A.D. 1055. *The Four Masters* have an Obit similar to the one cited. This agrees with Fordun; but Ruddiman's dates, 1034-1061, appear incorrect." [*Rev. Dr. Reeves' Life of S. Columba, p.* 400.]

† "Fothudh, archiepiscopus Alban, in Christo quievit, A.D. 1093." This seems to be the *Fothadth* whom Fordun represents as tenth Bishop of St. Andrews. [*Ibid, p.* 400.]

tioso, cum scuto et lancea argentea, quæ nunc est hasta crucis. Quæ omnia praecepit rex coram magnatibus terræ, usque ad altare adduci, et de prædictis libertatibus et consuetudinibus regalibus, ecclesiam investiri fecit et saisiri. Quam donationem David frater ejus, tunc comes, ibi præsens affirmavit. Consecratus fuit idem a Thurstino Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, sine professione, salva utriusque Ecclesiæ dignitate, Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate. Stetit electus per biennium. Consecratus stetit 35 annis; et sic electus et Episcopus stetit 37 annis.—Alibi sic reperi scriptum: stetit electus per biennium, et consecratus stetit 32 annis. Et sic electus et consecratus stetit 34 annis, et obiit A.D. 1159, et sepultus est in antiqua ecclesia Sti Andreæ, tempore Malcomi regis.

appropriate bridle and saddle, covered with a grand and costly pall, with shield and silver lance, the shaft of which is now converted into a Cross. All which the King commanded to be brought before the great ones of the land, even to the Altar, and caused the Church to be invested and infefted both according to foresaid freedoms and Royal customs: which gift his brother David, then an Earl, being there present, affirmed. The same [Robert] was Consecrated by Thurstin, Archbishop of York, without profession [of subjection], saving the dignity of each Church and the authority of the Apostolic See. He remained *Elected* two years. Being Consecrated, he remained 35 years; and thus, Bishop-Elect and Bishop-Consecrated, he stood 37 years. Elsewhere, thus I have found it written: He continued for two years Elect, and he remained Consecrated 32 years; and so, Elect and Consecrated, he was Bishop 34 years, and Died A.D. 1159, and was Buried in the ancient Church of St. Andrews, in the time of King Malcolm.

The above Ceremony and Sepulture took place in the *old Church of S. Regulus*, as the Cathedral Church did not commence to be built till the following year, by Bishop Arnold. The famous district of land called the *Boar's Chase* comprehended the modern Parishes of St. Andrews, St. Leonard's, Denino, Cameron, and Kemback. Boethius narrates that a Boar, or *Muck*, of immense size, after making terrible destruction of men and cattle, and having been often pursued, was at length captured and slaughtered, when trying to escape, probably, across the district called *Boar Hills*. The tusks of "Muck" were afterwards attached with silver chains to the Choir Seats of the Cathedral in 1520: these teeth were 16 inches long and 4 broad. The Arms of the City of St. Andrews, viz., a Boar tied to a tree, probably arose

from the *Chase*. The Motto is, "Regalis cursus apri"—*the royal run of the wild boar;* and the Legend, "Sigill commune civitatis Sancti Andree"—*the Common Seal of the Burgh of St. Andrews.*"

II.—ACCORDING TO ANDREW WYNTOUN.

1. Kellauch.
2. Foudauche.
3. Malyss.
4. Kellauch II.
5. Malyss II.
6. Malmoir.
7. Alwyne.
8. Makdowny Makgillanderis.
9. Tualda.
10. Fotauche.
11. Turgot.
12. Robert.

III.—ACCORDING TO SIR JAMES BALFOUR.

1. Sfothad.
2. Kellach I.
3. Kellach II.
4. Malisius.
5. Malisius Albuinus.
6. Malduinus *al.* Tuthaldus.
7. Sfothad II.
8. Gregorius.
9. Catharus.
10. Edumerus.
11. Godricus.
12. Turgotus.
13. Edumerus.
14. Robert.

IV.—ACCORDING TO VET. CHRON. PUBLISHED BY FATHER INNES.

1. Kellach, . . in the time of King Constantine III.
2. Fothach, . . — King Duff.
3. Mælbrigid *al.* Malisius, — King Culen.
4. Cellach, fil. Ferdulaig, — King Culen.

V.—ACCORDING TO ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE.

1. Hadrianus.
2. Kellach I.
3. Malisius I.
4. Kellach II., son of Ferlegus.
5. Malmore.
6. Malisius II.
7. Alwinus.
8. Malduinus, son of Gilander.
9. Tuthaldus.
10. Fothadus.
11. Gregorius.
12. Edmundus.
13. Turgotus.
14. Godricus.
15. Eadmerus.
16. Robert.

So are they ranked in all the printed Copies; but in my [*Keith's*] MS. of this History, Godrick is set before Turgot.

VI.—ACCORDING TO SIR ROBERT SIBBALD.

1. Adrian, killed by the Danes, was Buried in the Isle of May, A.D. 872.

2. Kellach, sat 4 years, Constantine III. being King.

3. Malisius, sat 8 years, Gregory the Great being King.

4. Kellach II., son of Ferlegus, sat 35 years, A.D. 904.

5. Malmore.

6. Malisius II.

7. Alwinus, sat 3 years.

8. Malduin, the son of Gilander.

9. Tuthaldus.

10. Fothadus *al.* Fodanus, under Malcolm II., Consecrated A.D. 954.

11. Gregorius, sat 2 years, and Died, Malcolm III. being King.

12. Turgot, Prior of Durham, sat 25 or 26 years.

13. Godericus, who Anointed King Edgar A.D. 1093; Died 1107.

14. Eadmerus, a Monk of Canterbury, King Alexander I. Reigning.

15. Robert, Prior of Scone, Elected 1103, Died 1158. He Founded the Priory of St. Andrews. He is sometimes designed "*Robertus, Dei gratia, Sti Andreæ humilis minister*"—Robert, by the favour of God, an humble Minister of St. Andrews; sometimes "*Sti Andreæ Episcopus*"—Bishop of St. Andrews; and sometimes "*Scotorum Episcopus*"—Bishop of the Scots. And after the same manner are the undernamed Arnold, Richard, Roger, and William Malvoisin entitled.

VII.—ACCORDING TO THOMAS RUDDIMAN.*

1. Kellach was Bishop before 892 or 893, in which year King Gregory Died. This Bishop held a Provincial Council

* Bishop Keith says—"I have added here all along Mr. Ruddiman's Chronological Notes, as being far preferable to any other; as indeed his learned and excellent criticisms, concerning these first Bishops, are all well worth every man's perusal who understands the Latin tongue; for which *vide Præfat. ad Diplom. et Numism. Scotiæ, p.* 19."

under King Constantine III. in 906. [At this Council, the King, the Bishop, and the Scottish Nation swore to observe the Laws and Discipline of the Faith, and the rights of the Churches and the Gospels. From this circumstance the *little hill* near Scone, where this Council sat, was called *Collis Credulitatis*, *i.e.*, *the Hill of Faith.*] When he Died is uncertain.

2. Fothad I. Nor is it certain what year he came to be Bishop; but King Indulfus deprived him in the first year of his Reign, *i.e.*, in 952; and he Died in the first or second year of King Duffus, *i.e.*, A.D. 961 or 962. [In 961, *the Bishop of the Isles of Alba* was a "*Scribe*," and in 978 a "*Scribe and Bishop*." Fothadh, son of Bran, Scribe and Bishop, of Insi-Alban, Died.—*Four Masters.*]

3. Malisius, Elected some time in the Reign of King Duffus, was 8 years in the See, and Died while Culen was King, about 970.

4. Kellach II., the son of Ferdlag, was chosen Bishop about 971, and Confirmed by the Pope. He possessed the See 25 years, and Died about 996.

5. Malisius II. and
6. Malmore, } from 996 till 1031.

7. Alwinus, from 1031 to 1034.

8. Maldwin, from 1034 to 1061.

9. Tuthaldus, from 1061 to 1065. [In the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, this Bishop is named Tuadal.—*Keith.*]

10. Fothald, from 1065 to 1077. [And this Bishop is there (in the *Reg. Prior. St. And.*) named Modath, the son of Malmykal. But I choose to set down the words of the Register:— [*Keith.*]

Malduinus Episcopus Sti Andreæ contulit ecclesiam de Markinch, cum tota terra, honorifice et devote, Deo et Sancto Servano, et Keledeis de insula Lochlevin, cum præfata libertate [qualem sciz. libri compilator supra descripserat, says Mr. Ruddiman]. Tuadal Episcopus Sti Andreæ contulit ecclesiam de Sconyn præfatis viris religiosis, devote et integre, cum omni libertate

Maldwin, Bishop of St. Andrews, bestowed the Church of Markinch, with the whole of its land, honourably and devoutly, on God and S. Serf, and to the Culdees of the Island of Lochleven, with the foresaid liberty [such as the Compiler of the Register had described before, says Mr. Ruddiman]. Tuadal, Bishop of St. Andrews, bestowed the Church of Scoonie on the

et honore pro suffragiis orationum. Item Modath alius Malmykell, vir pissimæ recordationis, Episcopus Sti Andreæ, cujus vita et doctrina tota regio Scotorum feliciter est illustrata, contulit Deo et S. Servano, et Keledeis heremitis apud insulam Lochlevin, in schola virtutum, ibidem degentibus, devote et honorifice, et ecclesiam de Huckendorath, &c.

foresaid Religious men, devoutly and entirely, with all liberty and honour, for the benefit of their prayers. Also, Modath, son of Malmykel, a man of most pious memory, Bishop of St. Andrews, by whose life and learning the whole Kingdom of the Scots is happily made famous, bestowed on God and S. Serf, and the Culdee hermits on the Island of Lochleven, dwelling there in the school of virtue, with honour and devotion, the Church of Auchterderran, &c.

11. Gregory,
12. Catharus,
13. Edmarus,
14. Godricus,

Bishops Elect, but all of them Died before they were Consecrated, from 1077 to 1107.

15. Turgot was Bishop from 1107 to 1115. He was Consecrated Bishop of St. Andrews by Thomas, Bishop of York, in 1109, and Died at Durham, 31st March, 1115 [*Chron. Melros.*], whither he had got liberty to retire for the recovery of his health, which they say was much impaired through misunderstandings betwixt the King and him. [*Simeon Dunelm.*]

The See vacant till

16. Eadmerus (1120), a Monk of Canterbury in England, was sent for by King Alexander I., and Elected Bishop; but because the King would not consent to his Consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he returned back to his own Country. [See a large Account of this affair, written by Eadmerus himself, in his *Historia Novorum*, and Published by Selden, B. v. p. 130, &c.—*Keith.*] Another Authority says he was Consecrated Bishop of this See, 1120. [*Chron. Melros.*]

17. Robert, Prior of the Augustinian Monastery of Scone (1115), was *Elected* 1122 ["in February, 1124," *Principal Lee's MS. Notes;* "early in 1124," *Grub, I.* 217], but not *Consecrated* till 1128 (if we can give credit to the continuator of Florentius Vigorniensis), by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, though without any profession of subjection to that See. [See the Charter of King David I., recorded in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, concern-

ing this Bishop's Consecration by Thurstan, Archbishop of York; and *Anglia Sacra, vol. ii., p.* 237; and see a Carta by this Bishop among the Papers belonging to the Cathedral Church of Durham, 1127; and another in 1150, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.—*Keith.*] Yet Fordun says, that he was Consecrated two years after his Election, that is, 1125.

VIII.—CATALOGUE OF THE BISHOPS OF THE SEE OF ST. ANDREWS.

I. Adrian. *Cir.* A.D. 870.

The reader will first turn to Page 83—*S. Adrian's Advent.* He is said to have resided for some time in a Cave at Caiplie, near Anstruther. His Altar is still pointed out within the Cave, which is well worthy of a visit for the curious marks with which it is inscribed, and for the petrifactions of unusual size (two feet in diameter), which are to be seen on the shore when the tide is out. The under portion of S. Adrian's Stone Coffin is erroneously imagined to be in the Churchyard of Anstruther Wester, and its corresponding portion to be on the Island of May: the former is said to have floated across, a distance of ten miles, beset with a rough passage! I visited the May in June, 1865, in a fishing boat, starting at six o'clock A.M., with the usual necessary "*accompaniments*" for all such voyages, and held Divine Service in the Lighthouse, I believe for the first time, according to the forms of the Church of England. After surveying all the Lighthouse and the higher grounds, I proceeded to examine S. Adrian's Coffin, lying uncared for among nettles and odorate earth, at the Altar or *North-East End* within the Priory Chapel, which is not built East and West. The Coffin here is not of the same kind of stone, size, colour, nor shape as the *under half* of *a* Stone Coffin now set up ignobly on its end, outside, in the South corner of the Tower of West Anster Church, beside a lot of rotten sticks and disabled implements, and which bears marks of having been used not unfrequently to do the office of a cutler. This Coffin, without top or lid, belonged probably

to some of the Religious of the Priory of Pittenweem—one mile distant—brought to be buried at the Parish Church of Anstruther, Consecrated by Bishop Bernhame of St Andrews, iii. Kal. Julii, 1243. The Coffin within S. Ethernan's Chapel on the May (which, on first sight, looks very desolate, like some roofless barn, quite near the landing-place of the commodious natural Harbour), is likewise an *under half*, without top or lid,—not so long or perfect as the under half in the Churchyard of Anstruther Wester. S. Adrian had no use for two Stone Coffins, nor can one and the same Coffin have two *under* halves; and, as there is nothing corresponding in shape or otherwise with the different Sarcophagi at Anstruther and on the May, the tradition as to the *Stone-float* to the "Toun of Maggie Lauder" may (without breach of the Faith) be rejected as a *Myth*.

In the Reign of James IV. a Charter of some lands was granted to Andrew Wood of Largo, "for that service, that he being skilful in pyloting, should be ready upon the King's call to pylot and convey the King and Queen in a visit to S. Adrian's Chapel."

II. Kelloch I. *Cir.* A.D. 890.

III. Fothad I. *Cir.* A.D. 930.

The exact Date of his accession to the See cannot be certified. Fordun and Wyntoun both notice that King Indulf banished him from the See in the first year of his Reign, and that he was exiled eight years. Wyntoun observes that this Bishop encased a Copy of the Gospels in a casket plated with silver, which, at the time he wrote (about A.D. 1390), stood at the North End of the High Altar of the Cathedral Church. During his Episcopate, Parishes began to be formed in Scotland, and Tithes to be paid to the Clergy, and in his time the Culdees of S. Serf at Lochleven, and their Abbot, Ronan, made over their Monastery to the Bishop of S. Andrews, on condition that he would supply them with food and raiment. He gave his full Benediction to all who should observe the treaty entered into between him and the Culdees, and his Malediction to all who should infringe it. He Died n the Reign of Duff, in 962.

IV. Malisius I., *or* Maelbright, *or* Maelbrigid. A.D. 962-970.

This Bishop was a disciple of the Irish Saint Duthac, who is said to have prophesied that his pupil would one day rise to the highest Ecclesiastical dignity in Scotland. He lived in the Reign of Kenneth III.

V. Kelloch II. A.D. 971-996.

He was the son of Ferdelaig, and Ruled 25 years. Fordun says that he was the first Scottish Bishop who went to Rome to be Confirmed. For many years after this his Successors did not so, which makes the solitary authority doubtful.

VI. Malisius II., *or* Maelbrigid,
VII. Malmore,

} A.D. 996-1025. The time during which *each* held the *Primacy* cannot be ascertained.

Maelbrigid is styled Malise both by Fordun and by Wyntoun [*Scotichronicon lib. vi., c.* 24, *and Chronicle, vol. i., p.* 209]; but, as they give the same name to the former Maelbrigid, and expressly call this Bishop the second Malise, it is reasonable to suppose that Maelbrigid was the proper name of the later Bishop also. According to Fordun, Malise was Bishop before Malmore, but the order in the text is supported by the authority of Wyntoun, and is approved by Ruddiman [*Preface to Diplomata, pp.* 18, 19]. The duration of the Episcopate of Maelbrigid and Malmore, taken together, is ascertained by comparing the number of years assigned by Fordun and Wyntoun to the two next Bishops, and the date of the decease of the later of these, Malduin fixed by the *Annals of Tighernac* to 1055. This differs from the calculation of Ruddiman, adopted also by Chalmers [*Caledonia, vol. i., p.* 430], which makes the Episcopate of of Malise and Malmore extend from 996 to 1031. But the distinct date in the Irish Annals is the safest guide. [*Grub's History, vol. i., p.* 181, *Note.*]

VIII. Alwin succeeded Malmore A.D. 1025. Primate 3 years.

IX. Malduin *or* Maldouay. A.D. 1028.

He was the son of Gillaodran, and was Primate for 27 years. In the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, occurs: "Malduin, Bishop of St. Andrews, gave the Church of Markinch [in Fife], with all the land belonging to it, holy and religiously, to God,

S. Servanus, and the Culdees of the Island of Lochleven." The precise Date of this Bishop's Decease is ascertained from the "*Annals of Tighernac* to be A.D. 1055, under which year it is stated that "Malduin, son of Gillaodran, Bishop of Alban, the giver of Orders to the Clergy, Died in Christ."

X. Tuathal, Tuthaldus, *or* Tuadal. A.D. 1055-59.

He held the Primacy 4 years. This Bishop also conferred upon the same Culdees the Church of Scoonie "freely and fully for the benefit of their prayers."

XI. Fothad II., *or* Modath. A.D. 1059-93.

In the *Reg. of the Priory of St. Andrews*, he is called "Modach, son of Malmykel;" in the *Ulster Annals*, "Fothadh ardepscob Albain," "the High Bishop of Albany," and "Foderoch Scotorum Episcopus in Sede Sancti Andreae Apostoli." [*Stubb's Chron. Pontif.*] He occupied the Episcopal Chair for a period of 34 years. Like his predecessors Malduin and Tuathal, he gifted the Church of Auchterderran to the Culdee Monastery of Lochleven. It was this Bishop who, *cir.* 1070, at the Royal Palace of Dunfermline, Married Malcolm Ceanmohr and Margaret, daughter of Edward the Aetheling, as recorded by *Wyntoun*, *vol. i. p.* 269.

"Malcolm our King then till his Wife
Wedded Saint Margaret: with her his life
In leal spousal he thought to lead,
Departed until they should be with Dede.
Of Saint Andrews the Bishop than
The second Fothawch, a cunnand man,
Devoutly made that Sacrament,
That they then took in good intent."

In commemoration of the Event, a Church dedicated to the Holy Trinity was founded by Queen Margaret at Dunfermline.

During the Episcopate of Fothad, a Council was held at St. Andrews, at the instance of Malcolm and Margaret, with a view to certain Ecclesiastical reforms. The native Clergy then assembled could, however, only understand Gaelic, and Margaret, the principal interlocutor, could only address them in Saxon.

Malcolm, who is said to have been acquainted with three languages—French, English, and Gaelic, acted as interpreter. Margaret's advocacy of Ecclesiastical questions is characterised, by her Biographer Turgot, as being of such an order as effectively to sway the assembled Clergy to the Royal persuasion.

XII. Gregory,
XIII. Catharus,
XIV. Edmarus,
XV. Godricus,

Bishops Elect, all having Died before Consecration. Between the Death of Malcolm Ceanmohr and the Reign of his son Alexander I., or "the Fierce," sixteen years appear to have elapsed without a Bishop of St. Andrews being Consecrated—a period of confusion both in Ecclesiastical and Civil history.

XVI. Turgot. A.D. 1109-15.

He was by birth an Anglo-Saxon, a native of Lincolnshire. Willis, in his *Mitred Abbeys, vol. i., p.* 259, states that he was "a person of noble birth;" and, in that valuable Repertory of Old English information, *Domesday Book*, the name frequently occurs amongst the landed proprietary of the County. At the period of the Conquest, however, William of Normandy seems to have retained him as a *hostage* in Lincoln Castle. From thence he escaped to Norway, where he resided for some time, and, returning to his native country, he was shipwrecked on the English Coast, with the loss of all that he possessed. Viewing this as a judgment sent to him from Heaven, he renounced the world, and resolved to enter the Monastic Life; and the first notice that we now have regarding him is in connexion with the Monastery at Jarrow or Yarrow.

In 1074, Aldwin, a Monk of Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, left his Monastery in order to visit some of the Religious Houses which had sustained injury during the previous troubles. With one or two companions he visited Evesham, York, Newcastle, and Jarrow, whence he was invited to Durham, by Walcher the Bishop. From Jarrow he was accompanied by Turgot, described as then a young man and a *Clerk*, but who had not yet assumed the Monastic Habit. Walcher, at whose invitation they had gone to Durham, bestowed upon them the ruined Monastery of Jarrow, which they began to rebuild; but dissensions having arisen among the Monks, a party of them, of whom Turgot was

one, with Aldwin at their head, proceeded to Melrose. Here, for the fear of rivalship, they awakened the hostility of Malcolm Ceanmohr, or *big head*, the Scottish King, and were ultimately induced by Walcher to return to Durham. They were then settled at Wearmouth, where Turgot received the Tonsure at the hands of Aldwin. These Religious Houses, with both of which Turgot was so early connected, were twin Monasteries founded by Benedict Biscop, and respectively dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. They were indeed so intimately allied, that, although separate foundations, they are sometimes called *the Monastery* of these Apostles. The venerable Bede was here a pupil.

In 1083, William de Sancto Karilefo, Walcher's successor in the Bishopric of Durham, obtained the Royal Licence to substitute a Monastery in place of the Secular Canons attached to his Cathedral. He accordingly transferred the Monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth to Durham, and appointed Aldwin the Prior. Aldwin dying in 1087, Turgot, with the unanimous consent of his Monastery, became his successor, and is said during his government to have much improved the Privileges and Buildings of the Convent. This allusion probably refers to the Monastic Buildings in connexion with the new Cathedral founded by William de Karilefo, in 1093, of which he, with Malcolm King of Scotland, and Turgot the Prior, laid the three first foundation-stones. The event is thus recorded in the *Chronicle of Melrose, p.* 60: "Ecclesia nova Dunelmi incepta est, iii° idus Augusti [August 11], episcopo Willelmo, et Malcolmo rege Scottorum, et Turgoto priori ponentibus primos in fundamento lapides." *i.e.*, "The new Church of Durham was begun the third of the Ides of August, by William the Bishop, Malcolm King of Scotland, and Turgot the Prior, who placed the first stones in the foundation." Turgot was subsequently Archdeacon of Durham. Malcolm was then on his way to meet William Rufus at Gloucester: the interview, however, proved unsatisfactory. Having again invaded England, he was, with Edward, his eldest son, killed at Alnwick Castle in Northumberland—three months after he had assisted in founding the present magnificent structure of Durham Cathedral.

Although Aldwin Died 12th April, 1087, yet, from the time

between Turgot's *Election* as Prior at Durham and his *Translation* to the See of St. Andrews, viz., twenty years and twelve days, his Election as Aldwin's successor must have been deferred until 1089. It was probably subsequent to this Date when he became Chaplain and Confessor to Queen Margaret of Scotland. It is perhaps in this relation that Turgot is best known to History, and as connected with those changes which Margaret was so instrumental in introducing into the Scottish Church. She began by showing that the Oneness of the Catholic Faith could only be kept entire by the Worship being one in Form; and that Mass was Celebrated in many parts of Scotland "according to a barbarous Ritual," unknown and opposed to the practice of the Catholic Church elsewhere. She also remonstrated that the *Lord's Day*—the Day of the Resurrection of the Sun of Righteousness—was openly profaned, by the people doing all sorts of common employment, as on ordinary week-days; as also, that *Lent* was wrongly computed; and that the practice in Scotland was not to partake of the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood on Easter Sunday; as also, that Marriage was contracted within the forbidden degrees of affinity. Other "new and strange Rites" she ordered to be rectified, in which her loyal subjects acquiesced. Turgot's name, indeed, is intimately interwoven with Queen Margaret's Religious Life. He alone has left a Biographic Record of her deeds, and of those traits of piety and devotion by which she was so highly distinguished. He was her faithful Counsellor during life; and, on her Death-bed, to him did she commit the charge of her younger children, in the touching words recorded by himself: "Farewell! my life draws to a close, but you may survive me long. Remember me in Masses and Prayers. To you I commit the charge of my children. Teach them, above all things, to love and fear God; and if any of them should be permitted to attain to the height of earthly grandeur, oh! then, in an especial manner, be to them a father and a guide. Caution, and, if need be, rebuke them, lest they should be swelled with the pride of momentary glory, and through covetousness, or by reason of the prosperity of this world, offend their Creator, and forfeit eternal life. Promise to

attend to these things, in the presence of Him who is now our only Witness." He did so. This was their last interview.

The following enlightened passage is from the pen of this great and good Catholic Ecclesiastic of the Eleventh Century: "Others may admire the indications of sanctity which miracles afford. I much more admire in Margaret the Works of Mercy. Such *signs* (namely, miracles) are common to the evil and the good; but the Works of true piety and charity are peculiar to the good. Signs sometimes indicate holiness, but in Good Works holiness consists. With better reason, therefore, ought we to admire the Deeds of Margaret which made her saintly, than her miracles *(had she performed any)*, which would only show her saintliness to others." Turgot gives great commendation to his Royal Mistress for the conscientious care she bestowed on the Education of her children—six sons and two daughters.

The Scotch Nobles had an irreverent habit of rising from the Royal table before Grace could be pronounced by the pious Chaplain Turgot. Queen Margaret fell upon a plan to make such an indecency surcease. She rewarded those of the more civilized Chiefs who waited till Thanks had been returned, with a cup of the choicest wine. This was too strong for resistance by the *Graceless* Peers: every guest soon became eager to gain his "Grace-cup," and this innovation soon spread to be an established usage in the land. Many interesting and amusing particulars have been preserved by Turgot, the Historian of this Royal Family, who, from his confidential station therein, had opportunities of becoming acquainted not only with their personal matters, but even with their private feelings.

As we have already seen, the See of St. Andrews became vacant in the same year which witnessed the Demise of Malcolm and Margaret; but it was not until *sixteen* years afterward, in the Reign of Alexander I., that Turgot was appointed to the Bishopric. His Consecration took place at York, on the first Sunday of August, 1109, being performed by Thomas the Archbishop: "in Kal. Augusti [Aug. 1] Torgotum priorem Dunelmensem in episcopum S. Adree Eboraci idem Thomas consecravit." *i.e.*, "In the Kalends of August, the same Thomas of York

Consecrated Turgot, Prior of Durham, as Bishop of St. Andrews." [*Chron. Melros., p.* 64.]

Dr Jamieson, in his *History of the Culdees*, draws attention to the fact that Turgot was the first Bishop installed at St. Andrews who was not a native of the Country, and also the first who was Consecrated by a foreigner, Thomas of York having been a native of Bayeux, in Normandy. As such, it was considered an infraction of the rights hitherto exclusively vested in the Culdees, and doubtless accelerated the downfall of their influence. The innovation, however, does not seem to have been tamely submitted to, and Turgot did not find his position a happy one. Disgusted with the usage he got from the Scottish King, and now weak and aged, he obtained license to resign his Mitre and return to his old quarters at Durham, where he Died three months and four days after his arrival, on the 31st March, 1115. His Death is thus noticed: "Turgotus de Scottia rediens Dunelmum obiit, et sepultus est ubi diu ante prior fuerat." *i.e.*, "Turgot of Scotland, returning to Durham, Died, and was Buried where a long time before he had been Prior." [*Chron. Melros., p.* 65.] He was Buried in the Chapter House of Durham Cathedral, among the earlier Bishops.

Turgot was the Author of several Works, of which the principal one seems to have been a *History of his Monastery at Durham*, the Authorship of which was, some years after Turgot's Death, surreptitiously assumed by Simeon, Precentor in the same Monastery. It was published under Simeon's name by Twysden. A fine early MS. of Turgot's Book is in the British Museum. He also wrote the Lives of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, the latter being preserved by Fordun in his *Scotichronicon*, and which was probably written during the period he held the See of St. Andrews. It was preserved in a MS. in the Cottonian Library, which unfortunately perished in the fire. Turgot is also accredited with the Authorship of other two works, viz., *De Regibus Scotorum*, and *Annales sui temporis;* but the fact is doubtful, and ultimately depends only on the authority of Boëce.

He founded and endowed the Parish Church of St. Andrews, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which was subsequently furnished

with thirty Altarages. He is thus referred to by *Wyntoun, vol. i., p.* 274:—

> "Of Saint Andrews Bishop than
> Turgot was, a cunnand man;
> Of Durham before he was Prior,
> And then Saint Margaret's Confessor."

XVII. Eadmer. *Elect.* A.D. 1120. *Never Consecrated.*

After the Death of Turgot, the See remained vacant until 1120, when Alexander I. wrote to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting that Eadmer, a Monk and Chanter attached to the Monastery there, might be appointed to the Vacant Bishopric. With the assent of King Henry, this was accordingly effected, and on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul a Saxon Monk was again, with the consent of the King, Clergy, and People, Elected Bishop of St. Andrews.

Like his predecessors, Eadmer was born of an English Family. He is said to have been placed at an early age in the Monastery of Canterbury, where he obtained the friendship and patronage of Anselm after his elevation to the Archbishopric. He accompanied the Primate in all his troubles and wanderings, of which he composed the History after Anselm's Death. To him also was entrusted the direction of Anselm's funeral, whose Death-bed he attended. He appears to have enjoyed the favour of Anselm's Successor, Archbishop Radulph, whom also he accompanied to Rome in 1119. On his return to England, in 1120, he was *Elected* Bishop of St. Andrews, but for some reason or other he returned to Canterbury the year following. [*Wharton, Anglia Sacra, vol. ii., p.* 12.] The old question was again virulently revived about the *Primacy of St. Andrews.* Eadmer stood out for *Canterbury*, resting on the authority which Pope Gregory had given to Augustin 500 years before; but as he could not make the King (Alexander I.) nor Clergy of Scotland converts to this opinion, he consented, after some hesitation, to receive the *Ring* from the hands of Alexander, in token of his subjection to him *in temporalibus;* and, of his own accord, he took the *Crozier* from the High Altar of the Church, to show his independence *in spiritualibus.* Matters being thus compromised, it was thought that everything would proceed smoothly; but, in the meantime, Thurstan, Archbishop of York, who had been beyond seas with King Henry, hearing of what was going on, put in a claim to Consecrate Eadmer, and prevailed on the King of England to oppose his Consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he even gained over Pope Calixtus II. to his side.

Alexander, the King of Scotland, wished to keep in favour with his Holiness and the King of England, and Eadmer began to be no favourite with him. Feeling himself in a dilemma, he informed the King that he wished to go to Canterbury to consult the Archbishop about his peculiar situation. The King told him that he would never consent that any Scottish Bishop should yield obedience to Canterbury. To this Eadmer replied with vehemence, that *he would not, for all Scotland, renounce his connexion with Canterbury, being a Monk*

thereof. The effect of this ill-judged speech only tended to augment the King's ire, and to render the situation of the Bishop-Elect more unpleasant than it was before; whereupon he consulted John, Bishop of Glasgow, and two Monks of Canterbury, who belonged to his household, as to what he should do. The three went to the Court, and, after discovering Alexander's resolution, told Eadmer that they thought he could no longer be of any service in the cause of Religion in Scotland,—that the King was positive and unbending,—and that, therefore, he had better resign office, and return to Canterbury. Eadmer took their advice, and returned into King Alexander's hands the *Ring* which he had received from him, and laid the *Crozier* upon the Altar whence he had taken it; but he afterwards repented, and tried a reconciliation, which was never effected. His *History of his Own time—Annales sui temporis*—breaks off here, and he Died as Precentor of Canterbury on the 13th January, 1124.

Wyntoun does not mention Eadmer, probably because only *Elect.*

"As a Writer, Eadmer appears under three characters,—those of a Historian, of a Compiler of Lives of Saints, and of a Theologian. His principal Historical Work, the *Historia Novorum* or History of his own times, in six books, is the most valuable Work we possess relating to the events of the Reign of William Rufus, and of the earlier part of that of Henry I. It ends with the close of the Archiepiscopate of Radulph, who Died in 1122, but a portion of it appears to have been written before the Death of Anselm, and is even said to have been revised by Anselm himself. The Life of Anselm, in two books, forms a necessary Supplement to this History. The *Historia Novorum* was first printed by Selden: it appears to have been very popular in the Twelfth Century, and is spoken of in high terms of praise by William of Malmsbury.

"Eadmer compiled Lives of several Anglo-Saxon Saints connected with the See of Canterbury, such as Odo, Bregwin, and Dunstan, and Peter first Abbot of St. Augustine's, and of Oswald and Wilfrid, Archbishops of York. These have been printed by Wharton and others. He is said also to have written a Life of Aldhelm; but this is, perhaps, an error arising from the misreading of Aldhelm instead of Anselm. An early Manuscript (perhaps contemporary) in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains nearly all the Works known to have been written by Eadmer, and more especially the Lives, but no Life of Aldhelm occurs amongst them.

"Eadmer's Theological and Miscellaneous Writings are brief, and without importance. The Manuscript just alluded to contains his verses on S. Dunstan; a Hymn on S. Edward the King and Martyr; a Tract on the assertion of the Monks of Glastonbury that they possessed the body of Dunstan; a Tract entitled *Scriptum de ordinatione beati Gregorii Anglorum apostoli;* on the Excellence of the Virgin Mary; *Scriptum de beatitudine vitæ perennis, desumptum ex sermone habito Anselmo Cantuar. in cœnobio Cluniacensi;* on the Conception of the Virgin Mary; *Sententia de memoria sanctorum quos veneraris; Scriptum Eadmeri peccatoris ad commovendam super se misericordiam beati Petri janitoris regni cælestis;* a Discourse on the Relics of S. Owen and other Saints, preserved at Canterbury;

and a Tract bearing the Title *Insipida quædam divinæ dispensationis consideratio edita ab Eadmero magno peccatore de beatissimo Gabriele archangelo.* Gerberon, in his Edition, restored to Eadmer two Works which had been attributed to Anselm, 'On the Four Virtues which were in the Blessed Virgin,' and 'On the Similitudes of S. Anslem.' The later contains the oral sayings of Anslem. Some of Eadmer's Epistles are preserved in *MS. Cotton. Otho, A. xii.* A few Tracts are attributed to Eadmer by Bale, which, if they ever existed, appear now to be lost." [*Wright's Biographia Britannica Literaria, pp.* 81, 82.]

XVIII. Robert. A.D. 1126.

Robert was an Englishman born; he had been first a Canon Sti Oswaldi de Nostellis, near to the town of Pontefract in Yorkshire, and was brought with five others of that nation into Scotland by Alexander I. in order both to instruct his people, and to be good examples to them in the observance of the Monastic rules prescribed by S. Augustine. He was made Prior of Scone in 1115, and in the year 1122 became Bishop-Elect of this See, though he did not obtain Consecration during the Reign of this King. However, in the succeeding Reign of David I. (ordinarily called *Saint David*),* he was Consecrated in the year 1126-7 [*Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, p.* 250]; not till 1128, according to *Lord Hailes.* This Bishop founded the Priory of St. Andrews, and obtained from the King the old Culdean Priory of Lochleven to be annexed to his new Foundation; which thing proved an occasion of much dispute, not only betwixt the Culdees and him, but for a long time thereafter. Here is a Copy of the Royal Donation:—

David rex Scotorum, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, et omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae salutem: Sciatis, me concessisse et dedisse canonicis Sti Andreæ insulam de Lochleven, ut ipsi ibi instituant ordinem canonicalem, et Kaledei, qui ibidem inventi fuerint, si regulariter

David, King of the Scots, to the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Sheriffs, and all honest men of his whole land, Health: Know ye that I have granted and given the Island of Lochleven to the Canons of St. Andrews, that there they may settle an Order of Canons; and the Culdees who shall be found

* The origin of King David being called "Saint" is from an Anecdote fathered upon King James I. when he came to visit David's "sepulture" at Dunfermline, at which he is reported to have said "He was ane sair sanct for the Crown"—meaning that he enriched the Church at the expense of the Crown.

vivere voluerint, in pace cum eis, et sub eis, maneant. Et si quis illorum ad hoc resistere voluerit, volo et praecipio ut ab insula ejiciatur. Testibus Roberto episcopo Sti Andreae, Andrea episcopo de Kateness, Waltero cancellario, Nicholao clerico, Hugone de Morevilla, Waltero filio Alani, apud Bervic.

there, if they wish to live according to Rule, may remain in peace with them and under them. But if any of them [the Culdees] shall offer resistance to this, I will and order that they be cast out of the Island. Witnesses—Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews; Andrew, Bishop of Caithness; Walter, the Chancellor; Nicholas, the Clerk; Hugh, of Moreville; Walter, son of Alan. At Berwick.

Robert is often mentioned as Bishop in the Reign of David I. [*Cart. Dunferml. et. Glasg., item Diplomata et Numismata*, 1150, *Florent. Vigorn.*, 1128.] He was likewise Bishop under King Malcolm [*Cart. Newbottle, et. Cart. Dunferml*], and in the time of Pope Adrian IV. [*Nicolson's Hist. Libr. p.* 358.] He built S. Rule's or S. Regulus' Church beside the Cathedral of St. Andrews. He gives to Prior Robert and his Canons a great variety of property. This Document is the Foundation Charter of the Priory, and is Dated 1144. The following are its concluding words: "Whosoever helps to preserve this Grant to the Church and Canons, let him rejoice that he is to join the society of the Holy Apostle Andrew, and his brother Apostles, the Founders and Defenders of the Church, and all the Saints; but if he molest this Church by violence, or rob it by fraud, he will stand accused and condemned before the tribunal of the Righteous Judge. I Robert, Bishop, Confirm, by my Episcopal Authority, this my Donation; and for the memory and reverence thereof, Sign it with the Impression of the Divine Cross, and also with the Attestation of my own Seal." The same Bishop gives them a toft in Kilrimund [St. Andrews],—three tofts,—the Oblations of the Altar, *minus* a seventh part,—Kinniemonth,—and a toft in Kilrimund,—and the free election of their Prior. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*] He Confirmed the Church of Ederham and township of Nisbet,—granted the Church of Swinton and the Church of Fiswic to the Monks of S. Cuthbert of Durham, at the prayer and by counsel of the Priors of St. Andrews, Scone, Jedburgh, Holyrood, of the King's Chaplain at Roxburgh, "et multorum aliorum nobiscum residentium in Sinodo que sedit apud Berwic, viij. Kal.

Novembris, anno ab incarnatione Domini M° C° L°" [1150]. In the same Synod the same Bishop granted another Charter of the same Churches to the same Monks, "sub testimonis tocius Synodi que sedit apud Berwic, octaua Kal. Novembris anno ab incarnatione Domini, M° C° qvinqagesimo." [*Dr Baine's North Durham app., p. nn. ccccxlix. cccc.*]

Bishop Robert's Seal has a figure vested in Cassock, Alb, and Chasuble, with Maniple over the left arm, holding a Crook. The right hand is lifted in the act of Benediction, with the three fingers. The figure represented has a beard, but is without Mitre. The Alb is cut away at the lower ends, and has very wide sleeves. The Chasuble has a rich bordure. The Legend is SIGILLUM ROBERTI EPI: SCOTTORUM. *A copy is given in Anderson's Diplomata.*

The same Bishop Robert granted the Church of Carriden to the Canons of Holyrood, by a Charter witnessed by the Abbots of Dunfermline, Stirling (or Cambuskenneth), by the Prior of St. Andrews, by Samson and Aban, Monks of Durham, by T. the Archdeacon, by Aiulf the Dean, by Geoffrey of Laswade, by Master Andrew, by Adam and Richard the Bishop's Chaplains, by Geoffrey the Clerk, by Peter of Stirling, and by the whole Synod. [*Lib. Cart. S. Crucis, p.* 10.] A.D. 1140-1159.

It would appear that Bishop Robert, a few years before his Death, began to feel the effects of old age so much that he applied to the Reigning Pope, Adrian IV., to be specially exempted from performing the more laborious duties of his office. Adrian, in consequence, issued the following Bull:—"Adrian, Bishop, &c., to our venerable brother Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, *Health*, &c.: Seeing it is our bounden duty to watch over all the faithful in Christ, we are more specially called on to consult the welfare of our brother Bishops, and to listen attentively to their petitions. Moved by this consideration, we permit that when it appears you are oppressed by old age or infirmity, you shall not be obliged to go beyond the limits of your Diocese un-

less required to do so by the Supreme Pontiff, or by one appointed *ex ipsius latere*. Farther, since you will have to render an account to the impartial Judge of the people committed to your charge, we require you, by this our authority, to restrain the wicked from their excesses, and to preserve the good from the contagion of evil; that thus showing your impartiality in all things, you may neither fear the power of the great, nor despise the weakness of your inferiors. Given at Narn, 3d Id. Aug. A.D. 1154."

This Bishop must have lived a considerable space, if it be true, according to the *Chronicle of Melrose*, that he Died in this See 1159. But the *Chron. S. Crucis Edinburgensis* says in 1158, "obiit bonae memoriae Robertus episcopus Sti Andrae."

In the *Register of St. Andrews* is to be found the *Original Grant of the Island of Lochleven* by Bishop Robert, and appended to it an *Inventory of the Books of the Culdean Monastery*, which here follows:—

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis, Robertus Dei gratia minister humilis ecclesie Sancti Andree, Salutem et episcopalem benedictionem. Sciant omnes, tam presentes quam absentes, nos dedisse et concessisse ecclesie Sancti Andree et Roberto Priori, abbatiam Insula de Lochlevin, cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, ad Canonicos regulares constituendum in ea; hoc est, cum Findahin, et omnibus suis appendiciis; et cum Portemuock et suis appendiciis, et cum molendinis ad pontem; et cum uno molendino in terra Fundathin; et Chirtnes cum suis appendiciis omnibus; et cum dimidia villa de Urechechein cum suis appendiciis; et villa ecclesiastica de Sconin et suis appendiciis; et cum viginti melis casei, et uno porco de Markinge; et cum x melis et iiii melis de Breis; et uno porco de Etmor; et cum xx melis ordei [hordei] de Balchristin; et

To all the sons of holy mother Church, Robert, by the grace of God, the humble Minister of the Church of St. Andrews—Health and Episcopal Benediction: Know all men, as well present as absent, that we have given and granted to the Church of St. Andrews, and to Robert the Prior, and to the Canons Regular constituted therein, the Abbey in the Island of Lochleven, with all its pertinents; that is, Findahin, and all its appendages; and Portmoak, and its appendages, and the Mills at the Bridge; and a Mill in the land of Fundathin; and Chirtnes, with all its appendages; and the half Village of Urechechein, with its appendages; and the Kirktown of Scoonie, and its appendages; and twenty *meles* [*i.e.*, 7½ stones] of Cheese and one Pig from Markinch; and ten *meles* and four *meles* from Breis; and one Pig from Etmor; and twenty *meles*

cum viginti melis casei et uno porco de Bolgin filii Thorfini; et cum decimis de domo nostra de Insula; et cum decimis totius redditus que recepturi sumus ad eandem domum; et cum vestimentis ecclesiasticis que ipsi *Cheledei* habuerunt; et cum hiis libris, id est; cum Pastorali, Graduali, Missali, Origine, Sententiis Abbatis Clare Vallensis, tribus quaternionibus de Sacramentis, cum parte Bibliothece, cum Lectionario, cum Actibus Apostolorum, Textu Evangeliorum Prosperotibus libris Solomonis, Glossis de Canticis Canticorum, Interpretationibus Dictionum, Collectione Sententiarum, Expositione super Genesim, Exceptionibus Ecclesiasticarum Regularum. Hiis testibus, Gregorio Episcopo de Dunkelden, et Gulielmo Abbate de Sancta Cruce, et Thoraldo Archidiacono, et Matheo Archidiacono, Ajulfo Decano, Mag°. Thoma, Mag°. Herberto, Riccardo Cappellano Episcopi. [*Reg. Prior. Sti Andr., pp.* 44, 45.]

of Barley from Balchristie; and twenty *meles* of Cheese and one Pig from Bolgin, son of Thorfin; and the tithes of our House of the Island; and the tithes of the whole rent which we are to receive at the House; and the Church-Vestments which the Culdees had; and these Books, viz., a Pastoral, a Gradual, a Missal, an Origen, the Sentences of the Abbot of Clairvaux [S. Bernard], a Dissertation concerning the Sacraments, in three parts, a part of the Book or Bible, a Book of the Lessons, the Acts of the Apostles, Text of the Gospels, the Works of Prosper, the Books of Solomon, Glosses on the Song of Songs, a Book on the Interpretation of Words, a Collection of Sentences, a Commentary on Genesis, a Book, Exceptions of Ecclesiastical Rules. By these Witnesses—Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld, and William, Abbot of Holyrood, and Thorald the Archdeacon, and Matthew the Archdeacon, Ajulf the Deacon, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Herbert, Richard, Chaplain of the Bishop.

By "*Origine*," (says Dr. Jamieson, in his *History of the Ancient Culdees, p.* 377) we are, most probably, to understand a Copy or some Part of the Works of Origen. The next is a Work doubtfully ascribed to the celebrated S. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. Its proper title is *Liber Sententiarum.* The title of the following has been *Tres Quaterniones de Sacramentis, i.e.*. Three Quires of Books concerning the Sacraments. Instead of *Prosperotibus libris Solomonis*, we ought certainly to read *Prospero, Tribus libris Solomonis;* that is, "with a Copy of the Works of Prosper" of Aquitain, one of the Ecclesiastical Writers of the Fifth Century. The title of the Book next mentioned has been *Interpretationes Dictionum;* but whether it was an explanation of terms used in Scripture, or a Dictionary of the Latin language, does not appear. The *Collectio Sententiarum* must have been an earlier Work than the celebrated *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard, who did not flourish till some years after the subversion of this Priory.

XIX. Walter *or* Waldeve. *Elect.* A.D. 1158. *Never Consecrated.*

After the Death of Robert, it is reported that one Walthemius, or Walter, by Fordun named Sanctus Valthenus, Abbot of Melrose, and brother of the half-blood to King David (as some say), was Elected Bishop of this See. He was son

to Simon de St. Liz, by Matilda his wife, daughter and heiress to Walderus, Earl of Huntingdon, who afterwards Married Prince David, who succeeded his brother Alexander I. in the Kingdom of Scotland; so that Walderus the *Elect* Bishop was step-son only to King David, and uterine brother to Prince Henry. But he could not be prevailed with to accept the Charge, pleading old age and incapacity, and loving rather to remain in his quiet retirement. He said—"I have thrown aside my tunic, how can I put it on again? I have washed my feet, why should I again soil them with the dust of worldly cares? There (pointing to a place near the entrance of the Chapter House as his grave) is my place of rest; but here will I dwell so long as it pleases God to continue me in life."

A Life of Waltheof, containing many marvellous stories, was written about fifty years after his decease, in a continued strain of eulogy, by Josceline, a Monk of Furness Abbey, in Lancashire. It does not appear whether this Work is yet extant anywhere, in a complete state, either in print or in manuscript; but there are large Extracts from it inserted in *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, and in the *Annals of the Cistertian Order*, by Angelo Manriques, in four Volumes, fol. From these sources we learn, that, from a child, Waltheof was remarkable for his meekness, humility, and other saintlike qualities; and that, while the favourite amusement of his brother Simon, and the rest of his play-fellows, was to imitate the attack and defence of castles, which they constructed of such materials as they could, he showed a predilection for the diversion of building *baby-churches*.

His step-father, by whom he was much beloved, took him to Scotland in 1124, when, upon the Death of his brother, he ascended the Throne of that Kingdom. He there completed his education along with his friend Ailred, sometimes called Baldred, afterwards Abbot of Bievalle, who became the recorder of the virtues of the King, his patron. David, thinking to gratify his youthful favourites, often took them with him to the chase; but Waltheof had no taste for this sport, and commonly strayed from his companions in the woods, where, taking a book from his bosom, he sat down on some pleasant shady bank to read or meditate, till it was time to rejoin the hunters on their way home from the chase. Upon one occasion, the King happened to surprise him in his sylvan retreat, and having long remarked his fondness for study, and his habitual piety, began to form the design of promoting him, in due time, to some high office in the Church. But Waltheof had other views, and declined to accept of any Ecclesiastical dignity. Instead of becoming a Secular Priest, according to the wishes of his friends, he resolved to embrace the Monastic Life, entertaining the opinion so common in that age, that the seclusion and austerities of the Cloister were a safer road to Heaven than a life spent in the active duties of the world, but proportionably exposed to its temptations. A circumstance which might have been expected to overcome his resolution, served only to confirm and hasten it. This was his happening to fall in love with a beautiful young lady at Court, who felt an equally tender passion for him. Unconscious at first of the state of his affections, some expressions used by her on presenting him with a ring, and the remarks of others on seeing him wear it, awakened him to a sense of what he

considered to be his danger. Looking upon this as a warning, that he should withdraw at once from the world, he immediately retired to the Convent of S. Oswald's, at Nosthill, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, where he was admitted into the Order of Canons Regular of S. Augustine. While he held the office of Sacristan in this Monastery, he was called, by the unanimous voice of the Canons Regular of Kirkham,* to be their Prior. This invitation he reluctantly accepted, in obedience to the injunctions of the Abbot of S. Oswald's; but his diligence in the discharge of his duties, and the meekness and humility with which he bore himself, won the hearts of all the brethren at Kirkham, although, by the reforms which he introduced, he considerably increased the strictness and severity of their discipline.

It is at this period of Waltheof's history that the Legend begins to be fruitful in those stories of visions and miracles which abound in almost all ancient accounts of Roman Catholic Saints, but which are generally softened or suppressed by modern compilers of their Lives; although they are not more extravagant than many of the Legends in the Roman Breviary. They are introduced here as illustrative of the habits of Monastic Life, and the state of Religious belief at the period, at least, when they were written.

On Christmas Day, as Waltheof was Celebrating Mass alone in the Church at Kirkham, and was in the act of Elevating the Host, he beheld the Consecrated Bread changed into the likeness of an infant, more beautiful than the sons of men, crowned with a diadem of gold and jewels, who, with a look of ineffable sweetness, embraced him, kissed his lips, gently touched his face and head with his hands, and then, making the sign of the Cross over him, suddenly disappeared. Upon another occasion, during Mass in the same Church, a spider happened to fall into the Holy Chalice; and as this insect was accounted poisonous, the officiating Priest, afraid to drink the Consecrated Wine, signified to the Prior, by his gestures, his need of advice. Waltheof, having approached to the Altar, uttered a short prayer, and then commanded him to drink without fear. The Priest obeyed, and, in doing so, felt no inconvenience from it at the time; but a few hours afterwards, as he sat in the Cloisters with the rest of the brethren after dinner, one of his fingers itching, he scratched it, and felt a little swelling on the spot, which soon increased and burst, when, to the amazement of all

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* Kirkham is on the western bank of the Derwent, not far from Malton, in Yorkshire, where the ruins of the Priory still remain. It was founded in 1122, by Sir Walter Espec, Lord of Werk, one of the most powerful Barons of his time, who endowed it with various possessions in Northumberland, among which were the Village and Church of Carham, the Church of Newton in Glendale, the Church of Ilderton, &c. He also founded and endowed two other Monasteries, viz., Rievalle, in Yorkshire, in 1131, and Warden, in Bedfordshire, in 1136; to the end, it is said, that Masses might be always Celebrated in them for the soul of his only son, who was unhappily killed by a fall from his horse. Sir Walter himself took the Monastic habit in Rievalle, about two years before his Death, which happened in 1153. [*Dugdale's Monasticon, I.*, 728.]

present, the same unfortunate spider came out of it alive, and was, by the Prior's order, committed to the flames.

The excellent order and discipline maintained at Kirkham, caused that Monastery to be enriched with many noble gifts, and brought the virtues of Waltheof's character so much into notice, that, when the See of York happened to become vacant, the Clergy would have elected him Archbishop, if they had not been prevented by King Stephen. That Monarch objected to him on account of his affinity to the King of Scotland, who supported the claims of the Empress Matilda and her son Henry II. to the English Crown. While this matter was in agitation, he was himself so far from desiring worldly rank, that, thinking the life of a Canon Regular not sufficiently austere, he resigned his Priorate, and retiring into the Cistertian Convent at Wardon, in Bedfordshire, began his Noviciate in that Order; greatly to the displeasure of his brother Simon, Earl of Northampton, who, regarding it as little better than folly, endeavoured at first by persuasion and afterwards by threats and violence, to deter him from it. That the Monks of Wardon might not suffer on his account, Waltheof removed to the Monastery at Rievalle, to which his brother's influence did not reach. During the remainder of his Noviciate, he was himself often perplexed with not unreasonable doubts as to the utility of the lengthened Vigils and Psalm-singing, and the excessive severity of the Discipline of the Cistertians; and he began even to entertain thoughts of returning to his former condition. On the other hand, he felt a suspicion that these doubts might be the secret whisperings of the Arch-enemy of mankind; and he often prayed for Divine Counsel to direct him. One day, we are told, when he threw himself on the ground, on the threshold of his Cell, and poured forth his fervent desires to that effect, he found himself transported, in a moment, without knowing how, to his place of study within. This was too significant a miracle to be mistaken; and from that hour his resolution was fixed. He was at once reconciled to the insipid food, the coarse garments, manual drudgery, long fasts, and other harsh and mortifying institutions of the first Cistertians; and as soon as the year of his probation was expired he took the Vows, and soon became a bright example of Monastic virtue, by the unfeigned cheerfulness with which he submitted to every self-denying ordinance.

He continued at Rievalle, devoted to this ascetic life, till the year 1148, when he was Elected Abbot of Melrose; the Monks, in their choice, being influenced both by regard to his excellent qualities, and a desire to conciliate the King, who was displeased with their conduct in deposing the late Abbot Richard. Waltheof was no less unwilling now, than he had been upon a similiar occasion before, to exchange the quiet and tranquillity of a private station for a condition of greater dignity, but of greater care and anxiety; nor was his consent obtained till the Abbot of Rievalle interposed his authority to that effect. In the more elevated rank to which he was now advanced, as the virtues of his character could less easily be concealed, he was more than ever venerated and beloved. His beneficence and kindness to the poor and the sick, and the

paternal mildness of his rebuke when any of the Monks had committed a fault, were the surest proofs of the genuineness of his piety; which was likewise evinced by the strictness and impartiality with which he examined and corrected himself. Not even a vain or idle thought ever intruded itself into his mind for which he did not express his contrition by Confession and Penance. At that period the Religious were accustomed to Confess with their backs bare,—in token of their willingness to submit to whatever stripes their spiritual Director might think fit to inflict upon them before he gave them Absolution. Waltheof's Confessor was his constant friend, S. Everhard, who, being a Canon Regular at Kirkham, embraced the Cistertian Order along with him at Wardon, and removed with him to Rievalle and Melrose. He afterwards became the first Abbot of Holm-Cultram in Cumberland, which was founded by King David in 1150. Everhard is reported to have written the Life of Waltheof; the Life of Adamnan, Abbot of Icolmkil; the Life of S. Cumeneus Albus; and other Works. [*Dempsteri Hist. Eccles.*]

Dempster mentions Thomas Rubettas, another of the Monks who enjoyed the friendship of the Abbot, and is said to have written his Life, and a separate Work concerning his miracles; also a Book called *Decreta Synodalia*. To the increased number of his other merits, of a less questionable nature, the Legendary Writers add the greater frequency of Waltheof's miracles after his removal to Melrose Abbey. It appears that in times of scarcity, which, owing to the low state of agriculture and commerce in that rude Age, were of frequent occurrence, the destitute and famished poor of the neighbourhood often found alleviating succour in the charity of the Monks. Upon one occasion, we are told, during a severe famine, 4000 starving people resorted to the Monastery in hopes of obtaining food, many of whom, for want of other lodging, built huts for themselves in the fields and woods adjacent. The charity of the benevolent Monks was never so severely tried; for, unfortunately upon this occasion, their stock of corn was barely sufficient for their own subsistence till harvest. They had, indeed, another resource in their cattle; but to kill them, as was proposed by Tyna, the kind-hearted Cellarer, would be ruinous to their tillage and hopes of future increase. When the Convent assembled to deliberate upon this alternative, and were at a loss what to resolve upon, Waltheof stood up, and desiring Tyna to accompany him, they proceeded to the Farm of Eildon, where the Abbot stuck his staff into a heap of wheat which lay in the granary, and prayed for a blessing upon it. This done, they bent their steps to the other Farm belonging to the Abbey, at Glattonside, where having in like manner blessed a heap of rye, designed for bread to their servants, he commanded that daily rations of grain should be dealt out to the starving multitude. They were thus fed continually for three months from the stores the Abbot had blessed, which lasted till the corn in the fields was ready for the sickle. [*Scotichron.*, *VI.*, 34.] The Cellarer stated that the Convent at this time possessed a great store of oxen at pasture, as well as sheep, wedders, and well-fed pigs, with plenty of cheese and butter. This, in a time of general scarcity, conveys a most favour-

able idea of the good husbandry and skilful management of the venerable Fraternity, and of the benefit which the country must have derived from their influence and example in the cultivation of their lands. Upon a similar occasion, when the Monks, by Waltheof's suggestion, agreed to share their daily portions of bread with the hungry, the loaves were no sooner cut in two than each half was converted into a whole loaf.

The Monastic Rule which enjoined the exercise of hospitality, was nowhere better observed than at Melrose, where wayfaring men and strangers of every condition, from the King to the peasant, found a welcome, and such cheer as the Monastery afforded. One day when some guests had arrived, and Walter the Hospitaller, whose office was to provide for their accommodation and entertainment, had set food before them, it happened that some other newly-arrived strangers were ushered in, and placed also at table. Although the viands were not more than might suffice for the original number of guests, yet when all had partaken of them they appeared undiminished, and only began to decrease when one of the company, in the middle of the repast, called the attention of the rest to the miraculous circumstance.

One evening three strangers knocked at the Abbey gate, and being admitted to lodge there for the night, they were immediately conducted into the Church, as the rule of S. Benedict, upon such occasions, directs. When they had finished their devotions they were led back to the Guest-Chamber, and taken care of by Brother Walter. By the time they had washed their feet, they were summoned to supper in the Refectory; but had scarcely sat down when it was discovered that one of the strangers was missing and his place empty. The Hospitaller asked the other two what had become of their companion, when, with surprise, they affirmed that no third person had been in their company. The Friar insisted that he had placed three of them at the table. The Porter and another Monk, who had received them at the gate, declared that they had let in three persons. Nobody had been observed to go out, yet the third stranger could nowhere be found. The following night, however, a person of an angelic appearance showed himself to the Hospitaller in a dream, and said, "Dost thou know me, Brother Walter? I am the stranger whose sudden disappearing from amongst you yesterday nobody could account for. The Lord has appointed me to watch over this Monastery; and I am come to certify you, that the alms and prayers of the Community, and especially of your Abbot, are accepted, and ascend unto Heaven like the odours of sweet incense."

On the Eve of the Epiphany, when the Abbot and Monks were singing the Praises of God in the Choir, the Abbot had a vision of the Virgin Mary, with the Infant Jesus on her knee, and the three Kings or Wise men of the East coming, preceded by a bright star, to offer him mystic gifts. On Easter Day, at early Matins, he had a vision of the Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection of Christ.

Waltheof had not only spiritual, but personal contests with Satan. One evening, we are told, after the singing of the Compline, when all the Monks had

retired from the Church, save the Abbot, who, according to his usual practice, remained behind to pray alone, the malignant fiend, for no other purpose, as it seemed, than to disturb his devotions, appeared to him successively in a variety of antic shapes, and, after playing an infinite number of provoking tricks, at last declared open war, assuming the terrific form of a gigantic soldier in complete armour, brandishing a spear and breathing fire. The Saint, who already essayed, but without effect, to drive him away by making the sign of the Cross, now armed himself with the Pix, which contained the Consecrated Wafer, and making the hallowed Sign with this, advanced intrepidly against the adversary, exclaiming, "Behold, thou wicked soldier, thou base hireling, here is thy Judge, who shall quickly send thee to the bottomless pit! Wait for Him if thou darest!" It is hardly necessary to say that, at these words, the foul fiend, baffled and confounded, vanished away in a cloud of smoke.

The Author of the Legend remarks that Waltheof's piety grew more fervent, and his miracles more frequent, as his bodily strength declined, and the burden of his old age and infirmities increased. By his blessing and touch, he healed three of the brethren who lay dangerously ill in the Infirmary, and who earnestly solicited him to use this means of restoring them; each of them having been warned, the preceding night, in a dream, that it would prove effectual.

Upon the Death of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, in 1159, Waltheof was unanimously fixed upon to succeed him; and the Clergy of the Cathedral, came to Melrose, accompanied by many of the principal Noblemen of Scotland, to announce his Election, and conduct him with honour to the Episcopal City. But he who, in the days of youth and strength, was never attracted by the love of worldly distinction, shrunk from it now, in the season of age and feebleness; nor could he be entreated to undertake an Office the duties of which he felt himself no longer able to fulfil. When the Abbot of Rievalle, who was present, endeavoured to persuade him, he pointed with his finger to the ground at the entrance of the Chapter House, where he had fixed upon a spot for his grave; and, in allusion to his having laid aside all earthly cares, to prepare for Death, recited the Words of Scripture quoted above—"I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on?" &c. [*Cantic. v.* 3.]

Thus Waltheof kept his resolution, and continued to exercise his functions at Melrose till the day of his Death, an event which he joyfully anticipated, and often prayed for. The Legend, in one of the most extravagant of its marvellous tales, informs us that he received from Heaven a written assurance that his prayer would be granted. The peace of the Convent, we are told, had often been disturbed by the rude behaviour of one of the Lay-brethren named Simon, a man of great muscular strength, and a skilful artificer, but of an arrogant disposition, which made him treat his fellow-labourers with contempt. This person, having fallen asleep, during the hour of rest at noon, dreamed that a being of gigantic form, and terrific aspect, armed with a scythe, stood before him, and in a voice that made him tremble, reproached him with his wicked life; after which, hewing him in pieces, he put the severed limbs into a basket

which he carried, and was preparing to depart, when a being of a glorious appearance came suddenly and drove him away, after he had compelled him to fit again all the dissevered pieces to each other. Then the angelic being, having restored Simon to life, and exhorted him to repentance and amendment, put into his hands a written roll, charging him to deliver it faithfully to his Abbot, to whom it was sent from God and the Holy Mary. The Lay-brother awaking, found the roll lying upon his breast, and did with it as he was directed, giving, at the same time, an account of his vision. Waltheof, with reverence, unfolded the epistle, and, kneeling down, read it with tears of thankfulness. The words were these, "Jesus Christ, and Mary his Mother, greet their beloved Waltheof. Know that thy prayer is heard; and, between the two Feasts of John the Baptist,* thou shalt come to us to live for ever; prepare thyself. Farewell." [*Annales Cistertienes.*]

Agreeably to this revelation, we are told, that on the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist he was seized with a mortal sickness, which continued till the 1st of August, when, feeling himself worse, he received the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Extreme Unction, and, after blessing his assembled friends, bade them Farewell. He continued, however, says his Biographer, "to suffer in the body two days longer, that his soul might depart altogether stainless, and that he might not be confounded when he should speak with his enemies in the gates of death." On the 3rd of the month, at the hour of Tierce, the Convent was summoned to witness his departure; when he was laid upon a haircloth, as the custom was, while they stood around and sung the Psalms and Litanies proper for the occasion. He lived, however, till the hour of Sext, when, the Monks being re-assembled, and singing as before, he Expired. Having, according to custom, washed his body, it was proposed, in honour of his saintly character, to bury him in his Sacerdotal Robes; but some objecting to this (for what reason is not mentioned), they clothed him in his Monk's Habit and Hood, wrapped him in a waxcloth, and laid him out in the Church till the time of his Funeral Obsequies, which were performed by the Bishop of Glasgow, attended by four Abbots, and a great number of Religious men of different Orders. The Bishop, and many other persons, were for burying him in the Church; but Galfrid, Abbot of Newbottle, persuaded them to comply with the request he had so distinctly expressed before his Death, and he was accordingly Buried on the spot he had himself pointed out, in the Chapter House. [*Annales Cistertienses, Scotichronicon, VI.*, 35.] The literary Works attributed to Waltheof are—1. De Claustrie Bono; 2. Evangeliorum Flores; 3. Sanctorum Plurium Vitæ; 4. Commentarium in Regulam Ecclesiasticum. [*Hist. Eccl. gen. Scot.*] Certain pretended Prophecies, in rhyme, evidently written 400 years after his time, pass under his name, in a well known Collection of Predictions, ascribed to Merlin, Thomas of Ercildoun, Bede, and other ancient Sages, originally published at

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* The Nativity of John the Baptist is Commemorated on the 24th of June; his Beheading on the 29th of August.

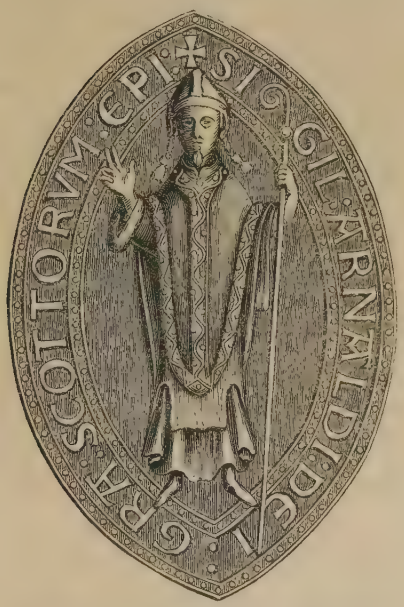
Edinburgh by Andro Hart in 1613. He is there called *Walhave;* and it may be remarked that Fordun calls him *Walthevus;* other Chroniclers, *Wallevus;* and, by an erroneous reading, *Wallenus.* On Tweedside he is still known, by tradition, as *S. Waudie.* [*Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp.* 202-212.]

XX. Arnold. A.D. 1158-59.

Ernald *al.* Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, came to be Consecrated Bishop here in 1158 [*Chron. S. Crucis.*]; but the *Chron. Melros.* places his Election in 1160, as likewise does *Fordun.* The Consecration was performed within the old Church of St. Andrews, *i.e.*, S. Rule's, not the Cathedral, by William, Bishop of Moray, the Pope's Legate, in the presence of King Malcolm IV., called "the Maiden," and of the Bishops, Abbots, and Princes of the land. [*Chron. Melros.*] King Malcolm is universally said to have Died a "*virgin;*" and yet, in a donation of his to the Abbey of Kelso, there is this remarkable clause: "Præcipio etiam ut prædicta ecclesia de Inverlathan in qua prima nocte corpus filii mei post obitum suum quievit." *i.e.*, "I also give orders that the foresaid Church of Inverlathan in which the corpse of *my son* rested the first night after his Death," &c. Of course, having been the generant of a *son*, he could not, anatomically, have Died a "*virgin*" or a "*maiden*," or rather (if he had "the fat of *rams*") a *Bachelor* sure and pure. This Bishop was himself Legate in Scotland for Pope Eugenius III. Though our Historians say Eugenius III., yet Chronology requires it to have been Alexander III.; at least this last was certainly Pope during the time that Ernald was Bishop here. However, the office of *Legate* was recalled, probably by the influence of York, almost as soon as it was granted. [*Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, Preface, xxx.*] He founded the Cathedral of St. Andrews, but Died while the work was scarcely begun, in the middle of September, 1162. [*Chron. S. Crucis.*] He was Bishop under King Malcolm [*Cart. Newbottle et Dunferml.*], and as *Fordun* narrates that he continued Bishop only one year, ten months, and seventeen days, therefore his Consecration must have been in 1160, contrary to the *Chron. S. Crucis*, which, however, is right enough as to the time of his Death. [*Dalrymple's Collect., p.* 427.]

Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *History of Fife, p.* 95, gives a

Charter by King Malcolm IV., in the seventh year of his Reign, *i.e.*, 1160, in which the first of the many Witnesses is *Ernesto Episcopo Sti Andreae;* and as this coincides with the first year of Ernald, it may be rationally supposed, that this has been one and the same person, sometimes called Ernald and at another time Ernest. But, then, seeing the same Author, p. 102, tells us that he has found Ernestus to be a Bishop of St. Andrews both in the fifth and seventh years of King Malcolm IV., may it not equally be supposed, that there has been another Bishop Ernest in this See before Arnold, for the space of two years, viz., from 1158 to 1160? Time, the parent of truth, may possibly clear up this point. [There is no doubt that Ernald or Arnold was the name of this Bishop.] A.D. 1160: The New or Great Cathedral of St. Andrews was founded this year. "Episcopus Ernoldus, cum Rege Malcomo, fundavit ecclesiam magnam Sancti Andreae." *i.e.*, "Bishop Ernold, with King Malcolm, laid the foundation of the Great Church, or Cathedral, of St. Andrews." [*J. de Ford. Scoti-chron., lib. vi., cap.* 35; *Wynt. Chron., book vii., chap. vii., vol. i., pp.* 315, 316.] It was not *Consecrated* till the 5th July, 1318, by Bishop Lamberton. This Bishop Ernald grants a Charter of Confirmation of King Malcolm IV.'s gift to the Abbey of Cupar, which I have been told is now in the Family of Balmerino. Ernald is mentioned as Witness to a Deed of Malcolm IV., Confirming Walter Fitzalan, the Steward, in the lands of Birchinside, Leggerdswode, and Molle.



Arnold's Seal has a Bishop vested the same as Robert's, p. 124, and in the same position, with the addition of a Mitre. The Legend is SIGIL. ARNALDI DEI GRA. SCOTTORUM EPI.

Bishop Arnold Confirms to the Prior and Canons, Rossin-

clerach [Rossie], with its Church, which Matthew the Archdeacon had given them,—a piece of land in St. Andrews, which is "between the town and the new hospital,"—Portmoak,—the Church of Dairsie,—the whole Oblations of the Altar, because they were living together in common, "*communiter viventes*,"—and Confirms to them their various properties. This Document is signed by 40 Witnesses, beginning with

William, Bishop of Moray; Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld; Samson, Bishop of Brechin; Andrew, Bishop of Caithness; Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow; Matthew and Thor, Archdeacons of St. Andrews; Gaufred, Abbot of Dunfermline; Alured, Abbot of Stirling; William, Abbot of Holyrood; Alured, Abbot of Newbottle; William, Abbot of Melrose; John, Abbot of Kelso; Osbert, Abbot of Jedburgh; Isaac, Prior of Scone; Robert, Prior of May; &c., &c. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*]

The "*Mortuary*," or *Corpse-present*, was enjoined by Irish Canons believed to be of the Eighth Century, after the rights of Aaron,—which appears to be referred to, although not named, in an Agreement between Arnold on the one side, and the Abbot of Dunfermline on the other, as to the rights of the Parish of Eccles or St. Ninians, and the Chapel of the Castle of Stirling, between 1139 and 1159. The "*Mortuary*" is clearly described, but still not named, in an Ordinance of the Bishop of St. Andrews, between 1226 and 1258. It is named in a Deed of the Prior of St. Andrews, between 1226 and 1258. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., Notæ, p.* 224.]

XXI. Richard. A.D. 1163-77.

Richard, Chaplain to King Malcolm IV., *Elected* to this See in 1163. Here are the Witnesses to a Charter of King Malcolm IV. to the Abbey of Scone:—

William, brother to the King; Richard, *Elect* of St. Andrews; Gregory, Andrew, Gregory, Bishops of Dunkeld, Caithness, and Ross; Galfrid, William, Osbert, Alfrid, Abbots of Dunfermline, Melross, Jedburgh, and Stirline (alias Cambuskenneth); Walter, Prior of St. Andrews; Engelram, the Chancellor; Walter, son of Alan the Stewart; Richard Morville, the Constable; Nicholas the Chamberlain; Matthew, the Archdeacon; Earl Duncan; Gilbride, Earl of Angus; Malcolm, Earl of Athol; Gilchrist, Earl of Menteith; Gilbert, the son of Earl Ferteth; Merlswain; Adam, the son of the Earl of Angus, &c. At Stirline, in the eleventh (*i.e.*, the last) year of the King. [*Cart. Scon.*]

He was Elect of St. Andrews at the time when Herbert was Bishop of Glasgow, also when Andrew was Bishop of Caithness, and Sampson Bishop of Brechin. [*Cart. Cambusk.*] He is Elect of St. Andrews in the time of Malcolm IV. [*Ibid.*] He is both Elect and Bishop in the same Reign [*Cart. Glasg.*], and Bishop under this King [*Diplom. et Numism.*], and Bishop under King William [*ibid.*]. He is a Witness with Nicholas, Chancellor of the Kingdom, who was in this high office from 1165 till 1171. [*Cart. Newbottl.*] A.D. 1165-78, Richard granted the Churches of Berwick and Ercildoun to the Monks of S. Cuthbert of Durham, by Charter made and given "implena Sinodo nostra in ecclesia Sancti Cuthberti apud Edeneburk," in presence of the Archdeacons of St. Andrews and Lothian, the Abbots of Dunfermline, Holyrood, Newbottle, Dryburgh, Aiulf the Dean, Patrick the Dean, Geoffrey of Laswade, Robert of Perth, Alexander the Chaplain, Geoffrey, Clerk of Tyninghame. [*Dr. Raine's North Durham, App., pp.* 83-85, *nn. cccclv. cccclvi. cccclx. cccclxi.*] He had been sent into Normandy to negotiate King William's redemption with Henry II., King of England, 8th December, 1175, at Valonge, in the Cotentin, and immediately renewed at Falaix. He was Bishop here in 1177. [*Cart. Kelso.*] He mentions his Predecessors Robert and Ernald, Bishops. [*Cart. Scone.*] Richard

The Seal of Richard is a Bishop vested, in the act of Benediction. The Legend is SIGILLUM RICARDI DEI GRACIA SCOTTORU EPISCOPI.—The Counter Seal has a War Chariot, in which is a Jehu on his feet, driving furiously two noble steeds. The Legend is FRACTA REVELD. SECRETUM. *Reveld* may be a contraction for *Revelandum, i.e.*, The way to keep a secret is to tell it to everybody. [*Melr. Charters.*]

was Consecrated in 1165, "apud Sanctum Andream in Scotia ab episcopis ejusdem terræ," *i.e.*, "at St. Andrews in Scotland, by Bishops of the same land." [*Chron. Melros.*] He styles himself, "Dei gratia ecclesiæ Sti Andreæ humilis minister," *i.e.*, "By the favour of God, the humble Minister of the Church of St. Andrews;" and he says, "tempore David Regis bonæ memoriæ, et Roberti episcopi, et episcopi Arnoldi antecessorum nostrorum," *i.e.*, "in the time of King David, of good memory, and of Bishop Robert and Bishop Arnold, our Predecessors" [*Cart. Cambusk.*]—pretty clear instructions that he himself was the third Bishop from Robert, contrary to what was above supposed with respect to Ernest and Ernald. King William also Confirms his donation to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, then designed the Abbey of Stirling. [*Ibid.*]

Bishop Richard gives the Prior and Canons the Parish Church of St. Andrews,—the Pentecostal Oblations,—a toft in St. Andrews, which had belonged to his sister Avicia,—the land of both Stravithies,—the Church of Haddington and the land of Clerkington,—the Church of Lathrisk,—the Church of Cupar,—the Church of Kennoway,—the Church of Egglesgreig,—the Church of Inchsture and Chapel of Kinnaird,—a toft in St. Andrews, next to that of the Brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem in North Street,—Helin or Sluthagh, in exchange for Portmoak and Ernoch,—certain other lands,—certain lands for completing and upholding the "new work," probably the Cathedral,—Confirms former grants. He Confirms to them the Priory of Lochleven, Kirkness, Admore, Balchristie, Bolgyn, Markinch, Scoonie, and Orkie, and also "our own house in the island," with its pertinents. *Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews*, appears first Witness in a Charter of William Masculus, giving the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews the Chapel of Fowls, besides eight oxen, ten cows, three horses, one hundred sheep, —whose (Masculus') Body is to be Buried in the Cemetery of the Canons.

The following is a curious order issued by him respecting the workmen who were engaged, during his Episcopate, in building the Cathedral Church:—Richard, by the grace of God, Bishop

of St. Andrews, to his Bailies and Burgesses of St. Andrews, *salutem:* Seeing it is my duty to provide for the building of the new Church of St. Andrews, and to remove every impediment to its progress, I hereby forbid, on pain of forfeiture, any one to interfere with the plasterers, masons, modellers, or any other workmen about the Church, without leave of the Canon who has charge of the work. I desire also and command, that the workmen have liberty to buy food and clothing, the same as any other Burgess or Stall-keeper without hinderance, so long as they are occupied about the work; and that no one exact from them stallage, or any other dues, unless they pay them of their own accord; but if any of them have a house or land in the Burgh, let them pay the customary dues. Farewell. Signed by eight Witnesses. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*]

"Electus an. Dom. 1163, et consecratus apud S. Andream ab episcopis regni, dominica in Ramis Palmarum, 5to sciz. Kal. Aprilis, astante Rege. Electus stetit per biennium, et confirmatus 12 annis et uno mense, et tertio Non. Maii obiit in infirmitorio canonicorum." *i.e.*, "Elect in 1163, and Consecrated at St. Andrews by the Bishops of the Kingdom on Palm Sunday, 5 Kal. April, the King being present. He remained *Elect* for two years, and *Confirmed* [in his See] twelve years and one month, and on the 3d of the Nones of May he Died in the Canons' Infirmary." [*Fordun.*] These Dates are contrariant. From this statement it may be inferred that the Bishop's customary residence at this time was the *Priory*. The Episcopal Castle was not built till next century. He Died in 1173. *Hoveden*, F. 341, places his Death in 1180; but it is clear, from the following Section, that it ought to be 1177. May 3, 1178 [*Wyntoun's Chron., B. vii.*]

XXII. John and Hugh. A.D. 1178.

After this ensued the double Election and Consecration of John and Hew, *al.* Hugo, into the See of St. Andrews, of which the English Writer Hoveden gives the following account:—

"In the year 1182, Roland, the Bishop-Elect of Dol, and Subdeacon of the Roman Church, came into England on behalf

of Pope Lucius, for the purpose of making peace between the King of Scotland and John, Bishop of St. Andrews; and proceeded to the Court of the King of the Scots, together with Silvanus, the Abbat of Rievaulx, his Colleague, where, after having for a long time negotiated upon making peace between them, at their request the following terms were made between the King and the before-named Bishop:—Hugh was to abjure the Bishopric of St. Andrews, and Bishop John was to release the said Bishopric from all claims whatever on his part, and, instead thereof, he was to have the Bishopric of Dunkeld, and all the yearly Revenues which he had had before his Election, as also the Chancellorship to the King, and Forty Marks of yearly Revenue arising from the Bishopric of St. Andrews, during his life. Hugh, however, when called upon by his Lord the King of Scotland to abjure the Bishopric of St. Andrews, made answer that he would rather receive judgment thereon at the Roman Court, than in this way abjure a Bishopric to which he had been Consecrated; and immediately charged the Letters which Bishop John had obtained against him from the Roman Pontiff with being forged, and appealed to the Roman Pontiff: upon which the before-named Roland and the Abbat Silvanus, being unable to proceed as they ought, wrote to the Supreme Pontiff to the following effect:—

"'To The Reverend Father and Lord, Lucius, by the Grace of God, Supreme and Universal Pontiff, Roland, by the like Grace, Bishop-Elect of Dol, Servant of his Holiness, the Foster-child of the Apostolic See, and the least of the Subdeacons, and Silvanus, appointed Abbat of Rievaulx,—the respect of duteous obedience. After we had presented to Bishop Hugh the Letters which that Bishop charges with being forged, and those in which the case is stated at length, and proposed, on receiving leave of our Lord the King of the Scots, to return home with all haste, our Lord the King entreated me, the Bishop-Elect of Dol, with earnestness and anxiety, to pass by the way of the Lord Bishop John, and, as a mark of his favour, to make him an offer on his behalf of the Bishopric of Dunkeld, with the yearly Revenues which he had before received in the Bishopric of St. Andrews, together with an increase of Forty Marks to be received yearly, as also the Office of Chancellor to the King; and he further added that he would restore to him and his everything he had taken away, with the exception only of what he knew to have already come to his hands, and would restore them to the fulness of his favour, in the same manner as had been previously offered him. He also desired that the said Bishop John would burn all Documents that had been obtained

upon the matter of St. Andrews from your Predecessor Alexander, of pious memory. He also gave his sanction that Bishop Hugh should be transferred to the Bishopric of Glasgow, if Bishop John should refuse to consent on other terms, and if that could not be brought about, still he would agree to what he had offered. On making offer of all these things in presence of Hugh, the Lord Bishop of Durham, to our Lord John, he courteously acceded thereto on these terms: namely, that he would never allow Bishop Hugh to remain in the enjoyment of the Bishopric of St. Andrews. He was also willing that the Documents before mentioned should be put aside in some place, so that he could never make use of them against the King's wishes. Upon this, we returned to the King's presence, while Bishop John waited for us near Rokelburg [Roxburgh]; on which the King informed us that it would give him great pleasure if Bishop Hugh could remain in the Bishopric of St. Andrews, and requested me to use my best endeavours to prevail upon Bishop John to admit of this; and when I made answer to him that I would never again make any request of him upon that point, because I had not been able to make any impression upon him on the subject, his answer was, "I am fully persuaded that since the Lord John has returned to reconciliation and favour with me, he will, on consideration of my favour, and at the urgency of my entreaties, admit of this, and I would gladly confer with him thereon;" and the King requested me to advise him to come and have a conference with him. The King's Clerks being accordingly sent to Bishop John, he made answer that he would not come, because he had heard from certain advisers of our Lord the King, that the King was always endeavouring, in every possible way, to gain his point that Hugh should remain in the Bishopric of St. Andrews, and asserted that, if he should be inclined to come, they were not able to give him a Safe Conduct. When this answer was returned him, our Lord the King sent a Bishop and some Abbats, Earls, and Barons to the said Bishop, requesting him that he would come to him for the purpose of an interview, and ordered them to guarantee to the said Bishop entire security. These, on their return, stated that the Lord John, inasmuch as he had a presentiment that his Lord the King wished Bishop Hugh to remain in the Bishopric of St. Andrews, made answer that he would never come to the King unless they should first make oath that their Lord the King would observe everything that through me he had offered to him; this, however, they were unwilling to do; upon which, the Lord John returned home. We, however, have appointed a stated time, on the Kalends of October, for the before-named Bishops, John and Hugh, to come to you, and to submit to your judgment. Farewell.'" [*Annals of Roger de Hoveden, Bohn's Ed., vol. ii., p.* 17.]

Our own Historian Fordun tells, that after the Death of Bishop Richard, the same year, viz., 1177, John Scott, an Englishman, but Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was unanimously Elected Bishop, but that the King (William) opposed him, and caused his Chaplain and Confessor (Hugo) to be Consecrated. The King swore

"by the Arm of St. James" (his favourite Oath), that so long as he lived, John should never be Bishop of St. Andrews. John went to Rome, and the Pope (Alexander III.) sent him home with a Nuncio (Alexius), who made Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen, to Consecrate him (John) in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, on Trinity Sunday, 1180; but as the King continued inflexible, John went a second time to Rome, and lived full seven years in voluntary banishment there; and when the Pope was going to Excommunicate the King, and Interdict the Kingdom of Scotland, John prevailed with him to desist. However, Interdict and Excommunication were finally pronounced in 1181, which Pope Lucius III. removed in 1182, who, as a further token for regard to King William, sent him the *Golden Rose*, with his Benediction. The rival Bishops, in 1183, equally renounced their claims into the hands of his Holiness.

Bishop Hugh gave to the Priory of St. Andrews, annually, Half a Silver Mark (equal to £5 Sterling) from the Mill of Dairsie. Alexius, the Pope's Legate, restored to the Priory the Church of Dairsie, which one Jocelinus had accepted from Bishop Hugh at the time he was Excommunicated. In one Charter, while Hugh is mentioned as Confirming to the Priory its various properties, mention is made of the conveyance of a *Salt-pan*. Bishop Hugh, *Elect* of St. Andrews, is the first Witness to a Charter of Alexander de St. Martin, giving the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews *five solidi* annually, from the Church of Barnes. A Convention appears between Bishop Hugh and Earl Duncan, regarding their respective Mills of Dairsie. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*]

The See of Dunkeld happening to fall vacant, the King willingly agreed that John should be placed in it, and of his own accord called him home, and received him very graciously. Thus Fordun. Differences *again* arose between John and Hugh, which continued to be carried on during the brief Pontificates of Urban III., of Gregory VIII., and of Clement III., which latter removed absolutely Hugh from the See of St. Andrews, and threatened to Excommunicate King William if he refused to consent. This Hugo makes mention of Robert, Ernald, and Richard, his Antecessors. [*Cart. Scon.*] He is Bishop of St. Andrews in the Reign

of King William. [*Chart. Dunferl.; Writs Family of Errol; Cart. Cambusk; et Cart. Kelso.*] He Died in 1187. [*Chron. S. Crucis.*] Fordun says, "an. 1188, pridie Non. (4th) Aug." And this Author, after informing us that John, Bishop of Dunkeld, Died a Monk at Newbottle, adds, "Dictus vero dominus Hugo, accessor ejus ad episcopatum Sti Andreæ, stetit ibi Episcopus decem annis et totidem mensibus; qui cum pro ipsa causa inter ipsum et Joannem Dunkeldensem sedem Romanam adiret, et in favorem domini Papae acceptus, et de intrusione ad episcopatum absolutus, sexto milliario cis urbem mortuus est pridie Nonas Augusti, an. Dom. 1188." *i.e.*, "But the said Lord Hugo, his Successor to the Episcopate of St. Andrews, remained there as Bishop ten years and as many months; who for the same cause between himself and John of Dunkeld, undertook a journey to Rome, and was favourably received by the Lord the Pope, and was Absolved for his intrusion into the Episcopate, and Died [of the Pestilence] when he was about six miles out of the City [of Rome upon his return home], prid. Non. Aug. (4th August) 1188." In the *Register of the Priory of St. Andrews—Macf. Trans., p.* 46, we find, "Carta Hugonis Episcopi de Dimid Marcæ de Molendino de Dervisin." No date, but Witnessed thus—"Goulino Archidiacono, Andrea Persona de Symingham, Willielmo Persona de Lintown, Alexdro Persona de Fogrand, Hugone Senescallo Episcopi, Willielmo Persona de Dervisin."

XXIII. Roger. A.D. 1188-1202.

Roger, son of Robert III., Earl of Leicester after the Conquest, by Petronilla, daughter of the Lord High Steward of England. [*Kyngthton inter decem scriptores, and Dugdale's Baronage.*] Crawford observes, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, that his father having early discovered in his son a genius for learning, dedicated him to the Service of Almighty God in the Church; and his cousin, William, King of Scotland, preferred him to be Lord High Chancellor here in 1178; for our Chancellors, in these early times, were generally men of the Church. [*See their Lives.*] At last the See of St. Andrews falling vacant, he was made Bishop there; but, whatever might be the reason, he was not Consecrated

till the First Sunday of Lent, 1198. [*Chron. Melros. et Ford.*] The cause, no doubt, was the *old sore*, viz., the Independence of the Church of Scotland of all jurisdiction, but that of Rome. There is in the *Chartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews, p.* 47, a Charter by this Bishop, when only Bishop-Elect, of the lands of Duff-Cupiz. It has no date, but must have been granted between 1138 and 1198. The Consecration was performed by Richard, Bishop of Moray, in the presence of King William. *Hoveden* says, by Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen. Roger is Witness to the King's Foundation-Charter of the Abbey of Inchaffray, in Strathearn, the 35th year of the King, A.D. 1200; and the Co-Witnesses are John, Bishop of Dunkeld; Jonathan, Bishop of Dunblane, &c. He seems to have been much in England between 1199 and 1201, as his name often occurs in the *Rauli Chart.*, as a Witness to Charters granted by King John to various bodies. Roger ratified an agreement between himself and the Monks of Durham, as to their Churches in Lothian, in a Synod at Musselburgh, A.D. 1200. [*Dr. Raine's North Durham, App., p.* 85.]

Bishop Roger, besides Confirming various Properties previously granted to the Priory, conferred upon it the Church of Haddington, and the Church of Forgan, in Gowrie. The Charter which conveys this grant is Dated "in the third year of our Pontificate." There is a Document, to which he is the first Witness, giving an account of a Dispute between the Canons Regular and the Culdees of St. Andrews. The matter is adjusted by the former conceding to the latter the Tithes of eight neighbouring Churches, but retaining to themselves the Tithes of Strathtyrun, together with the Oblations of Marriages, Churchings, and Baptisms at these eight Churches. He exchanges Duff-Cupar for Dairsie. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr., pp.* 147, 158; *Lyon's Hist., vol. i., p.* 99.]

Roger was Elect here in the time of Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen [*Cart. Aberbr.*], and he is Witness to King William's erection of the Monastery of Aberbrothock (commonly Arbroath). [*Cart. Cambusk.*] He styles himself "Scotorum Episcopus," *i.e.*, "Bishop of the Scots." He was Bishop here in 1201 [*Cart. Kels.*], and, in the said Cartulary, the preceding Bishops are

ranked thus, viz., Robert, Ernald, Richard, Hugo, and Roger, in a Charter of Confirmation to the Monastery of Kelso, of all privileges, &c., granted by these Bishops. Roger, F. F. M. R. R. et R. were Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Elect of Brechin, in the first year of Prince Alexander, son to King William. [*Cart. Aberbr.*] R. is Bishop of St. Andrews in the time of King William, and Richard, Bishop of Moray, is a Co-Witness with him; and as John was certainly Bishop of Dunkeld, and Richard Bishop of Moray, in his time,

[Two Seals are given of Roger, as Bishop-Elect and as Consecrated. The former (that to the left) is curious. We have a figure seemingly half-naked, but, on close examination, he has a tight covering on, reaching below the waist, where there appears a garment thrown off, or probably not yet put on, the sleeves being prominent. Some conjecture that the person is sitting upon something. I don't think that. There is evidently some incident meant to be commemorated by the attitude represented, which we have now lost knowledge of. The figure has plenty of hair on the head. He holds in his right hand a "rod of iron"—an emblem of rule; with the left hand he presses the Holy Gospel to his bosom, upon which is prominently marked the Sacred Symbol. The Legend of the Seal is ROGERUS DEI GRATIA ELECTUS SANCTI ANDREE.—The Seal to the right is that of Roger Consecrated, in full Vestments—Cassock, Alb, Chasuble, Maniple, Mitre, and Crook—standing in the act of Benediction, on a Crescent. The Legend runs: ROGERUS DEI GRATIA SCOTTORUM EPISCOPUS.]

there is no doubt but the letter R., Bishop of St. Andrews, stands for Roger in No. 25. [*Append. Officers of State.*] He Died at Cambuskenneth, Non. Jul. (9th) 1202, and was Interred in the old Church of S. Rule. [*Char. Cambusk. et Mel.*] Wyntoun says that this Inscription was written on his Tomb—"Qui peregrinus ades, sta, respice; prima Robertum, Arnaldum reliquum, circumdat tumba Rogerum ultima; pontifices quondam, cœli modo cives." *i.e.*, "Passenger, stop and behold! The first Tomb contains Robert, the next Arnold, the last Roger. On earth they were Bishops, now they are citizens of Heaven." He wrote "Sermones varios in Ecclesiast." [*Dempster.*] Martine says, that this Bishop first built the Castle of St. Andrews, about the year 1200, as a residence for himself and his successors. Hitherto the Bishops had lived in the Priory, and, before that, in the Culdean Monastery of Kirkheugh. There was a Cross erected to the memory of this Bishop, called *Cross Roger*, at the top of the Windmill Brae, immediately to the west of St. Andrews.

In a Dispute between Prior Simon and the Canons on the one side, and the Archdeacon of St. Andrews on the other, conducted before Malvoisine, the next Bishop, and other venerable persons, regarding certain lands, the former are to have all the lands which belonged to the Archdeacon within the *cursus apri*, or *Boar's Chase*, and the latter to have the land "which extends through the strath towards Dairsie, viz., from the Cross erected to the memory of Bishop Roger to the top of the ridge near the other Cross, and along this ridge northwards, as far as the rock which divides Balgove from Strathtyrum; except the *Salt-pan*, with its toft and croft, which belong to the Priory, and the right of Pasturage, which belongs to the Burgesses." [*Reg. Priory; Lyon's History, vol. ii., p.* 292.]

XXIV. William Malvoisine. A.D. 1202-38.

William Malvoisine, descended of a good Family, went in his youth to France, where he lived a considerable time, and upon that account has been by some called a Frenchman. [*Mackenzie's Lives.*] Several Writers are positive as to this, and expressly mention a journey he made into France to visit his relations.

However, it is not certain that he was a native Frenchman, as this Surname came to Britain along with William the Conqueror, in 1066, and several of them are to be met with in the Records of England and Scotland before this Prelate's time. He became one of the *Clerici Regis*, and Archdeacon of St. Andrews. [*Cart. Aberbr.*] He was preferred to be Lord Chancellor, 6to Idus Sept. 1199 [*Chron. Melros.*], and the same year was Elected Bishop of Glasgow, and Consecrated in 1200, but was Translated thence to the See of St. Andrews in September, 1202 [*ibid.*], which he possessed to his Death, in 1238. The Ceremony of Translation was at Scone. It is said that he both Christened, when an infant, and Crowned King Alexander II., when he was sixteen years of age. King Alexander II. was *Inaugurated* at Scone after the custom of Scottish Kings, with more than usual Ceremony; present, the Earls of Strathearn, Atholl, Angus, Menteith, and Buchan, along with the Bishop of St. Andrews, Malevicine, and others, vested in the great Cope [*Ford. Scotichron., lib. ix., cap. l.*]; but he was neither Anointed, Crowned, nor Seated on his Throne by a Bishop or Bishops assisting (as I have noticed under the Episcopate of James Bennet, which see); for, seven years after his Inauguration at Scone, he requested to be Crowned by the Representative of the Apostolic See. The Legate transmitted the request to the Pope, and the Pope, Honorius III., at once rejected it by Rescript, in 1221, replying that the King of the Scots is said to be the subject of the King of England, and that, therefore, he is not to be Crowned by the Legate of the Holy See, unless with the consent of the English King and his Bishops. Twelve years afterwards, King Alexander II. preferred to Pope Gregory IX. the request which Pope Honorius III. had refused. It was successfully opposed by the Archbishop of York, backed by King Henry III., as an encroachment alike on the right and dignity of the English Crown, and on the right and privilege of the Church of York. But although twice unsuccessful, the object was not abandoned. [See under the Episcopate of David, 1239.] A.D. 1206, a question between Bishop Malvoisine and Duncan of Arbuthnot, as to the Kirk-town or Churchland of Arbuthnot, was decided in favour of the Bishop, after

hearing Witnesses, in a Synod at Perth, attended by the Abbots of Dunfermline, Arbroath, and Scone, the Priors of St. Andrews, May, and Restennet, and certain Deans and Clerks. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., Preface, clxxxiii.*]

Bishop Malvoisine founded the Hospital of S. Mary at Lochleven, called Scotlandwell. He was the first who introduced Dominicans into Scotland. He was Bishop here in 1204 [*Writs Church of Durham*], and in 1212. [*Cart. Dunferml.*] Charter of the Church of S. Martin, Strathechin, by William, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1214-15. [*Mid-Lothian Charters, Bannatyne Club.*] He went to a General Council in Rome in 1215, at which Innocent III. presided, and Preached the opening Sermon: it was attended by 410 Prelates. He returned in 1218. The Bishops of Glasgow and Moray, and Henry, Abbot of Kelso, also went with him to this Council. [*Chron. Melros.*] "William miseratione divina Episcopus Sti Andreæ humilis minister," *i.e.*, "William, by Divine mercy, the humble Minister of St. Andrews," makes a Mortification for the soul of King William about the ninth year of the Reign of King Alexander II. [*Cart. Cambusk.*] He was Bishop here in the tenth year of his Reign [*Cart. Mor.*], and Cotemporary with Walter, Bishop of Glasgow. [*Cart. Glasg.*] He was Bishop here in 1234 and in 1237, and Cotemporary with Pope Honorius III., and with Sayerus de Quincy. [*Cart. Dunferml.*] He was also, in the 30th year of the Reign of King Alexander II., and in the time of William Frazer, Chancellor, and of Robert, Bishop of Glasgow. [*Ibid.*] *Keith* adds, in a Note contradictory of the above Charters,—William Malvoisine was not Cotemporary with William Frazer, Chancellor, nor with Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, nor did he live in the 30th year of any of the Alexanders: the William here meant, therefore, must be *William Wishart*, to whom all these three Characters agree. In the early part of his Episcopate there was a Controversy between him and the Culdees of Monymusk, over which the Bishops of St. Andrews claimed certain rights of jurisdiction and property. He wrote the Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern. [*Dempster.*] In the Cartulary of Paisley there is a Charter of Confirmation by William, Bishop of St. Andrews, which bears these words, "Noveritis

nos divinæ charitatis intuitu, ad exemplar felicis recordationis Willielmi prædecessoris nostri, concessisse," &c. *i.e.*, "Know that we, by looking upon Divine charity, following the example of the happy remembrance of our Predecessor William, have granted," &c. And after this, in the Cartulary, follows another Confirmation of the same subjects, by David, Bishop of St. Andrews, in 1247. Now, David was indeed Bishop of this See at this time, and was Successor of Bishop William Malvoisine; but it does not appear, as yet, that this Bishop Malvoisine had a Predecessor in the See of the name William, as this Charter would insinuate. And, N.B., that the Witnesses to Bishop William are, *William Eglishem, Archdeacon of Londiern.* Bishop Malvicine had got from the Pope a Legatine power, with a view to promote an expedition into the Holy Land for the relief of Jerusalem; and, after his return from France, having assumed Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, into the same Office, the two held a Council at Perth, in 1212, where were present many Noble persons, &c., to set forward the undertaking. Yet the Writer observes, that few only of the richer sort were in love with it, 500 having perished in the last expedition. [*Fordun, lib. viii., c.* 78.]

Bishop Malvoisine Consecrated Adam (Abbot of Melrose) Bishop of Caithness, on the 11th May, 1214; as also Clement (a Preaching Friar) Bishop of Dunblane, on the F. of the Translation of S. Cuthbert, 1233. [*Chron. Melros.*] Archbishop Spottiswoode says [*Hist. Church of Scot., vol. i., p.* 83], "He was a man of singular wisdom and courage. He lived a long time (for he sat Bishop after his Translation 35 years), and governed the Church most happily. The rents alienated by his Predecessors, or lost by their negligence, he recovered to his See; advanced the fabric of the Church (which was then a-building) more than any that went before him; and suffered no man, of what quality soever he was, to usurp upon the Church or the possessions of it." Fordun [*Scotichron., lib. vi., c.* 42] records that Malvoisine was not a Member of the "Temperance League." He deprived the Abbey of Dunfermline of the collation of two Vicarages—Kinglassie and Hales, because its Monks had neglected to supply him

with wine enough for his supper. Fordun adds that the Monks had provided a sufficient quantity of wine, but that the Bishop's attendants, as fond of it as their master, had drunk it all first.

This Bishop Confirms to the Priory the Churches of Adnathan (Naughton), Kilrimund, Linlithgow, Foulis, Lathrisk, and the Chapel of Kettle; the fruits of the latter two to be applied to the construction of the Cathedral, saving the right of Roger de Huntingford, after whose Death the Canons must appoint a Vicar who should be answerable to the Bishop *in spirituals*. He gives to the Vicar of Haddington the Oblations of the whole Parish, all the Tithe of trade and merchandise, and of cattle-births (ortorum) within the Burgh, half of the Tithe of hay, and the Vicarage-house. The same Bishop binds the Church of Scoonie, through its Vicar, to pay 20 Marks annually towards the building of the Cathedral. He also Confirms to the Priors and Canons the Pentecostal Oblations of his whole Diocese, on condition that they apply them to carrying on the Cathedral. With consent of his Chapter, he gives them the Church of Keig, between the two streams, Conglessy and Puthakin, which run into the River Don at Aberdeen. With a view to augment the Archdeaconry of St. Andrews, he gives the Church of Tarvet to Archdeacon Laurence and his Successors for ever. In a Dispute which occurred between Bishop Malvoisine and the Culdees of Monymusk, he declares that they who give up the Secular for the Regular Habit, and "return again to the world, like the dog to his vomit, are deservedly abominated of God and man. Therefore, if any of the Canons or Culdees of

The Seal of Malvoisine is almost the same as that of Richard, with the addition of a Star or Estoile on either side of the figure. The Legend is SIGILL. WILLI. DEI GRA. SCOTTOR. EPISCOPI.

Monymusk have thus acted, they are not to be restored till they have given ample satisfaction." In an Agreement between Malvoisine and the Culdees of Monymusk, the latter are to have one Refectory and one Dormitory in common; but they are to Bury their Dead in the Parish Cemetery. Their number, to be twelve, shall present one Bresius to the Bishop, to be constituted by him as their Head. At his Death they are to name three, out of whom the Bishop shall choose one to succeed him, on his swearing fidelity to him. They shall not enter into the regular Order of the Canons, nor increase their number, without the Bishop's consent. They shall keep the possessions they now have, but shall not add to them; and they shall only receive a part of the Oblations made to their Monastery. When the Bishop goes to Monymusk, they shall receive him in solemn procession. The Bishop engages, on his part, to protect them. Malvoisine gave to the Canons of Lochleven the Church of Auchtermoonzie, for the support of Pilgrims. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.; Lyon's History, vol. ii., Appendix, vi.*]

The Counter-Seal has a Patriarchal Cross, adorned with two Stars and an Alpha and Omega. The Legend is AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA, *i.e.*, Hail Mary, full of grace. [*Panmure Charters.*]

Dr Joseph Robertson gives an interesting Letter in *Mabillon's Analecta*, from the Archbishop of Lyons to William Malvoisine, which seems to have been the first step towards the abolition of a "Bishop, Abbot, or Priest" being compelled to fight in person like a layman on the battle-field. The Clergy on both sides of the Tweed were thus bound to the arbitration of single combat in all questions between them, referred by the Laws of the Marches. A few years afterwards, the Church of Glasgow, probably through the intercession of Malvoisine, who was then at Rome, obtained a Bull from Pope Innocent III., forbidding the practice, under pain of Excommunication. The Pope's prohibition was in 1216; yet, 30 years afterwards, the Laws of the Marches declare that, except the King of England, the King of Scotland, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Durham, every man in England,

from Totness northward, every man in Scotland, from Caithness southward, must undergo "wager of battle" upon the Border when called upon. [*Act. Parl. Scot., vol. i., p.* 84.*] However, this unseemly usage was too inveterate to be readily abandoned, and at the end of 20 years we find, in 1237, a Petition from the Bishops and Clergy of England to the Cardinal Legate Otho, praying that he would move the Kings of England and of Scotland to free them from "wager of battle" upon the Border. The Burgesses of Inverness and of Murray were relieved from "wager of battle" by King William the Lion, A.D. 1189-99. [*Act. Parl. Scot., vol. i., Preface, p.* 79; *Stat. Ecc. Scot., cciii.*] Matthew Paris, the English Chronicler, says that the Cardinal Legate Otho, when he was sent from Rome to restore peace between Scotland and England, 7th May, 1237, was withstood by King Alexander II., affirming that no Legate had ever yet set foot on Scottish ground. Paris says so against the fact that this King had seen a Legate hold a Council at Perth for four days. In *Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot., p.* 35, there is given a Letter of Pope Gregory IX., commending the Cardinal Legate Otho to King Alexander II., 10th May, 1237. The Legatine Constitutions of Otho, A.D. 1237, were adopted as Canons of the Scottish Church, viz., Concerning the appointment, prudence, and fidelity of Confessors,—Concerning their location, garb, and conduct,—Concerning the cohabitation of Clerics and of their Concubines: the latter are to be turned out of their houses within a month, and the former to be suspended from their Office and Benefice,—Concerning those who are to be publicly Excommunicated, four times a-year,—Concerning the Residence and Ordination of Vicars.

In 1225, the Scottish Clergy were, by an unusual exercise of the grace and prerogative of the Papal See, empowered to meet in Provincial Council without the presence of a Legate or a Metropolitan. Some of the Scottish Bishops had represented to Pope Honorius III. that, in a Country which was so remote from Rome, and had no Archbishop to call a Provincial Council, the Statutes of General Councils failed to receive due observance, and many enormities were suffered to pass unpunished. The

Pontiff, therefore, by Bull 12th May, 1225, commanded the Prelates of the Scottish Church to hold Provincial Councils yearly, when all Bishops, Abbots, and Conventual Priors should meet in grave attire, on a day fixed by the Conservator, and might sit three days, if need required. Attendance was enforced. Beginning with the Bishop of St. Andrews (who, as yet, styled himself "Bishop of the Scots," although precedence was the only pre-eminence which he enjoyed), each Bishop in turn was to Preach at the opening of the Council yearly. The Bishops were to choose one of their number to be Conservator of the Ordinances of the Council. He was to hold office from one Council to another, with power to punish notorious transgressors of the Canons. He summoned the Council together by a Notice sent to each Bishop, stating the time and place of Meeting, and requiring him to attend with all his Clergy, with the representatives of Cathedral Chapels, Collegiate Churches, and Conventual Clergy. The Conservator presided, and commenced with the *Veni Creator*—"the loveliest of Latin Hymns," the composition of Pope Innocent—and ended with the Benediction. If he was unavoidably absent, his place was taken by the senior Bishop. The Conservator, however, had not Metropolitan powers, as some have opined. The State asserted its right to a seat and voice in these Councils. Few notices of their Meetings have been chronicled. Between 1237 and 1286, little more than half a Century after the Bull of Honorius III., fifty or sixty Canons sufficed for the government of the Church of Scotland almost to the "Reformation." The fewer the Laws, in all times, cases, and places, the more easily are they digested; and, better still, "where no Law is, there is no transgression." A Provincial Council appears to have been held at Perth, 1st July, 1238. All that is known of it is that it was attended by four Bishops, four Abbots, an Archdeacon, and a Dean, and that judgment in a Controversy between the Bishop of Dunblane and the Earl of Menteith was

Another Counter Seal of Malvoisine. The Legend is SECRETUM SANCTI ANDREE. [*Melr. Chart.*]

sealed in its presence. The Bishops present were Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, and Dunblane. The aged Bishop of St. Andrews—the energetic Norman, then lay on his Death-bed. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., Preface, xlix.-lv.*]

Malvoisine Died at his Palace of Inchmurtach, *al.* Inchmartine, 15th July, 1238. This was a country Residence of the Bishops of St. Andrews, near where Kenlygreen House now stands, at Boarhills. The ruins were removed and the foundations razed about a Century ago. He was the first Bishop who was Buried in the Cathedral Church, the Choir of which was by this time probably completed. Sir James Dalrymple says, that he saw a Seal of this Bishop appended to an Indenture in 1237. After the Death of Bishop William, both Clergy and Laity were desirous to have

Galfrid, Bishop of Dunkeld, placed in the See of St. Andrews; but the King not consenting to his Translation,

XXV. David, A.D. 1239-53,

Whose Surname is variously expressed (some writing it Benham, some Bernham, and others Bertram), Great Chamberlain to the King, was Elected 3rd June, 1239, and Consecrated Bishop here on S. Vincent's Day (January 22), 1240, by William, Gilbert, and Clement, Bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Dunblane, with whom, therefore, he was Cotemporary, as also with Galfrid and Clement, Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, and in the time of King Alexander II. [*Cart. Balmerino.*] His real Surname was Bernham; he was Born in the Town of Berwick, and descended of an ancient Family of Burgesses there. In the Chartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews he is designed *Camerarius Scotiæ*, and mentioned alongst with his brother, *Robertus Bernham burgensis de Berwick*, who is probably the same person who was afterwards Major of Berwick, 1249. [*Nicolson, Border Laws.*] He was Bishop here in 1240 [*ibid. et Cart. Kels.*], and in 1242 [*Cart. Camb. et Glasg.*], in which year he held a Provincial Council at Perth, the King himself and several of the Nobility assisting therein. He was Bishop in 1247. [*Cart. Kels.*] He performed the Ceremony of Anointing King Alexander III., at Scone. A

few months after this King had been placed on "The Stone of Fate" at Scone, King Henry III. petitioned Pope Innocent IV. for a Mandate to forbid the Anointing or Coronation of the King of Scots, without consent of the English King, whose liegeman, he said, the King of Scots was. So the matter rested for nearly 80 years, until King Robert the Bruce had been Inaugurated in haste, with less than the accustomed pomp—the solemn sanction of the "*Lia Fail*," the Stone of Destiny, the Pillow of Jacob, being wanting to the Rite. In the last days of his Reign he sent two Ambassadors, the Bishops of Murray and Brechin (4000 Marks were provided for the dispatch of their business at Rome), to request of the Apostolic See that he and his Successors might be Anointed and Crowned by the Bishop of St. Andrews. The success of his arms and the wisdom of his counsels had silenced the opposition of England, and the privilege so long coveted was conceded at last by the Bull of Pope John II., 13th June, 1329. It came too late for Bruce himself, who Died at Cardross a few days before the Bulls passed the Seals at Avignon. They were accompanied with one condition, viz., that the officiating Bishop, in the name of the Pope and the See of Rome, exact an Oath from the King and his Successors that they would do their utmost to root out of their Kingdom and dominions all whom the Church should denounce as Heretics. The Scottish Coronation Oath, however, failed to restrain Scotland from her wonted preference to support Antipopes. [*Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, Preface, xlvi.*] This Oath was abandoned A.D. 1707. King William III. paused while it was being administered to him and his Queen, "holding up their hands to Heaven," A.D. 1689.

Bishop D. [Bernham] gives the Canons of Monymusk, Dolbethoc [Dolbeatie], with its pertinents, for the sustaining of poor Pilgrims resorting thither. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andrews.*] Bishop David of Bernhame promulgated in his Diocesan Synod, held at Musselburgh, 5th May, 1242, Synodal Canons or Constitutions, which were long held in repute. They were thought worthy of a place in the Great Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, now unhappily lost; and, at the distance of more than a Century, their Preamble was borrowed by the English Bishop of the Sudreys

for the Canons which he framed for his insular Diocese. The present Bishop of Brechin, Dr. A. P. Forbes, has furnished a List of Churches which Bishop Berham Consecrated, found written on a fly-leaf of his Pontificate, now in the Imperial Library at Paris, and which has been printed in the *Stat. Ecc. Scot.*, *ccxcviii.* This List is a signal monument of the activity of this Prelate. There were not 300 Churches in all his Diocese, and yet 140 were Consecrated by him in 10 years. He Consecrated 3 Churches in 1240, 9 in 1241, 40 in 1242, 49 in 1243, 17 in 1244, 6 in 1245, 4 in 1246, 5 in 1247, 3 in 1248, and 3 in 1249. The first Church on this List of Consecrations is at Lasswade, 2 Nones of May, 1240, and the last at Clackmannan, Non. Kal. Septr., 1249. A note of a few of Bishop Bernham's Consecrations in the *Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*, *p.* 348, supplies the information that Linlithgow was Dedicated to S. Michael; Ecclesgrig, to S. Cyric, Martyr; Foulis, to S. Marnan, Confessor; Scoonie, to S. Memma or Mennina, Virgin; Kilrymonth, to the Holy Trinity; Markinch, to S. John the Baptist and to S. Modrust, Confessor; Lathrisk, to S. John the Evangelist and to S. Athernisc, Confessor; Rossinclerach, to S. Lawrence, Martyr, and to S. Coman, Confessor.

David [Bernham], Bishop of St. Andrews, is the first Witness to a Chart of Adam, son of Oden, with consent of his wife and heir, selling to the Prior and Canons a tenement in St. Andrews, "lying between the way leading from the South Street to the Water which runs to the Abbey on the one side, and the Hospital of S. Leonard on the other," for 40 Silver Marks. He institutes John de Cellaris to the Church of Dairsey on the presentation of the Priory.—Whereas John [White], Prior of St. Andrews, had obtained Letters from the Pope, enjoining the Bishop of Brechin, and two others, to summon before them David [Bernham], Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Provost of the Culdees of the same City, regarding some disputed Rents, the said Letters are withdrawn, in consequence of the Death of Bernham, A.D. 1253. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.; Lyon's Hist., vol. ii., Appendix, vi.*]

The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity of Berwick-on-Tweed, polluted by the blood of a "clericus scholaris," or scoloc, shed

by a brother scoloc, was reconciled by David, Bishop of St. Andrews, "according to the laws of the Canons," A.D. 1242. [*Dr. Raine's North Durham, App. No. ccclxxx., p.* 89.] The Office which the Bishop used is preserved in his Pontificale, now in the Imperial Library at Paris, and a Note on the fly-leaf records the Date of the reconciliation. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., p.* 280.] Otho, the Cardinal Legate, held a Legatine Council at Holyrood, 19th October, 1239. For reverence to the sweet Name of Jesus, he gave an Indulgence of ten days. Having heard in the Preface of the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, *Jesus Christum Dominum nostrum*, he devoutly bowed his head. [*Chron. de Lauere, p.* 48.] In the beginning of November he left Scotland, pausing on the banks of the Liddel to write a Letter to the Bishops of Scotland on behalf of the Monks of Kelso. In 1238, he was empowered to release certain Knights and others, subjects of the Scottish King, from their vows to join the Crusade. [*Cart. Kelso; Stat. Ecc. Scot., lvii.*]

David was Bishop in 1250 and in 1251. [*Cart. Kels., Camb. et Glasg.*] He styles himself "Permissione divina ecclesiæ Sti Andreæ humilis minister." He governed the See thirteen years, three months, and nine days, and being taken suddenly ill, after lingering twelve months, he Died at Northampton, 6to Idus Maii 1253, and was Buried in the Abbey Church of Kelso. [*Cart. Melros.*] He Died Kal. 6to Maii, not at Northampton, but at Narthanshire or Narthashire, now Newthorn in vic. de Berwic, and was Buried in Kelso. [*Fordun.*] But if this Bishop did not die till 1253, he certainly sat longer in the See. The time of his Death is better fixed by the occasion of his journey into England, viz., the Marriage of King Alexander III. with Margaret, the Daughter of King Henry III. of England, at which time he fell into a Fever and Died, 26th April, 1253.

The Seal of Bernham has a full-length figure of a Bishop in Episcopal Vestments; profile to sinister; at the dexter side is a Crescent and an Estoile. The Inscription is entirely lost. Counter Seal—an antique gem; Nymphs mocking Silenus. "memento domine david." Appended to a Letter of the Bishop to the Prior of Coldingham. *Dean and Chapter of Durham.* [*H. Laing's Cat. of Scot. Seals, vol. ii., p.* 168.]

The greatest confusion in the List of the Bishops of this See is about this time; for some tell us that the voice of the Prior and of the Canons were all in favour of

Robert Sitteville, Dean of the See of Dunkeld, but that one

XXVI. Abel, A.D. 1253-54,

Formerly a Canon of the Church of Glasgow, and now Archdeacon of St. Andrews, having procured a Mandate from the Court for the Canons to proceed to a new Election, which they refused to comply with, posted away to Rome, and by bribes got himself Consecrated there by Pope Innocent IV. The *Chronicle of Melrose* observes, that Robert, Prior of St. Andrews, sent a representation of this affair to the Pope, as did the King on the other part by Abel, and that Abel, when at Rome, procured himself to be Consecrated; that, upon his return home, the King, after some displeasure shown, received him honourably enough, and that he Died in 1254. "He was ane Roman born, he was ane guid Philosopher, and ane Doctor of the Cannon Law; he was only Bishope 10 months and 2 oulks. Died 1254." [*Ancient MS., Advocates' Library.*] Fordun takes notice, that the Chapter and he disagreeing, he Died of grief in 1254, after he had sat only ten months; and Wyntoun says, he was Bishop scarcely half-a-year, and that "he purchased the Bishopric of the Pope." Others, again, make no mention at all of any such Bishop as Abel; but I have seen in the *Cartulary of Glasgow*, A. designed Bishop of St. Andrews in the 23d year of King Alexander II., *i.e.*, in 1237. Pope Innocent IV. authorizes Abel to refuse Church Benefices, unless with his own consent, or by an express Papal Mandate. Given at the Lateran, 12 Kal. April, the 11th year of our Pontificate, A.D. 1254. At his return from Rome, to be revenged of the Prior and Canons, he behaved well-insolently, calling them in question for every light occasion, and censuring them with great rigour; whereupon he became extremely hated. They write of him, that in a vain-glorious humour, as he was walking in his Church one day, he did with a little chalk draw this line upon the gate of the Church—*Hæc mihi sunt tria, Lex, Canon, Philosophia*—

These three pertain to me—
Law, Canon, and Philosophy;

bragging of his knowledge and skill in these possessions; and that going to Church the next day, he found another line drawn beneath the former upon the gate—*Te elevant absque, tria, Fraus, Favor, Vana Sophia*—

Nay, these three elevate thee—
Fraud, Favour, and Vain-glory.

This did so gall him, as, taking bed, he Died within a few days. He was Buried before the High Altar in the Cathedral Church. [*Spottiswoode.*]

The Seal of Abel has a figure of a Bishop similar to the Seal of Bishop Bernham. The Legend is S'. ABEL DEI GRA. EPI. SCI ANDREA. Appended to an Indulgence Dated 4th June, 1254,—*Dean and Chapter of Durham.* As there were many of these Indulgences granted by the Scottish Bishops during this and the following Century, it may not be uninteresting here to give the Form, which is the same in all, except, of course, the Date and Name of the Bishop:—"Indulgentia xl. diez concessa per Abel dei gra. Epm sci Andree oibz visitantibz feretrum sancti Cuthberti sive Galilean in eccles' Dunhelm' cum orationibz et donis. Dat' apd Dunelm' 4 non' Jun M.CC.LIV." [*H. Laing's Cat. of Scot. Seals, vol. ii., p.* 168.]

The following interesting Charters illustrate Abel's position in the Church, taken from *Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*, printed at Rome, by the types of the Vatican, 1864.

No. 134. Concerning the Plurality of Benefices.

Innocentius episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Abel, clerico Carissimi in Christo filii nostri ... Regis Scotie Illustris, Canonico Glasguensi, sal. etc.—Apostolice sedis benignitas consueta favet facile desideriis subiectorum, quia quanto gratie sue dona dispensatione provida liberalius elargitur, tanto ipsius munificentia clarius elucescit et ilarescit sinceritus devotorum. Cum igitur, sicut asseris ad petitionem Carissimi in Christo filii nostri ... Regis Scotie Illustris tecum auctoritate apostolica fuerit dispensatum, ut preter obtenta posses unicum adhuc beneficium seu personatum vel aliam ecclesiasticam dignitatem, etiam si curam haberet animarum annexam, recipere libere, si tibi canonice offerretur, ac una cum obtentis retinere licite, constitutione concilii generalis non obstante, ac postmodum beneficium aliud huiusmodi curam habens fueris obtentu ipsius

dispensationis adeptus, et deinde ad ecclesiam de Smalhan tunc vacantem a vero ipsius patrono Venerabili fratre nostro ... Episcopo Sancti Andree, cuius diocesanus existis, canonice presentatus, ac idem Episcopus illam tibi nolenti eam recipere absque sedis predicte licentia speciali duxerit commendandam : Nos ob predicti Regis intuitum et tue merita probitatis te volentes gratia prosequi ampliori, ut eandem ecclesiam, et preter eam ac predicta obtenta adhuc unicum aliud beneficium seu personatum vel dignitatem ecclesiasticam, etiam si huiusmodi curam habeat, possis recipere libere, ac cum predictis obtentis licite retinere, constitutione prefata nequaquam obstante, auctoritate tibi presentium indulgemus. Proviso etc. Nulli ergo etc. Datum Lugduni xiii. Kal. Aprilis, Pont. n. anno quinto. [*From Pope Innocent IV., 20th March, A.D.* 1248.]

No. 136. Concerning the Withholding of Churches by the Religious in the Diocese of St. Andrews.

Innocentius episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Abel Capellano nostro, Canonico Glasguensi, salutem etc.—Cum, sicut ex parte Venerabilis fratris nostri ... Epi Sancti Andree fuit propositum coram nobis, nonnulli religiosi sue diocesis quamplures ecclesias inibi existentes de facto suis usibus detineant applicatas, in ecclesiarum ipsarum preiudicium et salutis proprie detrimentum : Nos volentes ecclesiarum ipsarum indempnitati et saluti consulere animarum, mandamus, quatenus de ecclesiis ipsis statuas, dummodo super illis dicti religiosi per concessionem apostolicam non sint tuti, prout tibi videbitur expedire. Contradictores etc. Datum Lugduni iiii. Kal. Iunii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto. [*From Pope Innocent IV., 29th May, A.D.* 1248.]

No. 162. Concerning Abel, having been Rejected as Dean of Dunkeld, Preferred to the Episcopate of St. Andrews.

Innocentius episcopus etc. Dilectis filiis Capitulo Sancti Andree, salutem etc.—Ad culmen summi apostolatus assumpti generalis ecclesie regimini presumus, illius licet immeriti vices gerentes in terris, qui sine fine regnat in celis, unigenitus dei filius Ihesus Christus. Verum magni nobis ex hoc timoris materia imminet, et dum incumbentis sollicitudinis attendimus sarcinam, mens nimirum nostra stupescit : nam cum suscepta cura debitum pastoralis officii continua instantia exigat, et nos ex nostra simus insufficientia non solvendo, possumus non immerito formidare, ne minus plene commissam nobis potestatis plenitudinem exequamur, quamquam circa crediti nobis dominici gregis custodiam, quantum ex infirmimitate valemus humana, negligentie sompno ab oculis excusso, diligentia sedula vigilemus, firmam tamen spem fiduciamque tenentes, quod ille, qui nos voluit suos fieri vicarios, nos ad portandum utiliter impositum humeris nostris onus gratiam assidue largiatur. Ecclesiis omnibus solertia indefessa prospicimus, earum providere utilitatibus et indempnitatibus precavere studentes, in eo potissime, ut talibus gubernatio committatur ipsarum, quorum studio laudabilibus in spiritualibus et temporalibus proficiant incrementis, et illarum precipue, que Romane ecclesie noscuntur nullo medio subiacere, cum

quanto specialius subsunt, ei tanto de ipsis teneamur sollicitius cogitare. Sane vestra ecclesia pastoris sollatio destituta, vos ... Decanum Dunkeldensem in vestrum eligentes Episcopum, et propter hoc nuncios, seu procuratores ad sedem apostolicam destinantes, petivistis humiliter, ut electionem huiusmodi confirmare de benignitate apostolica curaremus. Sed ... procurator ..... Prepositi et Capituli Calideorum ecclesie sancte Marie civitatis Sancti Andree, ac dilectus filius Magister Abel electus, tunc Archidiaconus Sancti Andree, electioni se opponentes eidem proponere curaverunt, quod cum eis contemptis qui vocari et interesse debuerant, eadem fuissiet electio celebrata, confirmanda non erat, sed potius infirmanda. Ad quod fuit pro parte vestra responsum quod cum in Epi electione ipsi ius aliquod non haberent, dicere vere non poterant se fuisse contemptos; presertim cum temporibus retroactis soli Canonici regulares ecclesie Sancti Andree sine Preposito et Calideis ipsis ac sine Archidiacono ipsius ecclesie in illa Epos elegissent, et a tempore, cuius non extant memoria fuissent in possessione taliter eligendi ac extitisset, etiam ipsis Canonicis regularibus iamdudum ab apostolica sede indultum, quod obeunte ipsis ecclesie Sancti Andree Episcopo, nullus preficeretur ibidem, nisi quem ipsi vel maior eorum pars sibi ducerent eligendum, quodque obeuntibus Calideis, Canonici regulares in eadem ecclesia in locum subrogarentur ipsorum. Sed predictus Archidiaconus e contra proposuit, quod ante quam in ipsa ecclesia ordinati essent vel introducti Canonici regulares, Archidiaconalis dignitas fuerat in eadem. Et licet exeuntibus Calideis de predicta Sancti Andree ecclesia, et intrantibus prefatam ecclesiam sancte Marie, prebendas, libertates et iura sua integre retinendo Canonici regulares in ipsam ecclesiam Sancti Andree fuerint introducti: Archidiaconalis tamen dignitas nunquam ibi evanuit, sed perseveravit ibidem, et Archidiaconalis in eadem remansit ecclesia cum ipsis Canonicis regularibus, sicut ibi consueverat prius esse. Adiecit insuper, quod predecessor ipsius postulationi facte in eadem ecclesia de bone memorie Galfrido Dunkeldensi Episcopo interfuerat, quod pars vestra etiam fatebatur, quamvis diceret quod non ut Archidiaconus, sed ut consiliarius postulationi huiusmodi affuisset: subiunxit etiam, quod bone memorie David Episcopus S. Andree sibi, sicut etiam pars versa dicebat, Archidiaconatum eundem contulerat, stallo in choro et loca in Capitulo ipsius ecclesie assignatis: quodque ipso die, quo predicta fuit electio celebrata vos ante publicationem electionis ipsius consensum Archidiaconi requirentes eiusdem institistis sollicite apud ipsum, quod electionem huiusmodi acceptaret, quod nequaquam pars vestra negavit, licet adiecerit, quod hoc ideo feceratis, ut vitaretis in hac parte litigium, et ipse contradicendi materiam non haberet. Nos igitur permissis omnibus plenius intellectis, electionem eandem de fratrum nostrorum consilio iustitia cassavimus exigente. Ceterum quia nostra potissime interesse dinoscitur ad cunctas ecclesias, et maxime ad illas, que specialius subsunt nobis, prospicere vigilanter, ne pastorum cura diutius desit eis, volentes obviare dispendiis que predicta Sancti Andree ecclesia ex vacatione possit incurrere longiori, ac de tali sibi, qui tanto congruet oneri et honori presule providere, prefatum Magistrum Abel, nunc electum, tunc Archidiaconum

Sancti Andree et Capellanum nostrum virum utique scientia preditum, morum honestate conspicuum, consilio providum, et in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspectum, nec non acceptum nobis et eisdem fratribus sue merito probatitis, iamdicte Sancti Andree ecclesie, de ipsorum fratrum consilio et apostolice potestatis plenitudine, in Episcopum prefecimus et pastorem, firma concepta fiducia, quod eadem ecclesia sub tali et tanti pontificis regimine laudabilibus circa spiritualia et temporalia, auctore domino, proficiet incrementis. Ideoque mandamus, quatenus eundem electum tanquam patrem et pastorem animarum vestrarum devote suscipientes, obedientiam sibi et reverentiam debitam impendatis, monitis et mandatis eius salubribus humilitere intendendo. Alioquin sententiam etc. usque observari. Datum Laterani x. Kal. Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno undecimo. [*From Pope Innocent IV.*, 20*th Feb.*, *A.D.* 1254.]

XXVII. Gameline. 1255-71.

Gameline was one of the *Clerici Regis Alexandri II.*, and Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and was made Lord Chancellor in 1250 [*Chron. Melros.*], which adds, that he was Elected Bishop of this See, not by the Culdees (who were deprived of voting at this Election), but by the Prior and Convent of St. Andrews, and that his Election was approved by the King and his Council. Master Gameline—*Magister Gamelinus*—Chancellor of the King of Scotland, was appointed one of the Chaplains of Pope Innocent IV., February 13, 1254. We find Gameline Elect of St. Andrews in December, 1255, on S. Thomas' Day [*Cart. Dunferl.*], and he was Consecrated on S. Stephen's Day in the same year, upon a Warrant from the Pope to Bishop William Bondington of Glasgow [*Spottiswoode*]. Pope Alexander IV. commands Gameline to prohibit King Alexander III. from seizing the property of his Church, Dated at Avignon, 12 Kal. Dec., 1259, in the first year of our Pontificate. A similar Prohibition is Dated at Avignon Kal. Dec., fifth year of our Pontificate. This Bishop was a man of good repute, but became disagreeable to the Court because he would not Absolve a Knight named Sir John de Dunmore (a Soldier of the King), whom he had Excommunicated for some offence against the Prior and Canons. This difference was finally settled, by the Knight acknowledging his crime and repairing the wrong which he had committed [anno 1267]. [*Scotichron., lib. x., cap.* 22.] The enforcement of Excommunication was always, if

needs be, enforced by the secular arm; and the one Bishop, by the Statutes of Scotland, was supported by all his Brethren.

The *Chronicle of Melrose* relates, how that this Bishop was banished by the King's Councillors, both because he would not give his consent to their bad advices, and because he would not advance a sum of money for the purchase of the Bishopric; that, having been denied a passage through England, he sailed into France, from whence he went to Rome to plead his cause before the Pope, in which meantime his enemies seized on all his goods. The Pope gave sentence in his behalf, Excommunicated his enemies, and ordered the Sentence to be proclaimed throughout Scotland, which had the effect of restoring tranquillity.

"De Episcopi Sancti Andreæ Scotiæ arrestando. Rex, &c. [Angliæ.] Quia Magister Gamelinus ep. St. And. Sco. quædam impetrarit ad curiam Romanam in exhæredationem dilecti filii et fidelis nostri Alexandri Regis Scotiæ illustris, qui filiam nostram duxit in uxorem, non sine nostro et ipsius Regis scandalo et dedecore manifesto, propter quod sustinere nolumus quod regnum nostrum ingrediatur," &c. A complaint by the Pope to the King of England was made against the King of Scotland, for encroaching upon the rights of the Church and of Churchmen. [*Keith.*]

I give these *References* in full, thus: Henry III., King of England, orders the Bailies of his Cinque Ports to arrest Gameline, Bishop of St. Andrews, should he enter into his dominions.—"The King, to his Barons and Bailies of Dover and the other Cinque Ports, Health. Whereas Master Gameline, Bishop of St. Andrews, has obtained, not without great scandal, certain requests at the Court of Rome, to the prejudice of our beloved and faithful son, Alexander, King of Scotland, who is married to our daughter, on which account we are unwilling to allow him to enter our dominions. Therefore we send you our attendant, William Doiset, to watch the approach of the said Bishop and his followers coming either from foreign parts or from the Kingdom of Scotland, commanding that you cause him and them to be Arrested, as the said William shall direct in our name, till you receive orders to the contrary. At Windsor, 22nd day of January, 1258." [*Rymer, vol. i., p.* 652.]

Bishop Gameline Baptized, in 1263, Alexander III.'s son, who Died at the age of 20. [*Wyntoun.*] He is Witness to King Alexander III. in a Charter of the lands of Tillicoultry to William, Earl of Mar, an. reg. 14. [*Writs of the Family of Mar.*] In this Bishop's time the Carmelite Friars came into Scotland. He Confirms to the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews the Church of

Forgan, in Fife, in 1266. He was Bishop in 1266. [*Cart. Kelso et Scone.*] Item, in 1270 [*Cart. Kelso*], and 1271, in which year, 29th April, he Died at Inchmurtach, of the palsy, immediately after his return from the Dedication of a Church at Peebles. [*Fordun.*] He was Buried at the north side of the High Altar of his Cathedral. In the year of this Bishop's Death, there were no less than five Scottish Bishoprics vacant, the Rents of which King Alexander III. sacrilegiously applied to his own use, till they were filled up.

Counter Seal of Gameline represents S. Andrew in the act of being bound on his Cross by two Crucifiers. An Angel is placing the Crown of Martyrdom on his head. Below is a Bishop Vested, praying. Across the Seal—SECRETI GAME. Circumscription—ME DATER REGAS MEA. [*Panmure Charters.*] A.D. 1271.—In Laing's Cabinet of Seals there is but a fragment of Gameline's Seal, having a full-length figure of a Bishop, with the background ornamented with foliage.

Among the Papal Bulls preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, there is one from Pope Alexander IV. to the Bishop of Dunblane, empowering him to cause Bishop Gameline to be invested with the Revenues of the Rectory of Smalham, in virtue of his being the legal Procurator of the same; and another from the same Pope, addressed to Gameline himself, authorizing him to fill up vacancies in Parish Churches in all cases within four months after the vacancies occurred. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr., xliii.; Lyon's Hist., vol. i., p.* 122.]

Martine, the Author of the *Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ*, after having copied into his Book the Catalogue of the Bishops and Archbishops according to Spottiswoode, remarks, "although something unwillinglie," that, in this enumeration of the Prelates, "one Daniel, Bishop of St. Andrews, is omitted, whom I find particularlie named and designed one of the Bishops of St. Andrews, in Bishop William Landell's Confirmation of the rights of the Monasterie of Haddington, Dated May 20, 1359; where the Granter of the Charter, speaking of the Founders of, and Benefactors to, this Monasterie, there are some Bishops of St. Andrews twice named and thus ranked, Richard, William, David, and

Daniel, being all the Confirmer's Predecessors in the See of St. Andrews. But by Spottiswoode and the said Catalogue there is no place found for this Daniel, except we conjecture that he immediatelie preceded Landell, the Granter of the Confirmation, at which time, according to this Author, the See vaiked nine years. How to solve the Primate's authority for omitting this Daniel, against the forecited testimonie, which is so expressive, I know not, except by admitting this criticisme, whereof a good Antiquarie of my acquaintance hath sagaciouslie taken notice, that, in the Copies of the Foundation whereof each of us hath one, Daniel should be read Gamel (for Bishop Gamelinus), who preceded Landell, this Confirmer. But the Foundation [deed] being in good Latin, and correct, it seems not likelie that the name of a Bishop was curtailed and mistaken so grosslie." There is not, however, any evidence in ancient Records for the existence of Bishop Daniel; and the conjecture of the "good Antiquarie" is worthy of consideration as a plausible ground for explaining a very doubtful statement. [*Bishop Russell's Note in Spottiswoode's Hist., vol. i., p.* 229.]

The following Charters, copied from *Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*, bear on Gameline's Episcopate :—

No. 176. Gameline's Election is Confirmed by Pope Alexander IV, 1st July, 1255.

Alexander episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Gamelino Electo Sancti Andree in Scotia, sal. etc.—Recte tunc ecclesiarum utilitati prospicitur et indempnitati salubriter precavetur, cum discretis et providis earum cura committitur, et viduatarum regimini pastores ydonei preponuntur. Verum Romanus Pontifex, cui ex apostolatus officio imminet de universis ecclesiis sollicite cogitare, hoc maxime circa ipsas attendit, et ad id propensius invigilat, ut per bonos et dignos gubernentur Rectores, per duces perspicuos in suis gregibus dirigantur, per sacros et eruditos ministros in spiritualibus fulgeant, et per dispensatores prudentes temporalium proficiant incrementis: quia navis, que perito remige ducitur, liquida recte percurrit spacia, et domus ubertate rerum excrescit, que patrefamilias regitur studioso, ac vinea, quam diligens cultor curat, in botros exuberat opulentos, et ager in segetem fecundam fructificat, quem agricola bonus colit. In eo etiam ecclesiis apostolica sedes provide prospicit et benigne, quod si aliquos propriis adiutos meritis ad earum prelaturas interdum evocari contingit, qui alias forte propter aliquem suum defectum vel notam minime promoveri deberent, ipsa temperans in hoc sue misericordie lenitate canonice censure rigorum, et

iuris duriciem benignitate pietatis emolliens, remedium circa id utilitate perspecta oportune dispensationis apponit, inhabiles et ineptos coaptans, et reparans misericorditer ad honores, aperiendo clementer eis ianuam dignitatum, quam austere ipsis ecclesiastica instituta precludunt, et gratiose ad illos presulatus officium admittendo, a quo probrose duris sanctionibus repulluntur. Sane bo. mem. Abel Episcopo S. Andree in Scotia viam universe carnis ingresso, dilecti filii. ... Prior et Capitulum ipsis ecclesie vocatis et presentibus omnibus, qui debuerunt, voluerunt et potuerunt commode interesse, die ad eligendum prefixa, in novem ex ipsis providendi per electionem vel postulationem, eidem ecclesie de pastore contulerunt unanimiter potestatem, promittentes illum recipere, quem ipsi omnes vel maior eorum pars eligendum ducerent, vel etiam postulandum : qui eiusdem ecclesie statu ipsiusque necessitate provida consideratione pensatis, te tunc Capellanum nostrum, et Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Alexandri Scotie Regis Illustris Cancellarium, in Episcopum ipsius ecclesie canonice ac concorditer postularunt. Predicti autem Prior et Capitulum, quod per illos in hac parte factum extiterat, communiter acceptantes, dilectum filium Magistrum Robertum de Prebenda Decanum Dumblanensem, Simonem de Kynros clericum, et fratres Helyam et Alanum Canonicos eiusdem ecclesie ad nostram presentiam transmiserunt, supplicantes humiliter per eosdem, ut postulationem huiusmodi dispensando tecum super defectu natalium, quem pateris ex soluto genitus et soluta, de benignitate admittere apostolica curaremus, cum firmiter sperarent et crederent, predictam ecclesiam posse maiora per te suscipere incrementa. Nos vero postulationis eiusdem cum multa diligentia discusso processu, et intellectis, postmodum que frater Laurentius ecclesie predicte Canonicus contra postulationem ipsam et postulati personam proposuit coram nobis, eoque prorsus in omnibus, que obiecit, iustitia exigente repulso, demum quia comperimus postulationem eandem fuisse a prefatis Priore et Capitulo canonice ac concorditer celebratam, et laudabilia de te a quampluribus probis et fidedignis audivimus testimonia, considerantes ex hiis, quod premissum supples commendabili bonitate defectum rediminisque virtutibus vitium geniture, quodque tibi vite nitor, morum honestas et litterarum scientia magis profuit, quam notabilis ortus obsit, et quod promotionis aditum, quem dampnarant dampnata natalia, digne tibi merita comprobata pararunt, prefatam postulationem de fratrum nostrorum consilio benigne duximus admittenda, tecum super ipso defectu quantum ad hoc auctoritate apostolica misericorditer dispensantes, et ecclesie predicte speciali gratia te in pastorem et Episcopum concedentes. Ideoque discretioni tue per apostolica scriptam andamus, quatenus reverenter et devote suscipiens impositum a domino tibi onus, ad prefatam ecclesiam absque dispendio tarditatis accedas, gerens prudenter et sollicite curam eius, ut tuo labore et studio, auxilio cooperante divino, in spiritualibus et temporalibus multipliciter augeatur. Datum Anagnie Kal. Iulii, Pont. nostri anno primo.

In e. m. ... Priori et Capitulo, Clero et populo civitatis et diocesis Sancti Andree in Scotia.

Alexander episcopus etc. Venerabili fratri ... Episcopo Glasguensi,

salutem, etc.—Bone memorie Abel Apo etc. dilecti filii ... Prior et Capitulum ipsius ecclesie, vocatis etc. usque concedentes. Ideoque mandamus, quatenus cum super hoc ab ipso fueris requisitus, ascitis duobus Episcopis, quos idem voluerit, sibi auctoritate nostra munus consecrationis impendas recepturus ab eo etc. Dat. ut supra.

No. 177. Protest Confirmed against admitting the Culdees to Elect Gameline. Dated Kal. Aug., 1255.

Alexander episcopus etc. Dilectis filiis ... Priori et Capitulo cathedralis ecclesie Sancti Andree in Scotia ordinis sancti Augustini, salutem etc.—Desideriis vestris in hiis affectu benivolo debemus annuere, que vos et ecclesiam vestram possint a dispendio preservare. Hinc est, quod nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati devotioni vestre auctoritate presentium indulgemus, ut pro eo, quod in electione bone mem. David Episcopi Sancti Andree duos de Kaledeis ecclesie sancte Marie de Kilremont civitatis Sancti Andree, qui se canonicos nominant, ad clare mem. ... Regis Scotie, ac totidem in electione dilecti filii Magistri Gamelini electi Sancti Andree, ad Carissimi in Christo filii nostri ... Regis Scotie Illustris instantiam, admisistis cum protestatione tunc facta de consensu Kaledeorum ipsorum, nullum vobis vel ecclesie vestre in iure vestro preiudicium generetur. Nulli ergo etc. nostre concessionis etc. Datum Anagnie xiii. Kal. Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

No. 178. Gameline, being Elected, is allowed to retain for two years the Benefices which he obtained at the time of his Postulation.

Alexander episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Gamelino Electo Sancti Andree in Scotia, sal. etc.—Quamvis postulationem de te dudum in ecclesia Sancti Andree communiter celebratam nuper, tuis exigentibus meritis, gratiose duximus admittendam, quia tamen eadem ecclesia, sicut accepimus, gravi debitorum onere premitur, et tam in ipsius edificiis, quam in pluribus aliis indiget reparari: nos eidem ecclesie propter hoc paterno compatientes affectu, omnia beneficia ecclesiastica, que tempore postulationis huiusmodi obtinebas, tibi usque ad biennium, a die quo consecratus fueris computandum, pro expediendis huiusmodi debitis, et aliis ipsius ecclesie necessitatibus relevandis, auctoritate presentium reservamus, Decernentes irritum et inane, si secus a quoquam infra predictum tempus de ipsis beneficiis vel eorum aliquo fuerit attemptatum. Nulli ergo etc. nostre reservationis et constitutionis etc. Datum Anagnie ii. Kal. Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

No. 201. Crimes and Objections against the Consecration of Bishop Gameline inquired into and Judged. A.D. 1257.

Alexander episcopus etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Venientes dudum ad sedem apostolicam dilecti filii Magister Iordanus Loccard clericus et Robertus de Theweng miles, procuratores Carissimi in Christo filii nostri ... Regis Scot-

torum Illustris, coram nobis et fratribus nostris proponere curaverunt, quod ipsi tempore consecrationis venerabilis fratris nostri Gamelini Episcopi Sancti Andree in Scotia quasdam causas legitimas, propter quas idem nullatenus consecrari debebat, proposuerunt coram conservatoribus ei ab eadem sede concessis, quas postmodum in libello coram nobis in iudicio exhibita exposuerunt: videlicet quod ipse Gamelinus pro eo, quod longo tempore dicti Regis et Regni administrarat negocia, multaque ad manus eius de proventibus ipsius Regni ac etiam dicte ecclesie Sancti Andree pervenerant, de quibus nullam reddiderat rationem, magnis tenebatur ratiociniis obligatus, ac per hoc, antequam de illis rationem redderet, non debebat ad munus consecrationis admitti. Quodque idem, cum esset dicti Regis Cancellarius, et bona dicte ecclesie S. Andree ipsius Regis nomine custodiret, litteras et nuncios ad dilectos filios ... Priorem et Conventum prefate ecclesie Sancti Andree ex parte Regia destinavit, ut eum in suum Episcopum postularent, eis per huiusmodi litteras et nuncios gravissimos incutiendo terrores, videlicet quod idem Rex ipsos non solum de dicta ecclesia, sed etiam de toto Regno expelleret, si eligere vel postulare alium attemptarent. Et ut magis ad suum propositum arctaret eosdem, fecit eis victualia subtrahi et negari, quod eos inedia famis mori faceret comminando, sicque cum per impressionem huiusmodi postulatio facta de ipso vitiosa extiterit, taliter postulatus non erat aliquatenus consecrandus, cum nec nos postulationem admisissemus eandem, si hec de ipso ad nostram notitiam pervenissent. Et cum idem Gamelinus iuraverit, dictum Regem et Regnum ac Regni bona, et prefatam ecclesiam Sancti Andree cum bonis eiusdem fideliter custodire, ipse salutis proprie immemor non absque reatu periurii multa de bonis ipsius Regis et Regni, ac etiam dicte ecclesie subreptione illicita contractavit, ea suis utilitatibus applicando: aliis etiam periuriis in eiusdem Regis et Regni non modicum detrimentum dampnabiliter se involvit. Cum enim de custodiendo fideliter ipsius Regis sigillo, et de non sigillandis in eius preiudicium aliquibus litteris absque speciali Regis eiusdem et procerum suorum mandato se corporali astrinxerit iuramento, idem, religione violata ipsius, dicto Rege inscio et ignaro, multas litteras sigillavit, per quas idem Rex gravibus debitis, que non fuerunt in ipsius utilitatem conversa, est quibusdam creditoribus obligatus. Aliis nichilominus ad nos et fratres nostros ex parte regia deprecatoriis litteris, ab eo preter ipsius Regis conscientiam eodem sigillatis sigillo, ex quibus per obreptionem a nobis obtinuit postulationem suam ad gratiam confirmationis admitti. Quare dicebant procuratores Regis prefati, dictum Gamelinum tot periuriis irritum propter premissa non debere aliquatenus consecrari: et ne prefati consecratores ad ipsius consecrationem procederent, ad nostram audientiam appellarunt. Verum dicti procuratores petebant a nobis, ut cum ipsi parati essent huiusmodi appellationem prosequi coram nobis, dilectum filium Magistrum Robertum de Prebenda, Capellanum nostrum, procuratorem ipsius Epi Sancti Andree respondere libello, quem ei offerebant ex parte regia, faceremus. Sed dictus procurator Epi proposuit ex adverso, quod cum idem Episcopus post admissionem postulationis sue cum cause cognitione a nobis obtentam, ac etiam post consecrationem suam tenuerit et possederit bona temporalia ad ecclesiam suam spectantia, et in eorum possessione fuerit, ac predictus Rex vel alii eius nomine et auctoritate, ipso id

ratum habente, dictum Episcopum Sancti Andree bonis huiusmodi spoliarint, illaque a tempore spoliationis huiusmodi detinuerint, et adhuc occupata tenerent in suum eiusdem ecclesie preiudicium, plurimorum scandalum, ac contra ecclesiasticam libertatem, respondere libello sibi pro parte Regis oblato, nisi prius fieret eidem Episcopo bonorum restitutio predictorum, nullatenus tenebatur: quin immo instanter petiit, antequam in huiusmodi procederetur negotio, restitui prefatum Episcopum Sancti Andree ad omnia bona predicta, quibus fuerat per potentiam regiam spoliatus. Sed dictis procuratoribus Regis eiusdem huiusmodi possessionem ipsius Epi Sancti Andree, et possessionem factam per eundem Regem inficiantibus et asserentibus, ipsum Regem a tempore obitus bone memorie Abel Episcopi Sancti Andree predicta bona temporalia ipsius ecclesie, ex quadam approbata Regni sui consuetudine, continue possedisse, ac commisisse predicto Gamelino Episcopo tunc ipsius Regis Cancellario bonorum custodiam eorumdem, et antequam de sue postulationis admissione constaret, commissionem huiusmodi, eodem Gamellino amoto, ab eisdem bonis penitus revocasse, et sic eum ad bona predicta restitui non deberet. Demum tam procurator Episcopi ad probandam possessionem et spoliationem huiusmodi, quam dicti procuratores Regis eiusdem ut reprobarent per quosdam articulos ipsius procuratoris intentionem, dicto Gamellino Epo interim in nostra comparente presentia, testes producere curav erunt. Nos autem testes hinc inde productos examinari fecimus diligenter, et tam per ipsorum attestationes et patentes litteras iudicium, quibus super huiusmodi negotio scripseramus, et quorumdam Prelatorum, qui nobis super eodem negotio fideliter rescripserunt, quam per concessionem partium factas in iudicio coram nobis, ac etiam per famam publicam tantum de huiusmodi cause meritis nobis liquet, quod de fratrum nostrorum ordinamus consilio, ut dictus Episcopus ante omnia restituatur plenarie ad bona temporalia supradicta cum fructibus perceptis ex eis, et in ipsorum possessionem plenam et pacificam reducatur. Et quia idem Epus contra dictum Regem se suamque causam efficaciter defendere non valeret, nisi eo primo ab ipso Rege ydonea securitas prestaretur: volumus, quod Rex ipse sufficientem eidem Episcopo securitatem exhibeat, quod ipsum vel suos per se aut suos in personis vel rebus aliquatenus non offendet. Et eodem Episcopo predictorum bonorum cum perceptis ex eis fructibus possessionem plenariam obtinente, sibique huiusmodi securitate a Rege prestita memorato, postea Rex ipse contra dictum Episcopum super obiectis criminibus audiatur, et testes recipiuntur hinc inde super eisdem criminibus, et reprobatione testium eorumdem. Sententias autem excommunicationis et interdicti a predictis iudicibus, et ab eodem Episcopo S. Andree predictarum spoliationis et occupationis occasione prolatas, postquam idem Sancti Andree Episcopus ad bona predicta fuerit integre restitutus, decernimus per eos, qui easdem tulere sententias, fore secundum formam ecclesie penitus relaxandas. Alioquin per dilectum filium Magistrum Gottifridum de Alatro, Capellanum nostrum, Decanum Olenensem, quem in Scotiam specialiter pro huiusmodi negotio mittimus, iuxta eandem formam dicte sententie relaxentur. Nulli ergo etc. nostre ordinationis infringere etc. Datum Viterbii xiii. Kal. Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

XXVIII. William Wishart. A.D. 1273-79.

William Wishart, *al.* Wiseheart, of the Family of Pitarrow, in the Mearns, was Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and then Chancellor of the Kingdom, in 1256 [*Reliq. S. Kentiger.*], and in 1261. [*Ch. of Tillicultries; C. Mar.*] In 1268, he was Elect of Glasgow, after the Death of Bishop Cheyn, but, before his Consecration, he was Postulated* also to the See of St. Andrews, on the 4th of the Nones of June, 1273, upon the Death of Bishop Gameline; but, by reason of a Schism in the Papacy, he was not, they say, Consecrated until the Ides of October, 1273, at Scone [*Fordun*], in presence of the King and many of the Nobility; and we are told that this Prelate did at that time resign the Office of Chancellor. Fordun also says—It seemed strange to many that a man of such high reputation, who was Elect of Glasgow, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, Chancellor of Scotland, and Prebendary of 22 Churches, should be so ambitious that all this did not suffice him; but that, swayed more by hypocrisy than Religion, he should aspire to the Bishopric of St. Andrews also. Martine says—This Bishop was in such esteem for his virtues, piety, learning, and eloquence, that nothing was done in Church or Commonwealth without him. He was sent Ambassador to France, along with the Bishop of Dunkeld, for renewing the League, and to treat a Marriage with the French King's daughter, *i.e.*, Philip III., surnamed *the Hardy*, to our King Alexander III., then a widower. He advanced the Cathedral very much, and furnished it with all necessaries. At his Election or Postulation, the ancient Culdees were not allowed to Vote. In his time, Bagimont, the Pope's Legate, came into Scotland, and made a List of all the Benefices. This Valuation still exists, and

* A Bishop is said to be "Postulated" when he has been already in possession, or is only Elect of another See. For the Canon Law supposes that a Bishop is married to his Diocese, and so cannot be Elected into another. However, it allows a Bishop already in possession, or only Elected into a See, to be Postulated by another, and that such Bishop may be removed or Translated to the other See; only the word *advanced* or *promoted* must not be used. [*See Archbishop Chichely's Life, p.* 37.] Another sense of the word *Postulation* is, when two-thirds of the votes agree in the Election.

is known by "Bagimont's Roll." This Nuncio, after holding a Council at Perth, fixed the value of all the Benefices in Scotland, and carried with him a Tenth of their yearly value to Rome. The Tenth of the Revenue of the Bishopric of St. Andrews was estimated at £945, 13s. 4d. Sterling. At this time £1 Sterling was literally *one pound of silver*, which would value £1 Sterling now. Therefore £945 would equal £3780; and this sum multiplied by 10 will give £37,800 Sterling as the Revenues of the Bishopric at that period.

Bishop Wishart founded and endowed the Monastery of the Dominican Friars situated in South Street, St. Andrews, the North Transept of whose Chapel is still preserved by a part of the strong metal Railing in front of the Madras College founded by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell. Wyntoun states that Wishart was Bishop seven and a-half years, and during that period built at his own cost the Body or Nave of the Cathedral, in a uniform style, commencing at the third Bay or Pillar from the Door of the Chancel, and then proceeding to the North and South Transepts, till the West Gable of the Nave, part of which still remains. He thus completed the most of the Nave of the once glorious Pile out of his own revenues, in "stone, timber, and roof of lead." He rebuilt in a stately manner the east end of the Cathedral, which had been blown down by a tempest of wind.

Bishop Wishart witnesses two Charters without date: 1st, a grant of a piece of land by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, "to God and the Saints of the Isle of May, and the Monks there serving God;" 2ndly, a grant of a Cow yearly to the same Monks from the same Nobleman. Wishart Consecrated the Church of Dunnottar in the Ides of May, 1276, and also the Chapel of Cullen—"Capella de Collyn," the same year, 11 Kal. June, but so that no prejudice might be occasioned to the mother Church of Fetteresso. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., cccliii.*]

In 1274, Wishart went to the General Council held at Lyons by Pope Gregory X. This Council was attended by 2 Patriarchs, 15 Cardinals, 500 Bishops, and 1000 other Mitred Dignitaries. There were also present the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and many inferior Princes. A chief object of this Council

was to unite the Roman and Greek Churches. He did not live long after his return; for having been employed in a Commission to the Borders to treat with the English, he Died at Morebattle, in Teviotdale, 5to Kal. Jun., 1279 [*Fordun*], with the reputation of a truly good and virtuous man. His corpse was conveyed with becoming pomp from Morebattle to his Cathedral, and Buried near the High Altar, on the 4th of the Nones of June—the very day on which he was Elected.

Augustinus Theiner, in his *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scottorum*, gives the following Charter, in regard to Wishart's Election:—

No. 256. Pope Gregory X. Commissions the Bishops of Murray, Aberdeen, and Argyll to inquire as to the Canonical Election of Wishart, A.D. 1272.

Gregorius episcopus etc. Venerabilibus fratribus ... Moraviensi, ... Aberdonensi et ... Ergadiensi Epis, salutem etc.—Ecclesia Sancti Andree in Scotia, que apostolici sedi specialiter est suiecta, per obitum bone mem. Gamelini Episcopi eiusdem ecclesie pastoris solatio destituta, dilecti filii ... Prior et Capitulum eiusdem ecclesie, vocatis omnibus ac presentibus, qui volebant, debebant et commode poterant interesse, die ad eligendum prefixa convenerunt in unum spiritus sancti gratia invocata, dilectum filium Magistrum Willelmum, Capellanum nostrum, Archidiaconum ecclesie memorate in eorum Episcopum per viam compromissi concorditer elegerunt, postmodum presentato nobis huiusmodi electionis decreto, electionem ipsam confirmari cum instantia postulantes. Licet autem nos electionem eandem, quam examinari fecimus diligenter, quantum ad formam invenerimus canonice celebratam, quia tamen de ipsius Electi conditionibus et meritis notitiam non habemus: Nos de circumspectione vestra plenam in domino fiduciam obtinentes, fraternitate vestre mandamus, quatenus de dono scientie, honestate vite, ac aliis, que ad idoneitatem persone pertinent Archidiaconi memorati, diligentius inquirentes, si eum ad regimen ecclesie predicte idoneum contigerit inveniri, vos electionem prefatam absque difficultatis obice auctoritate apostolica confirmetis, facientes ipsi Electo munus consecrationis impendi, et recepto ab eo nomine Romane ecclesie iuxta formam, quam sub bulla nostra mittimus, fidelitatis solite debito iuramento, eum pro Sancti Andree Epo haberi faciatis et tractari, sibique a suis subditis obedientiam et reverentiam debitam exhiberi. Contradictores etc. Formam autem iuramenti, quod ipse prestabit, per suas patentes litteras proprio sigillo munitas nobis quantocius destinare curetis. Alioquin eadem electione rite cassata, memoratis Priori et Capitulo iniungatis, ut sibi per viam canonicam de pastore ydoneo studeant providere. Quod si non omnes etc. duo vestrum etc. Datum apud Urbemveterem Id. Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

XXIX. William Frazer. A.D. 1279-97.

William Frazer, a son of the Frazers of Oliver Castle, in the Shire of Tweeddale, who was formerly Dean of Glasgow, and Rector of Cadzow (now Hamilton). [*Fordun.*] He became Lord Chancellor upon the resignation of that Office by the last Bishop, and after his Death was advanced to the same See, to which he was Elected pridie Non. Aug., 1279, "exclusis Kelediis sicut in electione præcedenti," *i.e.*, "the Culdees being excluded, as in the Election preceding," and was Consecrated at Rome by Pope Nicholas III.; 14 Kal. Jun., 1280. [*Fordun.*] He was Lord Chancellor and Witness to King Alexander III., an. reg. 31, *i.e.*, in 1280, about which time he Resigned the Chancellor's Office. He was Bishop here in 1280 [*Cart. Cambusk.*], also in 1286 and 1288 [*Durham Writs*], and in 1295. [*Ibid. et Cart. Cambusk.*] Upon the deplorable Death of King Alexander III., in 1288 (killed near Kinghorn, by his horse stumbling over a cliff in a dark night), he was chosen to be one of the Regents of the Kingdom [*Rymer*]; and after the Death of the child Queen Margaret* (daughter of Eric, King of Norway, the only surviving descendant of the late King), he, as most of this Nation did, yielded a forced submission to Edward I. of England. He wrote to Edward thereanent, dated from Leuchars (near St. Andrews), on the morrow of S. Faith, the Virgin, in 1290. At different times, Edward orders *stags* and *timber* from the Royal Forest to be presented to him.

William [Frazer], Bishop of St. Andrews, Confirms to the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews the Vicarage Churches of Forgan in Gowry and Forgan in Fife, on the condition of their supplying them with fit Vicars, A.D. 1292. He also Confirms to them the two acres of land in Leuchars, which William de Ferrars gave them: at Inchmurtach, A.D. 1294. [*Denmylne Documents.*] The next Bishop (Lamberton) quotes a Confirmation by Bishop Frazer of the Church of Leuchars to the Priory, Dated 1294, in which occur the following words: "But seeing

* This young Queen, "the Maiden of Norway," Died on her passage from Norway to Orkney, in September, 1290, in the eighth year of her age.

the Canons are afflicted in these times by various disasters, and get no relief from their insupportable burdens, and especially by the recent ruin of their affairs, they are compelled to support their lives out of the bounty which Kings and Nobles granted for the support of their Church, whereby they have contracted debt, and are fallen into the hands of the money-lenders" (this was at the time of the Invasion of Edward I.); on which account Bishop Frazer had appropriated to their use the Church and pertinents of Leuchars, and allowed them to appoint to it one of their own body, who should employ two Chaplains to perform its duties. Bishop Lamberton Confirms the above in 1317.—Bishop Frazer commands R., Dean of Lothian, and A. de S. Martin, to tax the Vicarage of Linlithgow at 30 Marks, as had been previously agreed upon. These two persons announce the Tax accordingly, the Vicar to have the Oblations, small Tithes, and Manse; the Canons to have the great Tithes of corn, wool, lambs, rents, mills, live-stock, together with *bequeathed corpses*.—Bishop Frazer desires the Dean of Lothian to Institute Robert, Chaplain of Haddington, into the Vicarage of Linlithgow, instead of the former Vicar, who had obtained another Benefice, A.D. 1286. Dated at Inchmurtach. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.; Lyon's History, vol. ii., p.* 301.] In 1296, the Bishop of St. Andrews pronounced Sentence of Deprivation against 26 English Clergy Beneficed in his Diocese, agreeable to the Statutes of the Scottish Church. From the earliest ages down to the present, a gulph of separation, or caste, has ever existed between the English, Irish, and Scotch

Bishop Frazer's Seal has a Bishop Vested, holding his Staff, with the Family Arms of Frazer underneath, and the Circumscription S. WILLI FRASER DEI GRA. SCOTTORV EPI. The background is richly emblazoned with Roses, which constitute the Frazer Arms.

Churches, the one regarding the other not only as alien, but as heterodox, thereby ignoring the Church's Catholicity. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., p.* 276.]

King John Baliol sent this Bishop, together with three other persons, into France, to treat about a Marriage for his son, Prince Edward, in 1295 [*Dipl. et Numism., c.* 42]; but whether he ever returned home again seems to be uncertain, since it is related, that having retired into France, that he might not be an eye-witness to the calamities of his country (caused by the 14 rival claimants of the Crown of Scotland), he fell into a languishing distemper, and Died at Carteville, 13 Kal. Septembris, 1297. [*Fordun.*] His Body was Buried in the Church of the Friars-Predicant in Paris, but his Heart, enclosed in a very rich box, was afterwards brought over into Scotland, by his immediate Successor, Bishop Lamberton, and entombed in the wall of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews, between the Tombs of Bishops Gameline and Lamberton. [*Wyntoun.*] He is said to have been a person of great worth, although a "tool of Edward," and (Spottiswoode says) "would have performed many good works had he fallen in peaceable times;" but opportunities for good works are like *eggs—work* best when they are *fresh*. He is one of the few Bishops whose souls *Wyntoun* has not sent to Paradise.

Another Seal of this Bishop, having the figure of S. Andrew on his Cross; the Family Shield on either side, with a Crescent and Star above; and a Bishop in the attitude of Prayer below; with the Legend S. WILLI FRASER EPI. SCI ANDREE. This is the first instance of a Bishop of St. Andrews assuming the title of his See upon his Official Seal, though many of them had done so previously as Witnesses to Charters. [*Chapter House, Westminster*, A.D. 1292.]

No man of that period has been more unjustly treated by the Historians of Scotland than Frazer, Bishop of St. Andrews. He has been described as a man of "dark intriguing spirit;" "watching over the interests of Edward with dark and dangerous policy;" "making a base proposal to him, and by his influence with the Nobility inducing them to solicit the interference of the English King." So much the reverse of these imputations was the truth,

that in the really base and treasonable appeal of Bruce and his accomplices, Frazer, Bishop of St. Andrews, is designated with John Comyn as the two Guardians who, without reference to Edward and his pretensions, intended to raise Baliol to the Throne of Scotland. No Document has yet appeared which shows that Baliol took a prominent part in betraying the Independence of Scotland; while the Documents brought to light by Sir Francis Palgrave, in his Illustrations of Scottish History, exhibit Bruce and his partizans as the prompters and instigators of Edward in his attack on Scottish Independence, and invited Edward to bring forward those pretensions which cost both nations so dear, and involved them in rancorous hostility for more than 200 years. But it was enough for Historians partial to the line of Bruce, to stigmatise Frazer without a colour of justice, that he was a partisan of Baliol. What we know of his subsequent life redounds to his credit. So far from profiting by his supposed treachery to Scotland, the favours he received from Edward during the first Interregnum were few and inconsiderable; while his rival, the Brucian Wishart, the "spirited Bishop" of Glasgow,—a Lord, says the gossiping Wyntoun, of *gret wertu*, had gifts of money and other grants to a large amount. When the general indignation of his subjects compelled the feeble Baliol to renounce the submission he had sworn to Edward, the formerly pacific Bishop of St. Andrews, the "man entirely devoted to England" was selected as one of the Scottish Ambassadors to negociate an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, which he effected. He is said to have returned to Scotland, after the subjugation of Baliol, and instead of hastening with the rest of his countrymen to propitiate the conqueror by timely submission, to have gone back to France and Died in exile. Such is the account of Spottiswoode; but it is doubtful whether Frazer ever came back to Scotland after his Embassy. [*Edin. Review*, *No.* 133, *Oct.*, 1837.]

An interesting piece of History may be here appropriately introduced under Bishop Frazer's Episcopate. As noticed by Martine, both Fordun and Wyntoun narrate that *monetæ fabrica*, *i.e.*, the coining of money, from an early period was "indulged" to the Bishops of the See of St. Andrews. In 1287, 4 Ides Jan.,

King Alexander III. (the year before his accidental death at Kinghorn), being at St. Andrews, in presence of "many great ones," before the High Altar of the Cathedral, "granted to God and the Blessed Andrew *percussionem monetæ*," *i.e.*, conferred on the then Bishop of St. Andrews (who was Frazer) and his Successors *the striking or coining of money*, as was done formerly in the time of his father, Alexander II.; reserving, however, the "right of inquisition," to prevent any counterfeiting. The Tradition goes that they could not coin above a Groat Piece; but (Martine says) this may be allowed to be a mere conjecture, for the German Bishops, who Coin, are not so restricted. For proof that sometimes this privilege has been in use, I have seen Copper Coins bearing the same mond, or device, chapletted about, and adorned with a Cross on the top, just in all things like the mond set by Bishop Kennedy (who had also this benefit by the "Golden Charter") in sundry places of S. Salvator's College, both in stone and timber, and the same way adorned, with a common S. George's Cross on the reverse. The circumscriptions are not legible. And some think that the Magistrates of St. Andrews have in their keeping in their Charter-kist some of these Pennies, in honour and remembrance of this Royal privilege, which no subject in Britain has beside. [*Rel. Div. St. Andr.*, *p.* 108.] In the Reign of John Baliol, there was a small Silver Coin struck at St. Andrews, having, on the obverse side, a crowned head, with a Cross before it, and the words "Johannes dei gra."; and on the reverse, a cross-bar, containing four five-rayed Stars, with the inscription "Civitas S. Andre." [*Lyon's Hist.*, *vol. i.*, *p.* 129.]

No. 276. William, Elect of St. Andrews, is Confirmed by Pope Nicholas III., May 21, 1280.

Nicolaus episcopus etc. Venerabili fratri Willelmo Episcopo Sancti Andree in Scotia, salut. etc.—Onerosa pastoris officii summi dispositione pastoris, qui pro suis ovibus animam posuit, nobis, licet insufficientibus meritis, cura commissa sollicita nos pulsat instantia, ut inter cetera, que undique negotia confluunt, quibusve noster animus redditur multiplici varietate distractus, ad provisionem ecclesiarum vacantium sollicitius intendamus, ne ipsis pastorum presidiis destitutis, ambulantis in circuitu lupi rapacis astutia earum oves rapiat et dispergat,

ne manus avida eorum bona diripiat, ne iura presumptuosus usurpet. Ideoque solliciti reddimur, ut eedem ecclesie (a) pastoribus dirigantur ydoneis, et Rectoribus providis guvernentur. Sane ecclesia S. Andree in Scotia pastoralis solatio destituta, dilecti filii ... Prior et Capitulum eiusdem ecclesie, vocatis omnibus qui voluerunt, debuerunt et potuerunt commode interesse, convenientes in unum communi deliberavere consensu per viam procedere compromissi ad provisionem de pastore ipsi ecclesie faciendam. Sicque predicti Capitulum eidem Priori et Ranulpho Superiori, Andree et Alexandro de Hadington, Guillielmo de Claty, Heruco de Kinros, Thome de Wedal, Ade de Karal Canonicis dicte ecclesie, necnon Magistro Gregorio Archidiacono Sancti Andree providendi per electionem canonicam ipsi ecclesie de persona ydonea in Sancti Andree Episcopum assumenda concesserunt concorditer liberam potestatem : qui, super hoc inter se tractatu habito diligenti, spiritus sancti gratia invocata, in te tunc Decanum Glasguensem, virum utique, prout testimonio fidegnorum accepimus, probate vite, magne scientie, ac circumspectionis experte unanimiter consenserunt, dictusque Prior de mandato collegarum suorum tam vice sua et ipsorum collegarum, quam Capituli predictorum canonice te elegit in S. Andree Epum et pastorem. Huiusmodi autem electione sollempniter publicata, tu ad Capituli eorumdem instantiam eidem electioni tuum prestitisi consensum, ac postmodum dicti Prior et Capitulum facientes nobis decretum electionis huiusmodi per suos ydoneos procuratores et nuntios ad hoc destinatos specialiter presentari, a nobis per ipsos, ut electionem confirmaremus eandem, suppliciter petierunt. Nos igitur personam tuam, et ipsius electionis processum, prout moris est, per Venerabilem fratrem O. Tusculanum Epum, et dilectos filios nostros G. Basilice XII. Apostolorum presbiterum et I. s. Marie in Cosmedin diaconum Cardinales, quibus hoc duximus commitendum, examinari fecimus diligenter : et tandem facta nobis super hiis per eosdem Cardinales relatione fideli, electionem predictam, quia eam invenimus de persona ydonee canonice celebratam, de fratrum nostrorum consilio auctoritate apostolica confirmantes, te ipsi ecclesie prefecimus in Episcopum et pastorem, tibique munus consecrationis nostris manibus duximus impendendum, firmam spem fiduciamque tenentes, quod predicta ecclesia per tue diligentie studium tam circa spiritualia quam temporalia salubribus, deo propitio, proficiat incrementis. Tolle igitur iugum domini tam leve collis humilibus quam suave, et in caritate dei pascendum suscipe gregem eius, super quem noctis vigilias diligens sollicitusque custodi, ut liber invadendi aditus non pateat invasori. Beatus siquidem eris, si dominus insuspicabili hora venturus te invenerit sic agentem, quia cursu consumato, qui tuo labori proponitur, et horum fide servata, que tue sollicitudini committuntur, te immarcessibili corona iustitie decorabit. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum xii. Kalendas Iunii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

In e. m. ... Priori et Capitulo ecclesie Sancti Andree in Scotia ordinis sancti Augustini, Clerco et populo civitatis et diocesis et universis Vassallis ecclesie Sancti Andree in Scotia, et ... Regi Scotie Illustri. Onerosa etc. quatenus dictum Episcopum ac prefatam ecclesiam sibi commissam habeas commendatos etc. Datum ut supra. [*Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*]

XXX. William Lamberton. A.D. 1298-1328.

William Lamberton was descended from a Family of some note in the South of Scotland. Frequent mention is made of the De Lambertons, chiefly in connexion with Berwickshire, where their Estates principally lay. The name occurs as early as the Reign of Edgar, 1097-1107, in a Charter granted by him to the Monks of S. Cuthbert. Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, gave Gualter de Strivelyn permission to have a Church in his Village of Lambden, upon the petition and concession of Earl Gospatrick. In 1147, Earl Gospatrick granted to the Monks of Kelso the Church of Greenlaw, with the Chapel of Lambdene, and its adjoining lands; and John de Lambdene, son of W. de Strivelyn, gave a toft and croft in Lambdene, and eight acres of land, viz., four acres in Morilaw, and the remainder in Arthurscroft. In 1260, Henry de Lambeden was (much against the will of the Monastery of Kelso, of which he had previously been Chamberlain), by Papal Rescript, appointed Abbot. To the Letter sent by the Scottish Barons to the Pope, 1320, the Seal of Alexander de Lamberton is appended, its bearings corresponding so far with those of the Bishop, being three escallop shells reversed. In 1336, Robert de Lamberton grants a Charter of his lands of Eyton, Eymouth, Coldingham, and Flemington to William Stute of Berwick. The ruins of the Chapel of Lamberton are still extant, about three miles north from Berwick, in the Parish of Mordington. Within this Chapel, in 1502, Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England, was espoused to James IV. In the Reign of Robert I., William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, in consequence of the severity of the times, granted to the Monks of Kelso power to apply the Revenues of the Church of Greenlaw, and its Chapels of Haliburton and Lambden, to their own use, retaining to himself a Stipend of one hundred Shillings per annum. The Monks had also an annual Rent of a pound of pepper, from the estate of William de Lambden. And in a Papal taxation of Coldingham and its dependant Chapels, of the Fifteenth Century, the moiety due from the "Ecclesia de Lambertone" is set down at xiij£ vj*s.* viij*d.*

At a remote period the Parish Church of Nenthorn appears to have been the property of the De Morvilles, Constables of Scotland. Previous to 1316, it had passed into the hands of William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, including the Chapel of Little Newton, the site of which is now occupied as a Burial-place by the Newton Don Family. On the 6th of March that year, the Abbot of Kelso obtained possession of these properties in exchange for the Church of Cranston in Mid Lothian, due regard being had in the transaction to the losses which *Naithansthern* had sustained by the wars. A pendicle of this Parish was given about the end of the same Century to the Monks of Kelso, to Pray for the Souls of the Earls of Douglas.

S. WILLI DE LAMBRETON EPI. SCTI ANDREE. In the upper compartment of this Seal is a Lamb,—probably some Armorial bearing of the Family. S. Andrew is in the usual attitude, with the well-known Glasgow Fish and Ring on the dexter side, and the Bird on the sinister,—indicative of the Prelate's being officially connected with the See of Glasgow. Above the Bird is a Crescent, over which is a Hand in the act of Benediction pointing to the Martyrdom. At the base is a Bishop at Prayer. [A.D. 1305. *Melrose Chart.*]

The House of Lamberton, descendants of Sir Walter de Lindsay, second son of William of Crawford, the Justiciary, rose to a degree of power surpassing that of their elder brethren of Crawford. For four successive generations, all of them married heiresses. Their progenitor, Sir Walter of Lamberton, High Justiciary of Lothian, Constable or Sheriff of Berwick, then the emporium of Britain, under William the Lion, before 1212, entered into a curious convention with Arnald, Prior of Coldingham, by which the latter, as Patron of the mother Church (probably of Morthington), concedes that Walter, during his life, may have Mass performed in the Chapel which he had built in his Court of Lamberton, on condition that there should be no access to the Chapel except through the middle of his Hall or Chamber; that the Chapel should be served only by the Chaplain of the mother Church, or by a passing Chaplain, who should not serve more than one or two days; and that there should be no

Mass in the Chapel on the five great Festivals, viz., Christmas, Candlemas, Easter, Whitsunday, and the Day of the Dedication of the Parish Church. The Chapel of Lamberton afterwards became the Parish Church, and figures in more than one scene of our Scottish annals. [*Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i., p.* 29.]

William Lamberton was Parson of Campsie and Chancellor of the Diocese of Glasgow. [*Fordun.*] He was called William de Lambyrton. [*Chart. Glasg.*] He was Elected Bishop on the Nones of September, 1297. [*Brockie's MS.*] He was Chancellor of Glasgow in 1292. He had a long dispute with the Culdees, who pretended a right from ancient times to Elect the Bishop of St. Andrews; but the Pope decided the matter against the Culdees, who, after this time, came to be entirely suppressed; for there is no more to be heard either of themselves, or of any struggle they made thereafter at the Election of a Bishop. At this time, we are told, William Cumyn, their *Præpositus*, or Provost (whom the Culdean Chapter Elected for their Bishop), went in person to Rome, and debated their cause before Pope Boniface VIII., though to no purpose; for the Pope Consecrated the Elect Lamberton on the first day of June, 1298. And Fordun adds, "Et notandum est, quod jurisdictio sedis, ipsa vacante, penes capitulum totaliter remansit. Quam quidem jurisdictionem, magister Nicolaus de Balmyle, officialis curiæ Sti Andreæ, per ejusdem loci capitulum constitutus per totam diocesin exequebatur efficaciter nomine capituli." *i.e.*, "And it is to be noted, that the jurisdiction of the See, when vacant, shall remain wholly in the power of the Chapter: the jurisdiction whereof Master Nicholas of Balmyle, the Official of the Court of St. Andrews, being appointed so by the Chapter, shall efficiently discharge over the Diocese, in the name of the Chapter." In the Reign of King David, it would indeed appear, that the Culdees were either the Chapter, or had some share in the Election of the Bishop; and seeing

Counter Seal.—S. SECRETI WILLI EPI. SCI ANDREE. On either side of S. Andrew is a Shield bearing three Escallop Shells, having a Mullet and Crescent above.

all their differences with the Bishops of St. Andrews were concerning the *right of Election*, it would seem to be a just enough conclusion that these Culdees were not of a different Form of Religion from the Bishops of St. Andrews, nor observed any Rites or Ceremonies different from the Church in those days. The whole contest being about the right of Election of the Bishop, is likewise a plain proof that the Culdees did not maintain a *parity* among themselves, in the government of Ecclesiastical affairs, distinct from what was then established in the Christian Church. The Canons of St. Andrews seem to have been superinduced upon the Culdees in the time of King David, in the matter of Electing the Bishop of that See; and against this they complained, but never against the Office of a Bishop, so far as we can learn by any remains of antiquity. The sole contest was, who should or who should not Elect the Bishop.

Lamberton was indebted for his Nomination partly to his friend Sir William Wallace, whose influence in Scotland, at that juncture, was almost unbounded. He passed the first years of his Episcopate in France. His Election to the Episcopate was Confirmed by Pope Boniface, in June, 1298. This Bishop is to be met with in many ancient Writs. He calls himself "Willielmus de Lamberton, miseratione divina, Sti Andreæ episcopus, anno 1300;" and he makes mention of "literas Willielmi Frazer prædecessoris nostri." [*Cart. Cambusk.*] He is found Bishop in the same year [*Cart. Dunferml.*], in 1304 [*Cart. Arbro.*], in 1309, and the ninth year of King Robert I. [*Durham MS.*]; in 2do, 13tio, 15to Robert I. [*Cart. Aberd. et Dunferml.*]; also in 1310. The title of this last Writ is "Mandatum ad citandum Priorem Dunelm. quod non comparuit in synodo apud S. Andr. ratione ecclesiarum quas habuit in illa diocœsi." *i.e.*, "A Mandate to summon the Prior of Durham, because he did not appear in the Synod at St. Andrews, by reason of the Churches which he had in that Diocese." He is Witness to King Robert I., an. reg. 7mo et 17mo. [*Hay.*] He is Bishop in 1323 [*Cart. Dunferml.*]; also in 1316, 1317, 1319, and an. 20 Roberti reg. [*Cart. Kelso et Scone.*] He commands the "Dean of Christianity" in Fife and Fotheriff to put the Church of Abercromby in possession of the Prior and

Canons, for augmenting the light of the High Altar of the Cathedral: Dated at Tory, 1319. He also commands the same functionary to put the Church of Dairsey in possession of the Prior and Canons, for the improvement of Divine Worship in the Cathedral Church, A.D. 1304. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr., pp.* 14, 16.] Lamberton strenuously opposed the encroachments made by King Edward I. of England upon the Constitution of Scotland, and contributed his hearty endeavours to set and keep King Robert the Bruce upon the Scottish Throne.

Amongst her most favourite treasures and reminiscences of the past, Queen Victoria keeps the Brooch which once belonged to Robert Bruce of Scotland. This relic, a memento of her Ancestor's chequered career, was presented to her Majesty during a visit to the late Marquis of Breadalbane, at Taymouth Castle, in 1842.

L.'s Seal as Chancellor of the Diocese of Glasgow. S. WILLI DE LAMBERTON CHN. GLASGVESIS. S.Mungo is in the act of Disciplining a refugee who implores protection. Below is a Monk at Prayer. [A.D. 1292. *Chapter House, Westminster.*]

Barbour and Rymer give minute details of Bruce's History. After Bruce stabbed the "Red Comyn" (whose final dispatch was done by Kirkpatrick in the Cloisters of the Minorites' Convent, Dumfries), he hastened with his adherents to Scone, where, on the 27th March, 1306, and forty-five days after Comyn's murder, he was Crowned with as much pomp as the damping circumstances which enveloped them would allow. For the Regalia of Scotland, and the "Stone of Destiny" (on which every Scottish King had sat at his Coronation), had been carried off by Edward. The three Bishops, who had assembled to Crown Bruce, were Lamberton of St. Andrews, Wishart of Glasgow, and David of Murray. A small Circlet of gold was substituted for the old Scottish Crown, and Wishart supplied the Royal Mantle from materials in his own wardrobe. A Banner, wrought with the Arms of Baliol, was delivered to him by the same Bishop, and under it the newly-consecrated King of Scotland received homage. A remarkable incident occurred on the morrow worth noticing. Ever since the days of Malcolm Can-

more, the Earls of Fife had the distinctive right of placing the Scottish Sovereigns on the famous Coronation Chair, with its "Stone" underneath. This honour was their's from the great services rendered to Canmore by their ancestor Macduff. On the occasion of Bruce's Coronation, Duncan, Earl of Fife, being in jail in England, could not, of course, be there and at Scone too; but his sister Isabella, the Countess of Buchan, unexpectedly arrived at Scone, and claimed the Family right,—which it was deemed necessary, on the score of legitimacy, to comply with. Accordingly, Robert the Bruce was a second time placed on the old Coronation Chair (which was not carried off, though its companion, the "Stone," was) by the Countess Isabella. When the news of Comyn's slaughter and Bruce's Coronation reached Edward at Winchester, though an old man, he became furious, and proceeded against Bruce and his adherents. After great chivalrous acts, Bruce fled from the Castle of Dunnaverty in Cantire, to the small Island of Rachrin, on the coast of Ireland, while his Queen and daughter Marjory fled to the Castle of Kildrummy, in Aberdeenshire, from whence they were driven to take refuge in the Convent of Duthac, Tain, in Ross-shire, where they were treacherously delivered up to the English by the Earl of Ross, who violated the Sanctuary. The ladies were committed to different prisons in England; and the Knights and Squires who attended them were put to Death. The heroic Countess of Buchan, who placed the King upon the Coronation Chair, was immured in a cage, constructed in one of the centre Turrets of the Castle of Berwick, strongly latticed and cross-barred with wood, and secured with iron. In this she was shut up for four years, nor had she any one to speak to, except the woman who brought her food; and it was expressly ordered that she should be "English, and liable to no suspicion." Mary and Christina Bruce, the King's sisters, were also taken prisoners: the latter was shut up in a Convent, but Mary was confined in a cage, similar to that of the Countess of Buchan, constructed in one of the Turrets of Roxburgh Castle. Lamberton, Wishart, and the Abbot of Scone were also made prisoners, and conveyed in fetters to England; and commands were issued to the various

Sheriffs of the Counties through which they passed to grant receipts from the one to the other for their strict guard day and night. This "*Memorandum*" was handed to the Sheriff of Southampton, to whom the Bishop of St. Andrews (the betrayer of the King) shall be delivered, who shall imprison him in the Tower of Winchester Castle, and shall defray his expenses as follows:—

For the Bishop's own daily expense, . .	6 denarii	=	£0	0	6
One servant-man to attend him, . . .	3 —	=	0	0	3
One boy to attend him likewise, . . .	1½ —	=	0	0	1½
A Chaplain to say Mass to him daily, . .	1½ —	=	0	0	1½

(12 denarii a-day is equal to 15*s.* modern money.)

The Bishop was not so very ill off, after all, shut up in a "*durance vile*," if we take the value of money in the year 1300. Besides incarcerating these Bishops, Edward complained at great length to Pope Clement V., charging them with Perjury, Rebellion, and Craft,—and these crimes were specially indicted against Lamberton (which, in more instances than one, he was certainly guilty of), and that each and all should forfeit their Sees. This request was not granted by his Holiness, for Edward I. Died in 1307, and in Aug. 1308 Lamberton was liberated, and swore fealty to Edward II. "upon the Consecrated Body of our Lord and upon the Cross *Gnayth*." This was reputed to be a portion of the true Cross, brought from the Holy Land by a Monk of that name, and which was generally preserved at Windsor. For all this, next year Lamberton presided at an assembly of his Clergy at Dundee, asserting, in the strongest terms, Robert the Bruce's right to the Crown of Scotland. The Battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, gave a new turn to the affairs of Scotland. Edward III., like his two predecessors, had found out what a trickster Lamberton was as to loyalty, and complained of this twice to Pope John XXII., alleging, moreover, that his predecessor, Clement V., had bestowed the See not on Lamberton, but on a Friar named Thomas de Rivers: but there was no foundation for this; it was a *ruse* got up for Lamberton's removal. Bishop Lamberton, in the meanwhile, was not aware of this correspondence, and was making preparations for the Consecra-

tion of his Cathedral, begun by Bishop Arnold, and continued by eleven succeeding Prelates, until completed 158 years after its commencement. On the 5th July, 1318, this Solemnity took place in the presence of King Robert the Bruce (who endowed the Cathedral then with 100 Marks annually, out of gratitude "for the illustrious victory which S. Andrew had afforded him at Bannockburn"), 7 Bishops, 15 Abbots, and most of the Knights and Barons of the Kingdom, all of whom offered gifts on the occasion.

The last time we hear of Bishop Lamberton, in his Political capacity, is his being one of the Scottish Commissioners at York in 1324, for endeavouring to effect a peace between the two Kingdoms. He repaired the Castle of St. Andrews, and made several additions to the Priory. He constructed the new Chapter House at his own expense, "adorning it with curious seats and ceilings:" some of the former yet remain. To the Canons he gave various utensils for the better celebration of their Worship, and supplied their Library with a number of books. He also built residences for himself and his successors at Inchmurtach, Monimail, Dairsie, Tory, Muckhart, Monimusk, Linton, Kettins, Lasswade, and Le Stow in Wedale; likewise ten Churches in his Diocese; and did many other great and good works.

In the *Denmylne Charters*, he commands the Priory of S. Ethernan, in the Isle of May, which had paid 16 Marks annually to its former Superior, the Abbey of Reading, to pay that sum in future to the Priory of St. Andrews. Lamberton (according to Wyntoun) Died "in the Prior's Chamber of the Abbey, in June, 1328, and was Buried on the north half of the High Kirk," *i.e.*, at the north side of the High Altar; but not a vestige can be traced. [*Vide Barbour's, Rymer's, Dalrymple's, and Lyon's Hists.*]

No. 362. William de Lamberton is preferred to the Episcopate of St. Andrews by Pope Boniface VIII., June 17, 1298.

Bonifacius episcopus etc. Venerabili fratri Willelmo de Lamberton Episcopo S. Andree in Scotia, salutem etc.—Licet cunctarum ecclesiarum ex debito pastoralis officii sollicitudo nobis incumbat, circa illas tamen, que apostolice sedi sunt immediate subiecte, tanto vigilamus attentius, et curam de Ipsis gerimus potiorem, quanto potius nostra interesse dinoscitur, ut de ipsarum statu prospero

cogitemus. Illud autem erga eas maxime, qui deplorant viduitatis incommoda, curam nostram specialiter excitat, ut eis pastores ydonei preponantur, quorum industria spiritualibus fulgeant et temporalibus proficiant incrementis. Sane ecclesia Sancti Andree in Scotia per obitum bone memorie Willelmi Fraser, eiusdem ecclesie Episcopi, pastoris solatio destituta, dilecti filii Capitulum ipsius ecclesie, vocatis omnibus qui voluerunt, debuerunt et potuerunt commode interesse, die ad eligendum prefixa, convenientes in unum, ac deliberantes super hoc per viam procedere compromisse, dilectis filiis Iohanni Priori, Iohanni Maiori, et Willelmo Landono Archidiacono, Ade Suppriori, Iohanni Kayrer, Ade de Laurbeden, et Thome de Hucermickedy Canonicis ipsius ecclesie providendi ea vice eidem ecclesie de pastore potestatem plenam et liberam unanimiter contulerunt, promictentes illum in suum Epum et pastorem recipere et habere, quem ipsi vel maior pars ipsorum ducerent eligendum. Idem vero Prior, Archidiaconus, Supprior et Canonici, in se huiusmodi potestate recepta, attendentes, quod per te utpote magne prudentie, et discretionis virum, et de litterarum scientia, honestate vite, ac morum gravitate multipliciter commendatum supradicta ecclesia poterat laudabilia suscipere incrementa, in te, tunc Cancellarium ecclesie Glasguensis, direxerunt unanimiter vota sua : ac idem Prior ex huiusmodi potestate sibi dictisque Archidiacono, Suppriori et Canonicis ab eodem Capitulo tradita, de ipsorum Archidiaconi, Supprioris et Canonicorum consensu et mandato te elegit in ipsius Sancti Andree Episcopum et pastorem, et electionem huiusmodi ab eodem Priore solempniter publicatam dicti Capitulum unanimiter approbarunt. Tuque dicte electioni de te facte infra legitimum tempus consentiens, propter hoc ad sedem apostolicam accessisti, et tam tu personaliter, quam predicti Prior et Capitulum per dilectos filios Iohannem dictum Rufum, Martinum de Ketketon et Thomam de Houctyr Mokedy Canonicos eiusdem ecclesie Sancti Andree, eorum procuratores et nuntios ad hoc specialiter destinatos, presentato nobis huiusmodi electionis decreto, ut confirmaremus electionem huiusmodi, nobis humiliter supplicastis. Nos igitur processu super hoc habito, et personem tuam examinari fecimus diligenter, et quia electionem ipsam de persona ydonea canonice celebratam (invenimus), eam de fratrum nostrorum consilio auctoritate apostolica duximus confirmandam, preficientes te ipsi ecclesie in Episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius (tibi) in spiritualibus et temporalibus commictendo, ac postmodum per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum M. Epum Portuensem fecimus tibi munus consecrationis impendi, firma spe fiduciaque tenentes, quod predicta ecclesia S. Andree, deo auctore, per tue industrie ac circumspectionis fructuose studium preservabitur a noxiis et adversis, et spiritualibus ac temporalibus proficiet incrementis. Quocirca fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus regimen ipsius ecclesie reverenter suscipiens et prosequens diligenter, sic in animarum tibi commissarum cura sollicitum, et in eiusdem ecclesie utilitatibus spiritualibus et temporalibus procurandis te reddas attentum, quod in die discussionis extreme rationem de talento tibi credito redditurus, illud duplicatum afferas commictenti, et tua fama erga remotos et proximos exinde clareat per effectum, ac in delectationem nobis veniat te oportuno tempore prosequi gratiose, tuisque

desideriis favorem benivolum impertiri. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum xv. Kalendas Iulii, Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

In e. m. Dilectis filiis Capitulo ecclesie Sancti Andree in Scotia, Clero et populo civitatis et diocesis Sancti Andree in Scotia, Universis Vassallis ecclesie S. Andree in Scotia, et Carissimo in Christo filio ... Regi Scotie Illustri. [*Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*]

Charter of Willielmus de Lamberton to Robert Lauder of Bass, of their part of that Island, June 4, 1316.

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Willielmus miseracione diuina Sancti Andrei Episcopus salutem in Domino: Sciatis nos vtilitate ecclesie nostre pensata dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Roberto de Lauwedre pro homagio et seruicio suo totam partem nostram Insule in mari que vocatur le Bass iuxta Aldham in Laudonia; Tenend. et habend. dicto Roberto et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in perpetuum cum omnibus libertatibus commoditatibus et aysiamentis suis ac pertinenciis libere et quiete in omnibus et per omnia sine aliquo retinemento; Reddendo ipse Robertus et heredus sui nobis et successoribus nostris apud Tynyngham ad festum Pentecostes singulis annis vnam libram cere nomine albe firme tantum pro omnibus terrenis serviciis et demandis que de dicta Insula cum pertinenciis a nobis vel successoribus nostris exigi poterunt vel demandari Nos vero Willielmus et successores nostri predicto Roberto et heredibus suis predictam partem nostram Insule del Bass cum pertinenciis suis contra omnes homines et feminas warantigabimus acquietabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum nostrum fecimus apponi. Dat. apud Wegdall quarto die Junii Anno Domini

To all men by whom this Charter shall be seen and heard, William, by the grace of God Bishop of St. Andrews, wishing salvation in the Lord: Know ye that we, valuing highly our Church's advantage, have Granted, and by this our present Charter have Confirmed, to Robert Lauder, for his homage and service, the whole of our part of the Island in the sea which is called the Bass, near to Aldham in Lothian; To hold and to be holden by the said Robert and his Heirs from us and our Successors for ever, with all liberties, commodities, and easements, and with the pertinents, freely and quietly in all and by all, without any reservation; Paying therefor the said Robert and his Heirs to us and our Successors at Tyningham, at the Term of Whitsunday yearly, one pound of white wax, in name of Feu-farm, for all lands, services, and demands which can be exacted or demanded by us and our Successors for the said Island, with the pertinents: Therefore we, William, and our Successors, do hereby Warrant, Maintain quiet, and Defend to the foresaid Robert and his Heirs, our foresaid part of the Island of the Bass, with the pertinents of the same, for ever, and that against all men and women: In testimony whereof, we have made and appointed our Seal to be

MCCC. sexto decimo iliis testibus Dominis Willielmo et Willielmo dei gracia de Melros et de Dryburgh, Abbatibus Dominis Jacobo de Douglas, Alexandro Senesscallo, Henrico de Sancto Claro, Roberto de Keith, militibus et aliis.

fixed to this present Charter. Given at Wedall the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1316, before these Witnesses—Lords William and William, by the grace of God, of Melrose and of Dryburgh, with the Lords Abbots, James of Douglas, Alexander Stuart, Henry Sinclair, Robert Keith, Esquires, and others.

XXXI. James Bennet *or* Bene. A.D. 1328-32.

After the Death of Bishop Lamberton, James Benedicti [*Fordun*], *i.e.*, I suppose, Bennet, others call him Biort; but some late Memoirs from the Scots College in Paris call his Surname Ben or Bane, which I suppose is his true Surname; and he seems to have been erroneously called only Bene, Benedict, or Bennet, by the mistake of some copyists of Fordun, by writing *Benedict* in one word, instead of *Bene dict.* in two words. In the original Record, whereby he is, in conjunction with others, appointed Ambassador to France, in 1325, for renewing the ancient Alliance, he is expressly called "Jacobus Bene archidiaconus Sti Andreæ, et legum professor." [*M'F.*] "The Chapter, after Lamberton's Death, meeting for the Election of a new Bishop, went into factions, the one half giving their voice to Sir James Bane, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, the other half to Sir Alexander Kinninmouth, Archdeacon of Lothian," but the former carried. The Culdees and their Prior and Provost, William Cumyn, who, thirty years before, opposed the Election of Lamberton, again resisted Bennet's Election, but do not appear to

Bane's Seal is easily deciphered. The remarkable feature is two naked devils on ladders, tying S. Andrew to his Cross: the dexter one is a male, agile and elegant; the sinister has all the physiological developments of a she-devil. [*Chapter of Durham*, A.D. 1329.]

have appealed. Next year, Kinninmouth was Elected to the Bishopric of Aberdeen; and Cumyn was made Archdeacon of Lothian, in the place of Kinninmouth. [*Spottiswoode and Lyon.*] Bane was chosen by the Canons of St. Andrews Bishop of that See on the 19th June, 1328 [*Mem. Scot. Coll. Paris*]; but being himself present in the Court of Rome at the time, he obtained his Episcopate by the Collation of Pope John XXII. before there had come any account of the Election; for this Pope took upon him to dispose of all the Bishoprics in the world. [*Fordun.*] He was Bishop in 1329 [*MS. of Durham*], in which year he performed the Office of setting the Crown upon the head of David II., and soon after was constituted Lord Chamberlain of Scotland. [*Mem. Scot. Coll. Paris.*] He was Bishop here in 1331 [*Cart. Balmer.*], in 1332 [*MS. of Durham*], and is Witness to a Charter which Sir Robert Sibbald judges to have been about the same year. [*History of Fife, pp.* 127, 128.] In 1325, being then Archdeacon of St. Andrews, he was sent, together with the Earl of Moray, Sir Robert Keith, Marischal, and Doctor Walter Twynham, Canon of Glasgow, Ambassadors into France, to renew the old League, and to enter into a new one, both defensive and offensive, with that Crown, both which they effectuated in the following year, 1326. [*Chart. Public.*] David II. and his Queen Johanna, daughter of Edward II., were both Crowned by Bishop Bane at Scone, in 1331, when the Anointing was first used in Crowning Scottish Sovereigns. Giraldus Cambrensis (*De Instruct. Princip., p.* 201), writing about the year 1220, affirms that the Scottish Kings were neither Anointed, nor Crowned, nor Enthroned by a Bishop until 1331. In 1329, King Robert Bruce sent messengers to Rome to request that the Bishop of St. Andrews, who had been in use to invest the Scottish Kings with the ensigns of Royalty, might thenceforth be authorised by the Pope to Crown and Anoint them. The request was granted, and the Scottish Chronicles of 1331 relate that King David II. was the first Anointed Sovereign Crowned with such solemnity. *Coronets* of King John Baliol, A.D. 1300, and of King Robert Bruce, A.D. 1307, are mentioned, we admit, but they were not *Crowned* in the proper sense of the term. [*Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, Pref., Notes, xliv.*]

POPE JOHN XXII. GRANTS PERMISSION TO KING ROBERT BRUCE, THAT HE AND HIS SUCCESSORS MAY BE CROWNED AND ANOINTED BY THE BISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS, A.D. 1329.

John, Bishop, servant of servants, &c., to our most beloved son in Christ, Robert, the illustrious King of Scotland, Health, &c.—By the Eternal King of Heaven, by whom Kings Reign and Princes decree justice, the power of the temporal sword is given for the punishment of the wicked, and the reward of the good, that they may judge the people, and rule over their subjects in wisdom; and that they may love judgment, and meditate on the truth, and observe peace. For the doing of which the more perfectly, the said Kings (in virtue of their sacred Unction from the Ministers of God, according to ancient usage), received the gift of increased grace, both that they may be thereby strengthened in the exercise of their government, and that they may be guided by a stronger and purer spirit, as well in regard to themselves as to their subjects. The efficacy of this Unction is great: for when Saul was Anointed, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him; and upon David also, when Anointed, the Spirit of the Lord came, for the strengthening of that which ought to be found in all Kings, viz., the fulness of virtue, and the complete authority of the temporal dominion. On the head of the Prince is placed the honourable and circular Diadem, that from him who has thus been decorated, the mode of living righteously, and the rule of modesty, may be communicated to his subjects, even as from the head to its members. You, as a most devoted son of the Church, considering the dew of spiritual grace, which by the said Unction is poured out; and being moved by fervent desire that the Roman Church, your mother and the mother of all the faithful, may exhibit the strength of her authority, and may employ the safeguard of the Apostolic Confirmation, in order that the said Unction and Crowning may be exhibited to you and the Catholic Kings who may succeed you in the Throne of Scotland, by the sacred hand of the Pope; and we, learning by the tenor of your Petition, that both you and your Royal Predecessors, have been accustomed to receive the Insignia of Authority from the Bishops of St. Andrews from time immemorial; and you, by your Ambassadors, whom you expressly sent on this account to the Apostolic See, having humbly entreated that we would vouchsafe, by our authority, to grant that you and your Successors, the Kings of Scotland, might receive Unction and Coronation, and other Royal Insignia, from the Bishops of St. Andrews for the time being, if able and willing, or else from some other Prelate in Scotland—We, therefore, taking into account the sincerity of your devotion, and considering that the more you study to be obedient to the Roman See, the more you will find it to be propitious to your Prayers, gladly consent, and by these presents allow, that you and your Successors in the said Kingdom, who persevere in obedience to the holy Roman Church, may receive the Royal Diadem and Unction from the Bishops of St. Andrews, or, if they be incapacitated, from the Bishops of Glasgow, who are, or shall be for the time, in the Communion of the Church; they having with them a due number of other Bishops, for the sake of the Kingly honour and the sacred Unction—the rights of the holy Roman Church

being always duly maintained. We will, also, that the said Bishops who exercise the aforesaid functions, shall receive from the said Kings of Scotland, at the time of their being Crowned and Anointed in our name, and in the name of the holy Roman Church, their corporal Oath, that they will *bona fide* study to exterminate from their Kingdom, and all other places subject to their authority, all such Heretics as are denounced by the Church; and that they will not presume to injure or diminish the rights of the Church, but rather preserve them untouched. Therefore let no one, &c. Given at Avignon, the Ides of January, in this the thirteenth year of our Pontificate.

The original Bull is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Ruddiman transcribed it for Wilkins, who printed it in the *Conc. Mag. Brit. et Hib., vol. ii., p.* 555. [*Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot., pp.* 244, 245.]

The following Mandate, issued by Bishop de Bane, is given in *Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i., p.* 12:—

To all the faithful in Christ who shall see or hear of these presents, James de Bane, by Divine permission, the humble Minister of the Church of St. Andrews, *salutem in salutis auctore.* We have learnt from the report of our beloved sons, the Prior and Convent of St. Andrews, that some persons, preferring their private advantage to that of the public, and not looking forward to future dangers, break off and carry away stones from the rock next the sea on the north side of our Cathedral Church; by doing which, unless some remedy be applied, there will be reason to fear a serious injury to the foundation, and, by consequence, the total destruction of the Church at some future time, which God forbid. We, therefore, anxious to prevent the said danger, and to uphold our said Church as far as possible, have, with the consent of our Chapter, resolved to forbid any one to break stones from the said rock, or to remove those already broken off, either by the waves of the sea or by the hand of violence; and this under the penalty of 100 *solidi*, to be paid towards the fabric of the Church, and also under pain of Excommunication, which, from this time, we, by these presents, direct against all and every one who shall disobey this our Mandate. In testimony of which we have fixed our Seal hereunto. Given at Inchmurtah* on the first Sunday after Easter, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty.

When Edward Baliol and his party prevailed, Bane was forced to flee into Flanders, where he Died at Bruges, 22nd September, 1332, and was Buried in the Abbey of Eckchot, or

* Inchmurtah, now better known by the vulgar name of Smiddy Green, is a few miles south east of St. Andrews. The Bishops had a residence there, beautifully situated on the bank of the Pitmilly Burn. Not a stone of it remains.

Akewood, belonging to the Canons Regular there, with this Epitaph—"Hic jacet bonæ memoriæ Jacobus dominus de Biurt, episcopus Sti Andreæ in Scotia, nostræ religionis, qui obiit anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo trigesimo secundo, vigesimo secundo die Septembris. Orate pro eo." *i.e.*, "Here lies Sir James de Biurt, of good memory, Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, of our Religion, who Died in the year of our Lord 1332, the 22nd day of September. Pray for him." [*Mem. Scot. Coll. Paris.*]

No. 472. James the Archdeacon is preferred to the Episcopate of St. Andrews by Pope John XXII., August 1, 1328.

Iohannes episcopus etc. Venerabili fratri Iacobo Episcopo Sancti Andree, salutem etc.—Romana ecclesia, que super universas alias orbis ecclesias obtinet divina miseratione primatum, circa singulas materne diligentie cura sedulo invigilans, earum profectibus velut mater sollicita ardenter intendit, studens, ut per sue prudentie ministerium ecclesiis ipsis, que propriis pastoribus viduate eidem dumtaxat ecclesie sunt subiecte, preficiantur viri ydonei in pastores, qui eas in spiritualibus et temporalibus possint et sciant salubriter gubernare. Dudum siquidem bone memorie Willelmo Episcopo Sancti Andree regimini S. Andree ecclesie, ad dictam Romanam ecclesiam immediate spectantis, presidente, Nos cupientes eidem Sancti Andree ecclesie, cum vacaret, personam utilem ac etiam fructuosam per apostolice sedis providentiam presidere, provisionem ipsius ecclesie Sancti Andree, quamprimum eam quovis modo et ubicumque vacare contingeret, dispositioni nostre et dicte sedis ea vice duximus specialiter reservandam, decernendo ex tunc irritum et inane, si secus super hiis per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari. Postmodum vero eadem ecclesia Sancti Andree per obitum dicti Guillelmi, qui in partibus illis diem clausit extremum, pastoris regimine destituta, Nos attendentes, quod nullus preter nos de ordinatione ipsius ecclesie se ea vice intromittere poterat, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, post deliberationem, quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie personam utilem, per quam dicta ecclesia preservari valeret a noxiis et in prosperis feliciter adaugeri, cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad te tunc Archidiaconum ipsius ecclesie Sancti Andree, Capellanum nostrum, in sacerdotio constitutum, vita laudabilem, litterarum scientia preditum, morum honestate decorum, in spiritualibus providum et in temporalibus circumspectum, ac aliis virtutum donis, quibus te gratiarum dispensator altissimus laudabiliter insignivit, direximus oculos nostre mentis. Intendentes igitur tam dicte ecclesie Sancti Andree, quam gregi dominico eiusdem salubriter et utiliter providere de persona tua, nobis et fratribus nostris ob huiusmodi tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, eidem ecclesie Sancti Andree de ipsorum fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica duximus providendum, teque illi in Episcopum preficimus et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus

plenarie committendo, ac faciendo tibi postmodum per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Bertrandum Episcopum Tusculanum munus consecrationis impendi, firma spe fiduciaque concepta, quod eadem ecclesia, deo auctore, per tue circumspectionis industriam preservabitur a noxiis et adversis, ac spiritualiter et temporaliter proficiet incrementis. Quocirca fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus ad eandem ecclesiam Sancti Andree sponsam tuam cum nostre gratia benedictionis accedens, illius ragimen sic sollicite studeas exercere, gregem dominicum in ea tibi creditum doctrina verbi et operis informando, quod eadem ecclesia Sancti Andree per tue circumspectionis ministerium de bono semper in melius augeatur, ac votivis successibus gratuletur, tuque proinde nostram et dicte sedis benedictionem et gratiam uberius consequi merearis. Datum Avinone Kalendis Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno decimo secundo.

In e. m. Priori et Capitulo, Clero, populo et universis Vassallis ecclesie Sancti Andree in Scotia. [*Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*]

No. 473. Robert, King of Scotland, commends Bene to the Episcopate, October 15, 1328.

Iohannes episcopus etc. Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Roberto Regi Scotorum Illustri, salutem etc.—Divine retributionis premium et preconium humane laudis acquiritur, si prelatis ecclesiarum, et hiis presertim, qui pontificali dignitate prediti fore noscuntur, condignus honos impenditur et favor necessarius exhibetur. Dudum siquidem bone memorie Willelmo Episcopo Sancti Andree regimini Sancti Andree ecclesie, ad Romanam ecclesiam immediate spectantis, presidente, Nos cupientes eidem Sancti Andree ecclesie, cum vacaret, personam utilem ac etiam fructuosam per apostolice sedis providentiam presidere, provisionem ipsius ecclesie Sancti Andree, quamprimum eam quovis modo et ubicumque vacare contingeret, dispositioni nostre et dicte sedis duximus ea vice specialiter reservandam, decernendo ex tunc irritum et inane, si secus super hiis per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari. Postmodum vero eadem ecclesia Sancti Andree per obitum dicti Willelmi, qui in partibus illis diem clausit extremum, pastoris regimine destituta, Nos attendentes, quod nullus preter nos de ordinatione ipsius ecclesie se ea vice intromittere poterat, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, post deliberationem, quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie personam utilem, per quam dicta ecclesia preservari valeret a noxiis, et in prosperis feliciter adaugeri, cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Iacobum Episcopum Sancti Andree, tunc Archidiaconum ipsius ecclesie Sancti Andree, Capellanum nostrum, in sacerdotio constitutum, vita laudabilem, litterarum scientia preditum, morum honestate decorum, in spiritualibus providum et in temporalibus circumspectum, et aliis virtutum donis, quibus ipsum Iacobum dispensator altissimus multipliciter insignivit, direximus oculos nostre mentis. Intendentes igitur tam dicte ecclesie Sancti Andree, quam gregi dominico eiusdem salubriter et utiliter providere, de persona dicti Iacobi, nobis et dictis fratribus ob huiusmodi suorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, eidem ecclesie Sancti Andree de dictorum

fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica duximus providendum, ipsumque Iacobum illi in Episcopum preficimus et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, ac faciendo eidem Iacobo postmodum per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Bertrandum Episcopum Tusculanum munus consecrationis impendi, firma spe fiduciaque concepta, quod eadem ecclesia, deo auctore, per sue circumspectionis industriam preservabitur a noxiis et adversis, ac spiritualiter et temporaliter proficiet incrementis. Cum itaque, fili Carissime, sit virtutis opus Dei ministros, et presertim pontificali dignitate preditos, benigno favore prosequi, ac eosdem verbis et operibus pro Regis eterni gloria venerari: Excellentiam Regiam rogamus et hortamur attente, quatenus eidem Episcopo ob reverentiam apostolice sedis et nostram te sibi reddas favore regio munificum, et in cunctis oportunatibus gratiosum, ita quod idem Episcopus tue Celsitudinis fultus auxilio in commissa sibi cura pontificalis officii possit assidue, Deo propitio, prosperari, ac tibi exinde perennis vite premium et a nobis condigna proveniat actio gratiarum. Datum Avinione Idibus Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno tertiodecimo. [*Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*]

Immediately upon the Death of Bishop Bene, King Edward III. of England wrote to the Pope, desiring him to prefer his Treasurer,

Robert de Ingliston *or* Aylestone, Archdeacon of Berks, to the See of St. Andrews, 26th October, 1332 [*Rym. Fœd., vol. v., p.* 566]; which request, though it never took place, was probably the reason of the opposition made to the Confirmation of William Bell, and of the vacancy of this See for nine years. The Letters which Edward wrote to his Holiness (who never noticed them), are given in *Lyon's Hist., vol. i., pp.* 166-68.

XXXII. William Bell. 1332. *Elect.*

After James Bennet, the Dean of Dunkeld (William Bell) was Elected to this See, who thereupon took journey to the Pope's Court, then at Avignon; but he met with so much opposition, that he never could obtain a Confirmation; so that the See of St. Andrews was vacant until the beginning of 1341. [*Fordun.*] It was vacant in 1341. [*MS. Durham.*] During this vacancy, Edward, King of England, seized the estate of the Bishopric, without regarding the title which his vassal Edward Baliol might have had to it. [*Rot. Scotiæ*, 28 *Mar.*, 13 *Edward III.*, 1339.]

XXXIII. William Landel. A.D. 1341-85.

At length William Landel, or de Landalis (he is named de Landal in *Cart. Cambus.*), a son of the Baron or Laird of Landells,

in the Shire of Berwick, was promoted to this See by Pope Benedict XII., upon a Recommendation from the Kings of France and Scotland, and the cession of the right of Election by William Bell, who became blind, and had the good nature to return home in the retinue of Bishop Landel, and entered himself a Monk among the Canons of St. Andrews, 7mo Idus Feb., 1342. [*Fordun.*] Landells is Lauderdale, one of the three Divisions of the County of Berwick. From this District the noble Family of Maitland—first Earls, then Dukes, and now Earls again—took their title. Bishop Landel was Lord or Laird of all the lands of Landallis or Laverdale. He also succeeded to his elder brother, Sir John Landells, Knight, in the Baronies of Hownam and Crabin, in Roxburghshire, which, upon the Bishop's resignation, Aug. 14, 1367, were Confirmed to John Crichton. [*Ex Autogr. penes Walterum Macfarlane de eodem.*] He was Rector or Provost of the Church of Kinkell, and was Consecrated on the 17th March, 1342. Notwithstanding the strong recommendations which Landel had to the Pope, Fordun assures us that, in the Pope's Bull, "Non tanquam cujuscunque precibus recommendatus, sed ejusdem ecclesiæ electus, patenter nominatur." *i.e.*, "Not as if having been recommended by the entreaties of any one, but being the Elect of that Church, he is evidently Nominated thereto." And this Author gives to this Bishop the character of "Vir magnæ generositatis, dapsilis et benignus, lepidus, munificus, hilaris, mitis, modestus, pulcher et pacificus, diligens canonicos tanquam natos proprios." *i.e.*, "A man of great generosity, liberal and kind, humorous, munificent, jovial, meek, modest, good-looking and peaceful, fond of the Canons as if they were his own sons." He is Bishop here July 23, 1343. [*Writs Family of Errol.*] He is Bishop anno reg. David XV., *i.e.*, in 1344, also in 1351 and 1354 [*Cart. Arbr.*]; in 1350, 1351, and 1378. [*Arbr. Assed.*] He is Witness to Charters in the years 1349, 1351, 1357, and 1362. [*Hay.*] He was a Commissioner at Berwick, at the delivering up of King David, in 1357. He was Bishop, and is Witness with William More of Abercorn, about 1344, also in 1350, 1373, and anno reg. David 38 [*Cart. Cambusk.*]; also in 1359, 1360 [*Dipl. et Numism.*]; also

in 1359 and 1362 [*Cart. Morav.*]; in 1368. [*Charter to Baillie of Lamington.*] He is Bishop in the 31st and 34th years of King II. [*Cart. Dunf.*] We find him so on the 9th of December, in the 20th, and the 17th of January, in the 39th year of the same King David. [*Writs of the Family of Clackmannan.*] He is also Bishop the last of February, in the 23rd, in the 28th, and May 1st, in the 29th, and March 6th, in the 39th of the same King David; and January 9th in the 3rd, and February 26th in the 10th year of King Robert II. [*Writs of the Family of Mar.*] He is Bishop in 1371 [*Durham MS.*], and in the 3rd year of King Robert II. [*Cart. Aberd.*] He was present at the famous Act of Parliament, April 4, 1373. [*Ruddiman's Answer to Logan, p.* 400.] He was Bishop in 1380 [*Inv. Aberd. et Lib. Assed. Arbr.*], and after that he was still Bishop anno decimo and anno duodecimo Roberti II., *i.e.*, A.D. 1383 or 1384. [*Royal Charters.*]

Landel's is a rich Seal. S. Andrew is drawn as a Juvenile, and has on Pantaloons covered with a Tunic. [*Act of Scotch Par.* A.D. 1371.]

This Prelate was nobly born, and heir of all the lands of Lauderdale. His journeyings were remarkable. The *Rotuli Scotiæ* contain no less than 21 *Safe-Conducts* granted to him, either singly, with his usual number of attendants (consisting of 30 horsemen, with their grooms), or in company with other Bishops and Noblemen, relative to the ransom of King David Bruce, who was taken captive in the Battle of Durham. He performed a Pilgrimage to the Shrine of S. James at Compostella in 1361, with 20 horsemen; another, in company with William de Douglas, in 1362, to the Shrine of Thomas-à-Becket, with 28 persons; a third to Rome, in 1363, with 24 persons; and a fourth in 1365, to a foreign country, *ultra mare*, not named. The King and the Bishop passed the Christmas of 1362 in Morayshire, the one at the Abbey of Kinloss, the other at Elgin, in order to avoid a pestilence then raging in the south of Scotland. Part of the next year the King spent with the Bishop at his

Palace of Inchmurtach. In 1378, a great part of the Cathedral of St. Andrews was burnt down, exactly fifty years after it had been finished and Consecrated. Boethius says it was either by lightning or by a jackdaw carrying a burning twig into its nest. Fire occurrences were quite common in Churches in those times: few Cathedrals, either in England or Scotland, escaped; which probably arose from their nearness to the various Monastic buildings, where fires were in constant use for cooking, and also from the *ustrinæ*, or heating apparatus, for keeping the Clergy warm, and for the incense. Bishop Landel built a new *ustrina* at great cost and labour.

There is a Decision of the Parliament in a Dispute between the Bishop and Citizens of St. Andrews and the Guildry of Cupar, regarding wool and skins and their place of sale,—held in Perth in the Reign of King David II., February 18, 1369. [*Acta Par.*] William, Bishop of St. Andrews, claimed the lands of Caledoner from William Bisset, during the minority of the Earl of Fife. In Parliament held at Scone, February 10, 1292, Reign of John Baliol. [*Acta Par.*] "William (de Landel), Bishop of St. Andrews, to Robert Bell, Vicar of the Church of Crail, *salutem*, etc. Seeing we have, on the presentation of the King, conferred the Church of Ceres, which belongs to the Provostry of S. Mary's Church, St. Andrews, vacant by the Death of Gilbert Armstrong, on William de Dalgernocks, and invested him in the same by the delivery to him of our Ring: We require you, by the tenor of these presents, to Induct the same William into the said Church, with all its rights, etc. A.D. 1375. At Inchmurtoch."—William (de Landel), Bishop of St. Andrews, commands the Deans of Gowry to Induct the Abbot and Convent of Scone into the Church of Blar [Blair], which had fallen to him by the resignation and demission of the late Rector, A.D. 1357. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*] Mandate of William (Landel) regarding the Excommunication of transgressors on the possessions or liberties of the Monks of Melrose, Dated at the Monastery of the Holy Cross, Edinburgh, March 8, 1342. He Witnesses a Charter of Regality of all the lands of the Monastery of Melrose by King David II., 29 Regin, Dated at Edinburgh, August 31. Attesta-

tion of William, Bishop of St. Andrews, in which he Confirms the Charts of Tithes of the Churches of Dunbar, Edmonstone, and Hertishend, Dated F. of S. Cuthbert, March, 1342. [*Chron. Melros.*]

King Edward III. gives a *Safe-Conduct* to Bishop de Landel and certain Scottish Noblemen, to visit David II. (de Bruce), when a prisoner in England, with a view to his release, to extend till the 15th day after the Feast of the Purification: Dated at the Tower of London, September 4, 1352. To show the nature of these Safe-Conducts, I give one as a specimen, from King Edward III., A.D. 1365, to Bishop de Landel and others:— "The King, to his Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailies, Keepers of his maritime ports, and others, his faithful servants, etc., *salutem*. Know that, by our special favour, we have granted to the Venerable Father the Bishop of St. Andrews, Sir Robert de Erskyne, and other Scottish messengers now in London, that they, with all their appendages, viz., 20 bows and 20 quivers of arrows, and the said Robert with ane Keltihat [skull-cap ?], may Pass out of our Kingdom into Scotland. And therefore we command that you allow the said Messengers, with 20 bows, etc., to Pass into Scotland, according to this our Permission. In testimony of which, etc. At Westminster, 20th May." [*Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i., p.* 892.] From the same authority, we learn that he refused to admit into some Churches in Berwickshire certain English Clergymen presented by Edward and his officers.

A custom long prevailed in Scotland, that the moveables or personal estate of a Bishop lapsed to the Crown upon his Death, whether he Died testate or intestate. It was in vain that the Church reclaimed against this usage. Bishop Gameline procured a Bull from Pope Alexander IV., forbidding the King of Scots to seize his (the Bishop's) effects after his Death, Dated November 20, 1259; but the Prohibition was recalled by another Bull, and the right of the Crown seems to have been unchallenged for a Century. At length, in 1372, the Scottish Bishops, representing to Pope Gregory XI. that King David II., with consent of his Parliament, had renounced all claim to the personal estates of deceased Bishops, obtained two successive Bulls from that

Pope confirming the renunciation. They are Dated January 1, 1372, and March 19, 1375. These failed to accomplish their purpose, and a third Bull was issued, reciting the renunciation of King David, its confirmation by his successor, King Robert II., and Excommunicating every one who should attempt to enforce the right which had been thus twice abjured. This Bull was not more effectual than its predecessors. While its terrors were still recent, William Landalis, Bishop of St. Andrews, according to the Prior of S. Serf's Inch,

> ". . of the gudis that he had,
> Hys testament he frely made."

But within 20 years afterwards, King Robert III. is found granting to one Prelate the Ecclesiastical treasures—*a bit of the Cross of S. Andrew, a piece of arras of the three Kings of Cologne, a linen cloth painted with beasts and birds, a large Breviary,*—all which had fallen to the Crown by the Death of Bishop Trail; which evidently shows that this usage of the claim of the Crown was still a holdfast. Spottiswoode and Martine say that Bishop Landel first enjoyed the benefit of leaving his chattels to his own kinsmen. But this long disputation was not finally set to rest until the Reign of James II., by special Charter of Date 24th January, 1449-50. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., Preface, c.-cvi.*]

Notwithstanding the Precaution issued by Bishop de Bane, the encroachments of the sea continued to prevail; for, about 42 years after, Bishop Landel granted to the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews the great Tithes of the Church of Inchsture, one of his own Mensal Churches, to be specially applied for preserving the Rock, now and before alluded to, from the waves of the sea. So important was this matter then considered, that the Chapter applied to Pope Gregory XI. to Confirm the following Bull, the original of which is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Here it is Translated:—

> Gregorius Episcopus, etc., to our beloved sons the Prior and Chapter of St. Andrews in Scotland, etc.—Seeing your Petition, lately presented unto us, contained that our venerable brother William, Bishop of St. Andrews, fearing that, from the violence of the sea beating against the rock on which the Church of St. Andrews is situated (a great part of which rock the con-

tinual action of the waves had demolished, so that the foundation and superstructure of the said Church were threatened with total ruin), and seeing that the Rents and Revenues appropriated to the upholding of the fabric were insufficient, on account of the wars and pestilences in these parts, to protect the rock and sustain the Church; and the said Bishop being desirous, as a provision against such danger, to grant the Parish Church of Inchsture, with its Chapel of Kinnaird, situated in the Diocese of St. Andrews, being one of the Mensal Churches belonging to him and his predecessors, and which he then peaceably possessed, with all its rights and pertinents; he accordingly, with the advice and consent of certain Jurists, gave and bestowed the same in perpetuity on the said Church of St. Andrews. But as your Petition to us contains that you doubt whether a Grant of this kind may hold good in time coming, and that you may hereafter possibly be molested in regard to it: Therefore we, moved by your Prayers, and anxious, as far as possible, to provide against this danger, will, and by our Apostolical Authority permit, that you retain the aforesaid Parish of Inchsture, with its Chapel and other pertinents, for a period of twenty years, reckoning from the Date of these presents; and that you apply the same to the upholding of the said Church of St. Andrews: Provided always, that you take care that the said Parish Church of Inchsture be not thereby defrauded of its dues, and that the cure of its souls be not neglected; but that it be served by a good and sufficient Vicar, who shall receive an adequate portion of its Revenues for his maintenance. Therefore, let no one infringe this our Decree, etc. Given at Avignon, Id. April, the second year of our Pontificate. (A.D. 1372.)

He Died in the east chamber of the Abbey of St. Andrews, on S. Thecla's Day (the 15th of October), in 1385, just seven years after the Cathedral Church had been burnt down, and was Buried before the Vestibule of the Great Church, under an artificial Stone curiously wrought. [*Fordun.*]

No. 550. William is preferred as Bishop of St. Andrews by Pope Benedict XII., February 18, 1342.

Benedictus episcopus etc. Dilecto filio Willelmo Electo Sancti Andree, salutem etc.—Romane ecclesie etc. Dudum siquidem ecclesia Sancti Andree eidem Romane ecclesie immediate subiecta, per obitum bone memorie Iacobi Episcopi Sancti Andree, qui extra Romanam curiam debitum nature persolvit, pastorali solatio destituta, dilecti filii ... Prior et Capitulum ipsius ecclesie, vocatis omnibus, qui debuerunt, voluerunt et potuerunt commode interesse, pro futuri substitutione pastoris inibi celebranda, die ad hoc prefixa, ut moris est, convenientes in unum dilectum filium Willelmum Bell, Decanum ecclesie Dunkeldensis, per formam compromissi in eorum Episcopum concorditer elegerunt: dictusque Decanus post consensum huiusmodi

electioni per eum ad instantiam ipsorum Prioris et Capituli prestitum, personaliter ad apostolicam sedem pro huiusmodi electionis negotio prosequendo accedens, nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut electionem eandem confirmare de benignitate apostolica dignaremur, in hiis omnibus statutis a iure temporibus observatis. Postmodum vero dictus Decanus certis ex causis, non tamen persone sue vitio, omni iuri, quod sibi in electione prefata quomodolibet competebat, sua sponte in manibus nostris cessit. Nos itaque huiusmodi cessione admissa, ad provisionem ipsius ecclesie Sancti Andree, ne prolixe vacationis incurreret detrimenta, solicitis studiis intendentes, cum nullus preter nos hac vice de provisione ipsius se intromittere possit, pro eo quod nos diu ante cessionem huiusmodi omnes ecclesias Cathedrales, quarum electos electionibus suis cedere, ac cessiones eorum per nos seu auctoritate nostra admicti contingeret, ordinationi et dispositioni nostre specialiter duximus reservandas, decernendo ex tunc irritum et inane, si secus super hoc per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari, post deliberationem, quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie Sancti Andree personam utilem et etiam fructuosam, per quam dicta ecclesia Sancti Andree preservari valeret a noxiis et in prosperis feliciter adaugeri, cum fratribus nostri habuimus diligentem, demum ad te Rectorem ecclesie de Kinkel Aberdonensis diocesis, in sacerdocio constitutum, litterarum scientia preditum, vite ac morum honestate decorum, in spiritualibus providum et temporalibus circumspectum, ac aliis multiplicum virtutum donis, prout ex testimoniis fidedignis accepimus, insignitum, et quem etiam prefati Prior et Capitulum per eorum patentes litteras nobis postmodum super hiis multipliciter commendarunt, direximus oculos nostre mentis: quibus omnibus attenta meditatione pensatis, de persona tua, nobis et eisdem fratribus consideratione tuorum meritorum accepta, prefate Sancti Andree ecclesie de predictorum fratrum consilio autoritate apostolica providemus, teque illi preficimus in Episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesie Sancti Andree tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, in eo etc. Datum Avinione xii. Kal. Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

In e. m. Capitulo ecclesie Sancti Andree, Clero et populo civitatis et diocesis Sancti Andree, universis Vassallis ecclesie Sancti Andree, et David Regi Scotie Illustri. [*Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*]

XXXIV. Stephen de Pay. A.D. 1385-86. *Elect.*

Stephen de Pay, then Prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, was next Elected Bishop; but having been taken prisoner by the English at sea, on his way to Rome, he fell sick and Died at Alnwick, in Northumberland, on the 2nd of March, 1386 [*Grub, vol. i., p.* 357]; but in 1385, according to *Fordun*, *Spottiswoode*, and *Lyon*. I suspect his surname ought to be Papedy, for one Stephanus de Papedy is Witness about the Reign of King William. *Vide See of Dunkeld.* [*Keith.*] No ground whatever for this conjecture,

Wyntoun calls him Pay, and so does Bower, very plainly, vol. i., p. 370. [*Bishop Russell.*] "In stature he was large, in countenance agreeable, munificent in everything, and beloved by all." As was observed, it was in his time that the Cathedral was burnt. Bishop Landel and he repaired what was destroyed, viz., the roof and wood-work of the Choir; the roofs of the east Aisles of both Transepts, with four Pillars and two Porches of the same; a fourth part of the centre Steeple; and nine Pillars in the Nave. The expense amounted to 2200 Marks sterling, or about £18,000; but subsequent Bishops and Priors had to finish what these two began, which was not completed till about 1440.

XXXV. Walter Trail. A.D. 1385 or 1386-1401.

Walter Trail, son of the Laird of Blebo, in Fife, had been a Canon of St. Andrews, and having studied for a considerable space in Foreign Parts, commenced Doctor, both of Civil and Canon Law, and became "Referendarius [Envoy] Papae Clementis Septimi." [*Fordun.*] This Antipope, he says, was lineally descended from Mary, Countess of Boulogne, daughter of our King Malcolm Canmoir and S. Margaret his Queen. Trail was with this Antipope Clement at the time the See of St. Andrews fell vacant, and was by his Apostolical authority, without Election, preferred to the same. For, so great an esteem had this Antipope for him, that he said "he was more worthy to be Pope himself than a Bishop only, and that Walter was an honour to the Place, and not the Place to him." And indeed he was a person of such excellent worth, that even Buchanan speaks to his praise. At this time the grand Schism in the Papacy had begun, which continued about 36 years. Two and sometimes three Popes—one at

S. WALTERI DEI GRAI EPI SCI ANDREE. Below S. Andrew (richly adorned with Gothic work and diapered background of roses, similar to the Seal of Bishop Frazer), in the centre, is a Bishop interceding. On the dexter side is the Scotch Shield, with the Lion; on the sinister are the Trail Arms. Beneath each Shield is a Lizard.

Rome, and the others elsewhere—claimed each to be the lawful Successor of S. Peter. In 1385, Urban VI. was the Pope at Rome, while another Cardinal, under the title of Clement VII., claimed the same dignity at Avignon. Like the other Scottish Bishops, Trail acknowledged the Antipope; and, on this account, Pope Boniface IX. bestowed the See of St. Andrews on Fitz-Alan, Archbishop of Canterbury, during his exile from England. France and Spain also joined Scotland. Italy, Germany, and England supported Urban. This Schism was at last quenched in the Council of Constance, and Martin V. was chosen Pope.

Trail is Bishop here March 18, 1390 [*Writs of Mar*]; in 1387 [*Invent. Aberd.*]; in 1389 [*Peerage, p.* 100]; in the 18th and 19th of King Robert II. [*Royal Charters*]; in the 4th and 6th year of King Robert III. [*Writs of Clackmannan*]; in 1393 and 1395. [*Dipl. et Numism.*] He is Witness to a Charter of King Robert III., Confirming former donations to the Abbey of Paisley, 6to April, 1396. He is Bishop in the 9th year of King Robert III., which might be 1399 [*Cart. Aberbr.*, *Diplom. et Numism.*, and *Writs of Mar*]; and he is Bishop in 1400. [*Cart. Cambusk. et Errol.*] He was commissioned to pronounce sentence of Absolution upon the "Wolf of Badenoch" (Sir Alexander Stewart, youngest son of Robert II.), who burned part of the Town, Monastery, and Cathedral of Elgin, but who did Penance on his bare knees, clothed in sackcloth, and also compensated for the damage.

T.'s Counter Seal. S. WALTERI TRAYL. The Blessed Virgin and Child above the Trail Arms, as in the former, supported by Lions.

Wyntoun enumerates the several donations which he bestowed upon his Cathedral, viz., two long Cushions of Velvet, that are often set on the High Altar; Chasubles, Tunics, Dalmatics, Albs, Stoles, and Kerchiefs; a Silver Vat, for Holy Water, with Silver Sprinkling-stick; a Silver Ewer, three Gold Bodkins, two large Silver Ewers, twenty Rafters for the roof of the Cathedral, and many gifts besides. Dempster gives the names of several Works by Bishop Trail, but states that John Knox & Co. burnt them. Trail, finding the Manse of Edwy inconveniently situated, gives

the Rector a better piece of ground to build on, and takes the other in exchange, 1388. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*] He built a magnificent Cell in the Cathedral, betwixt the Pulpit and Bishop Lamberton's Tomb. [*Martine.*] There is in the *Chartulary of St. Andrews, p.* 8 *Macf. Trans.*, a Copy of a curious Instrument by this Bishop, viz., an Excommunication of a certain William de Berkely, Dated 27th March, 1395. Trail Died in the Castle of St. Andrews (which was built by himself), in 1401, and was Buried in the Cathedral, near to the High Altar, with this Inscription—

> Hic Flos [or Fuit] Ecclesiae, Directa Columna, Fenestra Lucida, Thuribulum Redolens, Campana Sonora.

i.e., This man was the flower of the Church, a straight pillar, a bright window, a sweet-smelling censer, a sonorous bell.

Bishop Russell mentions in his Edition of Archbishop Spottiswoode's History, that, in the "Anglia Sacra,"

Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury—1397-99—while an exile at Rome, had the Primacy of St. Andrews conferred upon him by the Pope; but he finds no place among Scottish Prelates.

XXXVI. Thomas Stuart. A.D. 1401. *Elect.*

Thomas Stuart, bastard son to King Robert II., and Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was Elected by the Chapter, but through modesty would not accept the Office. Fordun calls him "Homo modestissimae naturae, et columbinae simplicitatis," *i.e.*, "A man of most modest disposition and of dove-like simplicity." Though it be commonly reported that he lived only somewhat more than three years after this Election, yet some affirm that he is to be met with in 1411, still acting as Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and in that capacity Confirming the Bishop's Foundation of the New University of St. Andrews. He is commonly said to have Died about three years after this; but as there is mention of Thomas Stuart as one of the promoters of learning in the New University founded here by Bishop Wardlaw, others have entertained a suspicion that he has been the Archdeacon still then alive. The Rents of the Bishopric, during the vacancy, were bestowed by King Robert III., with the consent of the Convent, upon

XXXVII. Walter Denzelstone *or* Danielstone, 1402, *Elect*,

In recompense for the Castle of Dumbarton, which he enjoyed heritably.

He was also Parson of Kincardine O'Neil. Both Wyntoun and Fordun give him but a very indifferent certificate of character. While he and his men were in the Castle of Dumbarton, they did many unlawful things, and, in particular, plundered the Town of Linlithgow and the surrounding country. Fordun, drawing a contrast between him and his Predecessor, the good Bishop Trail, applies this couplet to him—

O vas virtutis! alimentum, lux tabidorum,
Ægrotus refovens, ubere salvifico.

i.e., O vase of virtue! nourishment, light of the wasting, reviving the sick with health-making cordial. But the following he gives to Danielstone the Elect—

O vitiorum vas! alimentum luxurei,
Trux, ægros reprimens verbere sulphureo.

i.e., O keg of pollutions! food of lasciviousness, savage, keeping back the sick with brimstone fume.

Both the King and his brother of Albany (who was the chief manager of the affairs of the Kingdom) were anxious to get this important Fortress at Dumbarton out of the hands of Danielstone, and, with this view, set on foot a treaty with him; but when they came to settle the terms, it was found that he would resign it only on condition of being made Bishop of St. Andrews. This was a downright uncanonical and simonaical proposal, but, owing to the Duke's anxiety to get possession of the Castle, the too compliant temper of Thomas Stuart the Bishop-Elect, as well as of the Prior and Canons, and the Papal schism and dissension which were still rabid—all together gave a sort of impunity to every kind of Ecclesiastical irregularity, and effected this measure. However, this discreditable Election ended in Danielstone's demise at Christmas, little more than six months after. [*Lyon's History, vol. i., pp.* 194, 195.]

XXXVIII. Gilbert Greenlaw. *Postulate.*

After this, Gilbert Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was Postulated to the See of St. Andrews. [*Fordun.*] Wyntoun says "he was both famous and pleasant;" and the Prior and Canons sent Dean William Norrie a second time to Avignon, to get the Pope's consent to his Election; but Benedict XIII. did not Confirm the Postulation.

XXXIX. Henry Wardlaw. A.D. 1404-40.

Henry Wardlaw, a son of the Family of Torry, in Fifeshire, Rector of Kilbride, and, by virtue thereof, Precentor of the See of Glasgow (to which Office he had been provided by his uncle, Cardinal Wardlaw, Bishop of that See), being at Avignon at this

time, was preferred to the See of St. Andrews by Pope Benedict XIII., and Consecrated there in 1404. [*Sibbald.*] He first laid the Foundation for a University in the City of St. Andrews. In 1411, says Boethius, began the University of St. Andrews, and attracted to it the most learned men as its Professors, viz., Lawrence of Lindores, Abbot of Scone and Professor of Laws; Richard Cornwall, Doctor of Degrees and Archdeacon of Lothian; William Stephen, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane; John Litster, Canon of St. Andrews; John Schives, Official, and John Shever,

[Seal of the University of St. Andrews. The Shields are those of the Contemporaries—Peter de Luna (the Antipope Benedict XIII., afterwards deposed), supported by two Nudes of the two genders, and bearing per fess, in the upper part, a Crescent reversed; the dexter Shield (King James I.) charged with the Scotch Lion; the sinister, on a fess, between three mascles, three crosslets—the Wardlaw Arms. Canopied is a Professor, grim and sage, in his Chair, with digit of demonstration. In lowly posture is the Acolyte, or "luminator," for snuffing the candle, during tuition of the large class of seven promising mothers' sons, all under the patronage of S. Andrew.]

Archdeacon of the same; in all, thirteen Doctors of Theology and eight Doctors of Degrees, besides others. Nor was there wanting a corresponding auditory; for all who thirsted for literature resorted to the University from every quarter, especially after

the return of King James from England, who encouraged learned men to come to him, by bestowing upon them the most ample Church preferment. The University, at first, had rooms in different parts of the City.

It was reserved for the enlightened spirit of Wardlaw to render unnecessary the distant emigration of our Scottish youth to Foreign Seminaries, by opening the wells of education and learning at home: and in addition to the various Schools which were connected with the Monasteries, by conferring upon his country the distinction of a University, protected by Papal sanction, and devoted to the cultivation of what was then esteemed the higher branches of Science and Philosophy. On the 3rd February, 1413, Henry Ogilvie, M.A., made his entry into the City, bearing the Papal Bulls which endowed the infant Seminary with the high and important privileges of a University; and his arrival was welcomed by the ringing of Bells from the Steeples, and the tumultuous joy of all classes of the inhabitants. On the following day, being Sunday, a solemn Convocation of the Clergy was held in the Refectory; and the Papal Bulls having been read in the presence of the Bishop—the Chancellor of the University, they proceeded in Procession to the High Altar, where *Te Deum* was sung by the whole Assembly; the Bishops, Priors, and other Dignitaries being arrayed in their richest Canonicals, whilst 400 Clerks, besides Novices and Lay Brothers, and an immense number of spectators, bent down before the High Altar in gratitude and adoration. High Mass was then Celebrated; and when the Service was concluded, the remainder of the day was devoted to mirth and festivity. In the evening, bonfires in the streets, peals of bells, and musical instruments, processions of the Clergy, and joyful assemblies of the people, indulging in the song, the dance, and the wine-cup, succeeded to the graver Ceremonies of the morning; and the event was welcomed by a boisterous enthusiasm more befitting the brilliant triumphs of War than the quiet and noiseless conquests of Science and Philosophy. [*Tytler.*]

There is to be found in the *Rot. Scot.*, 11th May, 7 Henry III., a Safe-Conduct from the King of England for two ships going to Prussia, to bring home wood for a Church built by

Wardlaw. Perhaps the word *University* might be inserted in the above document instead of *Church*. [*Russell.*] The Faculty of Arts in the University transferred its obedience from the Antipope Benedict XIII. to Pope Martin V., and sent for a goldsmith to finish the Faculty Mace against the solemnisation of the act, 9th August, 1418. [*Acta Rectorum, fol.* 4, *MS. in the Library of the University of St. Andrews.*] In 1412, Bishop Wardlaw was Legate in Scotland of the Antipope Benedict XIII. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., lxxxiv.*] Prince James was for some time entrusted to the care of Wardlaw.

S. HENRICI DEI GRACIA EPISCOPI SCI ANDREE. S. Andrew has on either side the Shield of Scotland, bearing the Lion rampant. In the upper niche is the Father unfolding the gift of His Crucified Son; in the next two niches are Angels touching the Shields bearing Scotland; in the next two are SS. Peter and Paul, with the Keys and Sword; in the lower niche is a Bishop vested, interceding. On either side are the Wardlaw Arms, of which Family the Bishop was the second son.

There are six Bulls of Benedict XIII. (under whose authority the University was set on foot) preserved among the College Charters, and which are printed in the Appendix to *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*. They are all Dated in 1413. Martine says: "Bishop Wardlaw's memory is sullied by the Death of John [James] Resby and Paul Craw, who were condemned and burned for opinions derogatory to the Papacy." Resby, an English Priest, was the first who was burnt for his religion in Scotland. He was put to death at Perth, in 1406 or 1407. Craw suffered in 1432, at St. Andrews. While being burnt, a brass ball was put into his mouth, to prevent him from making any Speech to the people. Their fate was cruel in the extreme, and indefensible; and yet, at the period, nothing else could they have expected, when whosoever burnt a "Heretic" thought he was doing God service. But do those would-be Reformers who rave against

what they opine *error*, establish *truth?* The yesterday-tenets which they propagate are generally more clogged with errors and imperfections than those which they would like to remove. One set of evils is thus substituted for another. And this applies to those styled "Martyrs for Christ's cause;" albeit, it was their own cause. Few practise the Golden Rule, "Do as you would be done by." Bigotry and Persecution are as rampant as ever; and the more recent the Sect, the more fiery and stinging its tail, which steers the course of Toleration towards those who think differently.

In the *Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*, Bishop Wardlaw's name occurs four times. King Robert III. confers on him and his Successors the "great custom" on wool, skins, leather, fish, etc., together with other like privileges. He also grants to them the whole custom and cocket-duty of St. Andrews. Wyntoun (the Chronicler) petitions the Bishop for redress against William de Berkley. The Bishop endows an additional Prebendary in the Royal Chapel of S. Mary (Kirkheugh), with the Parish Church of Fetteresso, reserving to himself and Successors the Patronage of the same. No. 29 of the *Denmylne Charters* informs us that this Bishop granted to the Monks of Balmerino the privilege of a Baptistery in the Chapel of S. Alus, for administering the Sacraments of the Church to the persons in its vicinity. Among the Town Charters is one containing a Grant by the Bishop to the Magistrates of a Piece of Ground adjoining the Town Church, for the express purpose of enlarging the Burying-ground, which had been found too small. This is evidence that there was a Cemetery attached to this Church before the "Reformation." The Bishop stipulates, in return, that the Chaplains and Choristers of the Church shall perform an annual Mass for his soul. Dated A.D. 1430. [*Lyon's Hist., vol. i., p.* 214.]

Bishop Wardlaw built the "Guard Bridge" (or more properly *Gare* Bridge—*Gare* in Gaelic signifying a *fishing station*) at the mouth of the Water of Eden, four miles from St. Andrews, and has the character of a very hospitable and good-natured man. It is recorded of him, that the stewards of his household, on one occasion, complained of the numbers that resorted to his table,

to share in the good things which it afforded; and requested that, out of compassion for his servants, who were often quite worn out with their labours, he would furnish them with a list of his intended guests, that they might know how many they should have to serve. To this he readily assented, and sent for his Secretary, to prepare the required document. The latter having arranged his writing materials, inquired who was to be put down. "Put down, first," replied the Bishop, "Fife, next Angus"—(two large Counties). This was enough: his servants, appalled by anticipations of a list which began so formidably, instantly relinquished their design of limiting the hospitality of their generous master. Boethius narrates a Speech which Bishop Wardlaw addressed to the King in Parliament, held at Perth, in 1430, against the luxury, gluttony, lust, effeminacy, etc., which his Majesty and Nobles had introduced among the sober Scotch people. The eloquence of the Bishop had such an effect, that it was Enacted that pearls should be worn only by ladies, who were permitted to hang a small collar of them about their necks. All furs and ermines, and excessive use of gold and silver lace, all banqueting and riotous feasting, with other abuses of a similar kind, were prohibited. This prohibition was so effectual, that no more complaints of the kind were heard of.

He was Bishop here in 1419 and 1423 [*Cart. Dunferm. et Durh.*]; in 1422. [*Assed. Arbr.*] He is Bishop in 1400. [*Officers of State.*] But here this Authority, as well as Sir Robert Sibbald, are certainly mistaken, for, in the *Cartulary of Cambuskenneth*, this Bishop calls the year 1409 "Anno consecrationis nostrae sexto," *i.e.*, "in the sixth year of our Consecration,"—a most clear voucher that he had not been Consecrated before 1404, or in the end of 1403. We find him Bishop during all the Reign of King James I. [*Royal Charters*]; and in 1440, John Scheves was Official-General to Henry, Bishop of St. Andrews [*ibid.*]; so this Bishop was then alive. He Died in the Castle of St. Andrews, on the 6th of April, 1440 [*Fordun*], and was Buried in the Cathedral, in the wall betwixt the Choir and the Lady Chapel, with greater parade than any of his Predecessors had been. Fordun testifies that the following inflated Latin Epitaph was on a

ponderous Mausoleum reared to the memory of Bishop Wardlaw, which our "Reformers" destroyed :—

Heu! quem Sarcophago pressum terit anxia petra,
Ecce doloris ago Patris lugubria metra.
Nobilis Henrici Wardlaw caro sic tumulata,
Res jubet, ut modici spatio sit id unde creata.
Junge camœna gemens, gemitus geminando dolores,
Cum necis ira fremens, cunctos sic sternit honores.
Vertitur in cineres cinis, hac latitans libitina,
Subdit par proceres et viles, ecce ruina!
Dux cœcis, claudis fuit hic pes, causa salutis
Ægrotis, laudis titulis dans dogma secutis.
Vestivit pietas, bonitas, hunc legis honestas,
Virtus pax probitas: pestes tulit ipse molestus.
Aribitrus æquus lancem libraverat æque
Regula, forma, decus populi cleri patriæque.
Doctor jures pia decreta, serens documento,
Laus sua sunt studia Rymonth fundata fluento.
Ad rivuli laticem bibit hujus Scotia tota.
Vernat Pontificem schola post hunc undique nota.
Si quis quæsierit de quo sunt hæc, reperire,
Versibus hic poterat, mox per capitalia scire.

Grant of the Foundation or Tenement of the Pedagogium, by Henry (Wardlaw), Bishop of St. Andrews, to the Dean and Faculty of Arts, A.D. 1430.

To all who may see or hear of this Charter, Henry, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Andrews, salutem in omnium Salvatore.—Be it known to all men, that we have Granted, in pure and perpetual charity, in honour of Almighty God, and the Blessed Virgin, of S. John the Evangelist, and all the Saints, and for the salvation of our soul, as well as the souls of our Predecessors and Successors, and of all the faithful departed —to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, to the Faculty itself, and the members of the same, the Students and Regents who may for the time be resident in St. Andrews, a certain Tenement situated on the south side of the South Street, etc.; to the end that the Masters and Regents of the said Faculty of Arts may therein hold, if need be, their Grammatical Schools, or that they may serve as Halls and Chambers of the Students, or for the construction and repair of the same, according to the judgment of the said Dean of Faculty, or the greater part of the members. We will, moreover, that the Dean of Faculty, Regents, and Masters shall Celebrate, in their ordinary Caps and *Huciis*, and in White Surplices, the Anniversary of our Death in the Chapel, with two Wax Tapers burning on a covered table, a *Placebo* and

Dirige on the eve of the day of our Death, and the next day, the Mass of the *Requiem cum nota*. In testimony of which our true Seal is appended to this Charter at St. Andrews, 9th April, 1430. [*Lyon's History, vol. ii., p.* 229.]

XL. James Kennedy. A.D. 1440-66.

The following Bishop of this See was James Kennedy, the younger of the two sons of James Kennedy of Dunmure, in Carrick, Ayrshire (son of Sir Gilbert Kennedy, predecessors to the Earls of Cassilis), by the Lady Mary, Countess of Angus, daughter of King Robert III., thus being his grandson. "A Prelate who," says Crawford, "rendered himself no less illustrious by his virtues, than he was by his noble birth." He was first created Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1438; and, on the Death of Bishop Wardlaw, was chosen and Postulated by the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews, the same year, 1440, while he was abroad at Florence with Pope Eugenius IV., whither he had gone in order to obtain Papal authority for putting a stop to the disorders and abuses which he saw were daily increasing in the Church. His Holiness could only encourage his zeal by bestowing on him the vacant Abbey of Scone. In 1444, he was appointed Chancellor of the Kingdom, which he soon resigned, by reason of its arduous additional duties. He had been appointed Commendator the previous year. After he returned home, and the Ceremony of his Translation was over, he set himself to a universal

S. JACOBI DEI GRACIA EPISCOPI SANCTI ANDREE. In the upper niche is the Virgin and Child. On either side of S. Andrew is, on the dexter, Justice, with scales, holding a cross; on the sinister, is a Bishop fully vested. Below is a Bishop kneeling; on the dexter, is a Shield charged with a chevron between three crosslets fitchée, within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered—the Arms of Kennedy; the sinister Shield bears the same, but without the tressure. SCOTLAND is below S. Andrew. [*Charter of S. Salvator's College.* A.D. 1450.]

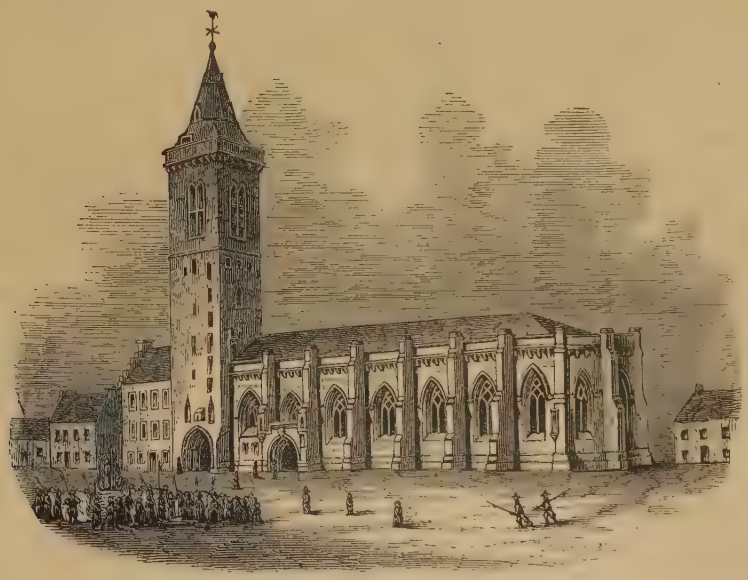
reformation of manners; and for the same end, in 1446, it is said this worthy Prelate set about a second journey to Italy, with the same view of getting abuses reformed, and likewise to be assisting in composing the divisions which were in the Papacy; and for his journey he got a Safe-Conduct from King Henry VI. of England, for himself and thirty persons in his retinue, Dated Westminster, 28th May, 1446. However, from *Rymer* it would appear he was not able to bring any great remedy to the errand he went upon; so, after his return home the second time, he applied himself to cultivate Learning and Religion; and for this end, in 1450 (not in 1456, as Keith says), he Founded a College in the City of St. Andrews, which he appointed to bear the appellation of S. Salvator. Pope Nicholas V. Confirmed this [*Theiner's Monumenta, p.* 382]; but on account of some alterations which afterwards suggested themselves to the Bishop, he applied for and obtained a new *Epistola* from Pius II., in September, 1458. [*Ibid., p.* 406.]

Counter Seal of Kennedy. S. JACOBI EPI. SANCTI ANDREE. Below S. Andrew are the Arms of Kennedy, supported by two Angels kneeling. [*Principal Lee, Edinburgh.* A.D. 1453.]

Kennedy endowed this College with the Tiends of the Parishes of Cults, Kemback, Denino, and Kilmany, and some Chapelries, all of which had, till then, belonged to the Bishopric. Out of the funds of these sources, he provided for the maintenance of 13 Officers, viz., a Provost, Licentiate, and Bachelor (who should all be in Holy Orders, and lecture on Theology on certain days in the week), four Masters of Arts, and six aspirants to the higher Orders.

Martine, on the authority of a MS. which he possessed, tells us that Bishop Kennedy gave to his College "not only Stoles for the Priests, Dalmatics, Tunics, and Copes, but Chalices, Goblets, Basins, Ewers, Candelabras, Censers, and Crosses, and an Image of the Saviour nearly two cubits long, besides various gold and silver utensils; also large Bells, small Musical Bells for Chimes, and Silk Tapestry for adorning the Church. In short, there was nothing outside or inside the College which did not

evince the piety, taste, and munificence of the Founder." The Bishop Founded the Grey Friars' Monastery, which stood in what is now named Bell Street. He also built a magnificent Barge, called the "S. Salvator," which continued after his Death to be the property of the See, till 1472, when it was wrecked near Bamborough, on a voyage to Flanders. All on board perished, except two or three, among whom was the Abbot of S. Colme. The Bishop's Barge, Monument, College, &c., with its endowments, and his Monastery, are estimated at having cost £300,000 of our present money.



S. SALVATOR'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.
(The scene to the left represents the Burning of Patrick Hamilton.)

The College Chapel is now all that remains of this foundation, which stands in the centre of North Street. The buildings were an extensive Quadrangle, 230 feet long and 80 broad. The south side is still occupied by the Chapel; and the other three sides contain the Common Hall, Class Rooms, and an interesting Museum. All the old portions of the College Quadrangle have been removed. When the Royal Commissioners appointed to examine the Universities of Scotland visited St. Andrews in 1827,

a strong representation was made to them of the ruinous state of the buildings. The Commissioners ordered Plans for a new structure from Mr Reid, the King's Architect for Scotland, which being sanctioned, and £23,500 being granted from the Treasury, the erection was proceeded with. When £10,000 had been expended, unexpectedly the remainder of the grant, with the exception of about £5000, which had just been laid out in repairing S. Mary's College and the University Library, was recalled, and given to rebuild the Marischal College of Aberdeen. After repeated remonstrances, a sum of £6000 in 1844, and another sum of £2600 in 1847, sufficed to complete the College fabric. Both of these Grants were mainly owing to the personal exertions of Provost Playfair.

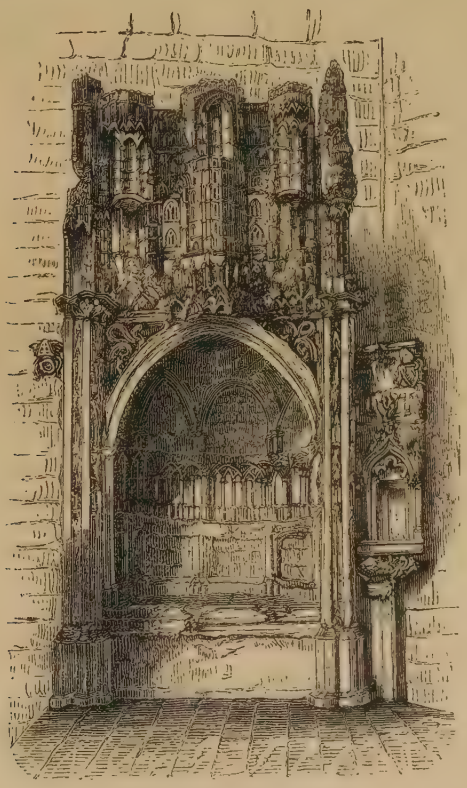
The buildings now consist of two connected wings on the north and east sides of the Quad. These are light and airy erections, with commodious Class Rooms. The College grounds are enclosed by lofty walls. The entrance gateway is at the west end of the south side, and under the old Tower, which reaches to the height of 156 feet. Patrick Hamilton was burnt in front of this. Within the Chapel is Bishop Kennedy's Tomb—a piece of the most gorgeous architecture. Though much injured, it remains a noble specimen of art, with its clustered columns, canopies, and pendants. There were originally figures of Angels and Saints in the niches. The Tomb seems to have had an Inscription on brass or silver. I give the several versions:

In tumulo . . . vitam tuemur uti mortem
Tumulo quia funus intulit vitam. [*Grierson.*]

Magister
Hicce finit fanum qui largis intulit ortum. [*Lyon.*]

In 1683, the Tomb was opened, and in it were found six splendidly decorated Maces, which must have been hidden there at the time of the "Reformation." One of them was presented to each of the other three Scottish Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. Two were kept by S. Mary's College, and the remaining one, by far the most splendid, as it is of solid silver, whilst the others are merely plated, was retained by S. Salvator's

College. It is an object of special interest to visitors. This Mace has three labels. The first reads thus—"Jacobus Kennedy, illustris Sancti Andreæ Antistes, ac fundator collegii St. Salvatoris, cui me donavit, me fecit fieri *Parisiis*, An. Dom. MIIIILXI." *i.e.*, "James Kennedy, the illustrious Prelate of St. Andrews, and Founder of the College of S. Salvator, to whom he presented me, caused me to be made at Paris, A.D. 1461." The second label



BISHOP KENNEDY'S TOMB.

is in the Vernacular—"John Mair, gooldsmythe and verlotte of chamer til the Lord Dauphin, has made this masse in the towne of Paris, in the year of our Lord 1461." The third runs thus—"Dr. Alexr. Skene, collegii Sti. Salvatoris nostri præpositus, me temporis injuria laesum et mutilatum, publicis dicti collegii sumptibus reparandum curavit, Ann. 1685." *i.e.*, "Dr. Alexander

Skene, Provost of our College of S. Salvator, caused me, hurt and mutilated by the injuries of time, to be repaired at the public expense of the College, in the year 1685." The following is The Rev. Charles Jobson Lyon's minute description of this Mace :—

"It is of massy silver, partially gilt, four feet long, and weighs nearly twenty pounds; but, like all Ecclesiastical remains in Scotland, has suffered from the hands of violence. It consists of four divisions or compartments, and a base, each compartment having a triple projection. The various devices upon these have, no doubt, an emblematical meaning; but I am not sure that I have discovered all of them. The upper extremity of the upper division consists of arches, canopies, and crocketed pinnacles, surmounting the interior of a dome. Beneath this dome is a figure of the Saviour (the Sanctus Salvator to whom the College is dedicated), about three inches long, standing upon a globe, and being adored by three Angels—the first Angel holding a cross, the second a spear, and the third a reed with a sponge. Behind each angel is a round turret, on the tops of which are symptoms of something having been burnt, probably incense, when the Mace was carried in procession. Immediately below the globe on which the Saviour stands, is a hollow space, perhaps intended for the lower regions, guarded by six lions couchant, two of which, however, have been wrenched off. Between every two of these animals is a hairy savage, or scaly demon, three in all, sitting at the three portcullis entrances to the said hollow space, having coats of arms or shields placed between their legs, and each armed with an uplifted baton and shield. Between these personages, somewhat more elevated, are a Bishop with his mitre and crosier, a King with his crown and sceptre, and an Abbot in his cloak and cowl. Perhaps the Saviour and the Angels may denote the Church Triumphant; the King, Bishop, and Abbot, the Church Militant; and the space below, with its demon guardians, Hell. The second compartment in the Mace has two Angels (the corresponding third having disappeared), each with wings extended, in the attitude of preaching from a pulpit. Between these, a little lower down, are three Churchmen, each reading a book in a desk. The third compartment contains three turrets, with vacant pulpits placed between them, out of which probably the silver preachers have been extracted. The fourth compartment has three figures in as many pulpits, with their faces turned inwards in the attitude of prayer, two of which are broken off in the middle. Between these are two Churchmen, reading from a scroll, in their desks; the corresponding third one having been carried off. The base was evidently ornamented with four lions couchant, two of which only remain."

The cost of the Monument is said to have been £10,000 of modern money, owing to the numerous niches having been filled with silver images. Nearly a Century ago, when the Chapel was

undergoing repairs, it was imagined that the roof, which was almost flat, and without apparently adequate support, would soon fall, and it was determined to have it removed. The alarm was soon seen to be groundless, for the roof was so strong that it could not be torn asunder. The workmen, however, had proceeded too far, and it was necessary to detach it on every side from the walls, and make it fall *en masse*. As it fell, it greatly mutilated the Bishop's Monument, sufficiently injured before, and the report shook the whole Town. On 10th June, 1842, the interior of the Tomb was examined. Under the marble slab there was nothing but rubbish. Digging down, an arch was found, under which was loose earth, where several bones and an entire skull were lying covered with cerecloth. There were also fragments of a wooden coffin. When the earth was removed, a Cell, 8 feet long, 3½ feet broad, and 5 feet high, was seen, with a Cross cut out on marble slabs at the east and west ends. Fragments of painted tile indicated what sort of a floor it once had. A stair was also found, leading from the front of the Monument down into the Tomb. The bones were replaced in the Tomb. The skull was examined by phrenologists, who said that it evinced Firmness, Conscientiousness, and Veneration, but not the highest genius, as might have been anticipated from the Prelate's singular ability. The Tomb had evidently been opened and ransacked before, probably in 1683.

Dr. Hugh Spens, Principal of the College from 1505 to 1534, is Buried under the pavement of the Vestibule of the Chapel. The flat stone, which was his Monument, was broken transversely near the middle at the time of the "Reformation." A few years ago, the two parts were incongruously placed together.

For more than a Century, the Chapel has been used as the Parish Church of St. Leonard's. In 1846, through the exertions of Provost Playfair, it underwent a thorough repair. However, *old wine* does not suit *new bottles*.

When King James III. came to the Crown, Bishop Kennedy was made one of the Regents of the Kingdom: in effect, the whole management was left in his hands, his Colleagues being well aware of his superior abilities for discharging so great a

trust. Even Buchanan says that he surpassed all men in Scotland in point of authority, that his prudence was held in the highest estimation, and that he was lamented at his Death as a "Public Parent." He was Bishop here in 1441 and 1456 [*Cart. Dunferm.*]; in 1441 and 1457 [*Durham*]; in 1442 [*Royal Chart.*]; in 1448, which he says was the 11th year of his Consecration; and in 1464 [*Cart. Assed. Arbr.*]; in 1452 [*Cart. Morav.*]; in 1454, where he is styled "the King's Cousin;" in 1456, which year he calls the 19th of his Consecration [*Mar's Writs*]; and the 7th of July, 1458, he reckons the 21st of his Consecration. [*Clackmannan Writs.*] He was Bishop here in 1464, and the King (then James III.) calls him "Avunculo nostro carissimo." [*Invent. Aberd.*] We find him also Bishop in 1465 [*Royal Chart.*], and there are many vouchers to be met with of his being Bishop through all the intermediate years.

William, Earl of Douglas, and David, third Earl of Crawford, were at this period the most powerful subjects in Scotland. They entered into a solemn league of association and friendship, with the object of drawing to their party the other great Feudal Families, and, thus united, to rule paramount in the State. Everything seemed propitious—the King a minor; the Queen-Mother powerless; Douglas the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; the Ministers, Livingstone and Crichton, men of talent indeed, but not of the more powerful Nobility, and occupied in continual struggles with each other. Nothing, humanly speaking, could have resisted them, when *a single man* stood forward and saved his country—*Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland;* the guide and Counsellor of the King during his minority; his Adviser in his riper years; a man of honesty, learning, wisdom, courage, and moderation; the Wallace of his Century, and the fairest impersonation of the Church in her Mediæval character as the Conservatrix of equity and peace on earth; a man in whom it is not unreasonable to believe that God had mercifully provided for the occasion, and Whose Words, spoken in His Name, could not fall to the ground. Kennedy's eye had long been fixed on the machinations of Crawford and Douglas, and, on the discovery of their league, he coalesced with

Crichton, then at enmity with them, and threw his whole weight into the hostile scale. Crawford instantly resented it by descending from his hills, in company with his friend and kinsman Alexander Ogilvie, of Inverquharitie, and other allies, and invading the patrimony of St. Andrews in Fifeshire, harrying the Bishop's lands, burning his granges and tenements, and carrying off, in default of the Prelate himself, an immense booty to his fastnesses in Angus. Kennedy, after fruitlessly remonstrating against this outrage, formally Excommunicated the Lindsay Chief with Mitre and Staff, Bell, Book, and Candle, for a year—denouncing the bitterest curses of Heaven against the impious Earl and his friends and abettors, and laying under Interdict every Place where their persons might be. The fierce Chief, who submitted to no laws from man, cared little for such a Denunciation from the Church. But this Sacrilege met with its reward, and within the twelvemonth. . . . He was encountered by one of the enemy who knew him not, and, darting his spear through his mouth and neck, mortally wounded him. [*Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i., p.* 126.]

In the year 1445, there was a right great hardship made in Fife by the Earl of Crawfurd, and this hardship was made on St. Andrews land, after Bishop James Kennedy Cursed solemnly, with Mitre and Staff, Book and Candle, continually a year; and the foresaid Earl of Crawfurd lay four days *abune the yerd*, and there durst no man *yerd* him, until the foresaid Bishop sent the Prior of St. Andrews and relaxed him from the Cursing. [*Auchinleck Chronicles, pp.* 7, 8, 38, 39.]

Bishop Kennedy having stated to Pope Nicholas V. that the inhabitants of St. Andrews did not grow Olive Oil, nor could obtain it, except at great expense, but that they had plenty of butter, and other lactile substances, his Holiness gives them leave to use these during Lent, without scruple or fault. [*Reg. Prior. St. Andr.*] Bishop Kennedy binds himself and Successors to pay £40 Scots; the Prior and his Successors 40 Marks Scots; and the Archdeacons of Lothian and St. Andrews, and the Chancellor of the Diocese, £20 Scots annually, for the more becoming performance of Divine Worship. [*Idem.*]

Kennedy Died on the 10th of May, 1466, and was Interred under the noble Monument alluded to, which he himself had caused to be built in S. Salvator's College Chapel, embellished with his Coat of Arms, which are still to be seen. This Bishop (Dempster says) wrote "Historia sui temporis;" *item*, "Monita Politica."

XLI. Patrick Graham. A.D. 1466-78.

The next who was promoted to this See was Patrick Graham, Bishop of Brechin, and brother of the half blood to the preceding Bishop Kennedy, as being son to the Lord Graham, the third husband of Lady Mary Stewart, after the Death of her former two husbands, viz., the Earl of Angus and Sir James Kennedy of Dunmure. This lady was Married for the fourth time to Sir William Edmiston of Collodin, afterwards of Duntreath. [*Peerage*, *p.* 100.] Sir James Balfour says he was Consecrated in 1466; but he must surely mean only that he was *Translated* or *Collated* to this See, for he had been Consecrated Bishop of Brechin three years before, and we find him Bishop here the 29th December, 1466, which he calls the third year of his Consecration. [*Cart. Aberbr. et Cambusk.*] This Prelate undertook a journey to Rome, and, while he was there, the old controversy concerning the superiority of the See of York over the Church of Scotland having been renewed, he not only obtained sentence against that See, but likewise that his own See should be erected into an Archbishopric. The Bull is Dated at S. Peter's, 16 Kal. September, 1472, by Pope Sixtus, who also made him his Legate within Scotland for three years. [See close of this Sketch.]

The new pre-eminence of St. Andrews was not attained without opposition. The Archbishop of York (George Neville, brother of the King-making Earl of Warwick) was in prison, charged with treason, stripped of his temporalities. But fallen as he was, the Primate of England still lifted his voice against a measure which not only silenced the long-asserted pretensions of his Church in the North, but robbed it of a Suffragan—the Bishop of Galloway, who seems never to have questioned the supremacy of York. The Bishops of Galloway, although appearing in the

Scottish Parliament towards the end of the Thirteenth Century, are found acting as Suffragans of York as late, at least, as the year 1404. The See of Whitehern, long Suffragan to York, was admitted to the rights and liberties of other Scottish Sees in 1430, and made Suffragan to St. Andrews in 1472. In 1420, the Bishop of Galloway takes part in a Provincial Council of the Scottish Church. The final withdrawal of the Diocese of Galloway from the obedience of York may have been encouraged or confirmed by the Charter of King James I., in 1430, which for the first time admitted its Prelates and Clergy to the rights and liberties of the other Prelates and Clergy of Scotland. All resistance to the erection of St. Andrews into an Archiepiscopal and Metropolitan See was in vain. The Pope replied, that "an enemy [meaning Neville] ought not to be Metropolitan of Scotland." Forty years afterwards, in the flush of his triumph at Flodden, King Henry VIII. urged Pope Leo X. to restore York to its old Primacy beyond the Tweed, and to reduce St. Andrews to its former state. The request would probably have been granted, had it not been followed by a second request, ere the former one had scarcely reached the Vatican, from the fickle King, praying that a partisan of England—Gavin Douglas, the Translator of Virgil—might be made Archbishop of St. Andrews, Metropolitan and Primate of Scotland. York was not the only Metropolitan Church which deemed its rights invaded by this new

S. PATRICI DEI GRACIA EPISCOPI SANCTI ANDREE. Nearly the same as Bishop Kennedy's. The upper niche contains a representation of the Holy Trinity—a figure of God the Father sitting, showing His Crucified Son, and the Third Person in the form of a Dove. The Shields exhibit the Arms of the Family of Graham: the dexter bears on a chief engrailed three escallop shells, within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered; the sinister bears the plain Coat of Arms. [*Charter in S. Salvator's College.* A.D. 1469.]

pre-eminence of St. Andrews. The Sees of the Sudreys and the Orkneys—the Southern and the Northern Islands—were subjected to its authority, although both had been Suffragans of the Archbishop of Nidaros or Drontheim—the Metropolitan of Norway. The Sudreys or the Isles had been so long released from Norse rule, had become so thoroughly Scotch, that there seems to have been no thought of now reclaiming their spiritual allegiance. But Orkney was in a very different position. Only four years had passed since its civil dominion had been transferred in pledge, not in property, to the King of Scots; its people still spoke the Norse tongue, followed the Norse laws; the Bishop who ruled at Kirkwall had sworn fealty at Copenhagen to the reigning King of Denmark; his Predecessor had given suit and presence at the Coronation of the King of Norway at Opslo. Such a See was not to be relinquished without a murmur; and more than half a Century elapsed before its subjection to the Scottish Archbishop ceased to be resented as a robbery of the Norse Metropolitan. But the new jurisdiction of St. Andrews found its worst enemies at home. It had been erected without the consent or knowledge either of the King or of the Bishops of Scotland, and it was vigorously resisted by both. The Bishops considered themselves especially aggrieved. They were subjected as Suffragans to a Prelate whose equals they had so long been; and as if the powers and character of a Metropolitan were not sufficiently offensive, he came among them with the odious commission of an Apostolic Nuncio, to extort a Tithe of their Benefices for a war against the Turks. In their indignation they taxed themselves in 12,000 Marks, and, making common cause with the King and the Court, precipitated a conflict which proved fatal to Archbishop Patrick Graham. Obstructed and assailed on every side—impoverished, imprisoned, Excommunicated—his reason at last gave way. A Papal Nuncio, sent to Scotland at the request of the King, of the Chapter, of the Clergy, and of the University of St. Andrews, found it proved that the new Metropolitan refused obedience to the Pope's commands; that he said Mass, sometimes thrice a day, while under the sentences of Excommunication, Suspension, and Interdict; that he reviled and blasphemed the

Holy See; that he proclaimed himself a Pope chosen of God and crowned by an Angel to reform the Church; that, as such, he dispatched Legates to divers regions of the earth, created Prothonotaries, and appointed a Bishop; that he revoked Indulgences issued by the Apostolic See, affirming that they were granted for the sake of lucre. For these and other acts of oppression, simony, heresy, and schism, the Pope deposed him from his Archbishopric (Bull of Pope Sixtus IV., Dated 9th January, 1478), degraded him from all Holy Orders and Office, and condemned him to captivity for life. His first prison was Inchcolm, in the Frith of Forth. In fear lest an English Fleet might make a descent upon its shores, he was hurried inland to Dunfermline, and from Dunfermline he was carried to Lochleven, to find a grave in the ancient Priory of S. Serf's Inch. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., Preface, cxii.*]

By an offer of 11,000 Marks, the Bishops, seized with a spirit of envy, instead of congratulating their Order on this accession of importance, and the Kingdom upon the honour and advantage of a Metropolitan See, excited James to oppose and insult the Archbishop. [*Pinkerton, vol. i., p.* 277.] Drummond imputes the origin of the enmity to the Boyds, who ruled everything at Court at this period.

"This end (says Spottiswoode) had that worthy man; in virtue and learning inferior to none of his time, oppressed by the malice and calumny of his enemies, chiefly for that they feared reformation of their wicked abuses by his means." Buchanan likewise commiserates the great troubles and hardships this good man met with. Bishop Lesly (p. 318) places Graham's Trial in 1477, and says he was first imprisoned in Inchcolm, then removed to Dunfermline, and soon after to the Castle of Lochleven, where he Died in 1478. See *Sir J. Balfour's Annals, vol. i., p.* 200.

He was Bishop in 1468 [*Cart. Cambusk.*]; in 1469, where the King calls him "Consanguineo nostro carissimo," *i.e.*, "our dearest cousin" [*Inventary Aberd.*]; in 1470. [*Royal Charters.*] Martine says, "For all the affliction and disquiet this Prelate met with, I find, in a Decreet pronounced by him anno 1470, he is designed thus, 'Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia, Episcopus Sti

Andreæ, conservator privilegiorum ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.'" [*Reliq. Divi St. Andr.*] On May 12, 1474, he was Archbishop of St. Andrews, Pope's Nuncio, and Legate *a latere.* [*Mar's Writs.*]

BULLS OF POPE SIXTUS IV.

CONCERNING THE ERECTION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREWS IN SCOTLAND INTO A METROPOLITAN, TOGETHER WITH THE CHURCH OF ORKNEY MADE SUBJECT TO IT.—EXTRACTED FROM THE APOSTOLIC CHAMBER.

SIXTUS, &c.—For the perpetual commemoration of the truth, the triumphant everlasting Pastor, according to the glorious Tradition of the Holy Fathers for the salvation of His people, having decreed the Conferences on the Holy Mount, promised, amongst other mysteries of the sacred doctrine, that the fire should be fed on the Altar by the service of the Priest, and that his diligent ministry should not cease, in order that he might consume the fuel placed under it. Inasmuch as the Altar of God is held to be the heart of every one of the faithful, in whom the heat of the said fire is sought for without ceasing, in order that there may be kindled, as it were, a flame of burning love; but the holy and spotless Church, which the Pastor Himself, when the fulness of time was come, willed to be founded, consecrated, and eternally established by the sprinkling of the most glorious Blood of His Only-begotten, being clothed with the lambs who are the brightness of the same holy Priest, binds all the faithful whom she has regenerated in Christ in the bond and union of love itself, and fosters her other Churches, as it were, youths, with the heat of the same fire, and adorns them with the sparks of love. He has willed us, therefore, to be its bosom, under the direction of the Pastor, who has committed the care of the Church and of the faithful to our insufficiency; and though unworthy to ascend to the highest Pontificate of the Priest on the top of the mount itself,—We, instructed by proofs of this nature, embracing the more ardently in the bowels of love the said Churches and their Pastors, being called to share in our anxiety by the arrangements of the Celestial counsel, continually direct our thoughts in different channels, that we may earnestly contribute those gifts of our Ministry, by which the disadvantages of the same Churches, and of the Prelates presiding over them, are obviated, and provision is made beneficially for their necessities; and the Churches themselves, united by the mutual bond of love, receive increase of happy prosperity.

Whereas it was reported that there was no Metropolitan Church in the famous Kingdom of Scotland, in which are known to exist very many noble Cathedral Churches, and on that account the inhabitants of the said Kingdom, in the case of every complaint which they desire to make against the Ordinaries of places, as the time might allow, and their appeals, which, when aggrieved in their Courts, they interpose, must be referred, with great dangers, inconveniences, and expenses to the Court of Rome, or else leave

their suits undetermined: And whereas it sometimes happens, that the said cases are brought to a forbidden court of law, and are therein pleaded, and that the same Ordinaries, through want of a Metropolitan, and distance of the Court of Rome, imagining that they have too free a power of aggrieving and of exceeding their authority with impunity, are too inclined to unlawful proceedings; and that the excesses and crimes which are usually punished by Metropolitans in their provinces, remain for the most part unpunished in the aforesaid Kingdom: And whereas the venerable Church of S. Andrew, in the afore-mentioned Kingdom, is noted and famous amongst the other Churches of the said Kingdom, both for its celebrated City and wide Diocese, in which our well-beloved son in Christ, James, King of Scotland, and his Predecessors the Kings of Scotland who have been from time to time, have been wont, with their Court, to make their residence for the most part, and surrounded with a well-watered country, and adorned by the virtues of Clergy and people, and deservedly worthy of being promoted to Metropolitan dignity: We, setting forth these premises in Consistory, thought fit that our venerable brother Roderic, Bishop of Alba, Vice-Chancellor of the Church of Rome, should be entrusted in our presence to inform himself carefully of the premises, and report his discovery. Since, therefore, Roderic, Bishop and Vice-Chancellor, frequently reported to us, and our venerable brethren the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, that he had informed himself of the premises, and had discovered, by information of this kind, that all those things were true, we, directing a regard of paternal consideration to the Churches, Prelates, and all inhabitants of the said Kingdom, whom we deservedly bear in the bowels of love, and hoping that, under the Lord's direction, who is the Giver of all good things, and dispenses His own gifts of graces as He wills, the erection of an Archiepiscopal See in the foresaid Kingdom might bring forth daily greater fruits to the edification of the Prelates, Churches, and secular persons who have causes to plead in that whole Kingdom, to the fostering both a tranquil and prosperous state under the fear of the Lord, from strength to strength, and interchange of offices of mutual love; and that the said Prelates and persons should be bound to venerate the Apostolic See, in which we are the Successors of the Prince of the Apostles, who has the keys of Heaven, ever with pure hearts and minds, and zealously to give aid and labour to more definite exertions for its prosperous success in the same degree as they have learned that the said See takes more anxious thoughts of their prosperity and peace. We, having first deliberated concerning these and certain other premises with the foresaid our brethren, and with their advice and assent, and fulness of Apostolic power to the praise and glory of the Almighty God and of the whole Court of Heaven, and to the exaltation of the orthodox faith of the universal Church, and increase of the worship of God and salvation of souls, do erect, by the tenor of these presents, the aforesaid Church and Episcopal See of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan and Archiepiscopal See of the aforesaid Kingdom, with the aforesaid authority, and from a gift of special grace do

adorn and likewise ennoble it with the title of Metropolitan dignity and Archiepiscopal honour, and we do assign to it the Churches of Glasgow and Dunkeld and Aberdeen, as well as of Moray and Brechin, and Dunblane and Ross and Caithness, as well as of Candida Casa, and Lismore, and Sodor or the Isles, and of the Orkneys in the said Kingdom, with their Cities, and Dioceses, and rights, and all belonging to them, and the whole of the aforesaid Kingdom for its province, to be Archiepiscopal, and the Prelates of the said Churches for its Suffragans, and any persons whatever of the forenamed Dioceses for its Provincials; and we for ever subject and will them to be subjected by the presents, so far as concerns Archiepiscopal right. So that the said Archbishop of St. Andrews may claim to himself the rights of a Metropolitan and Archbishop in the said Kingdom and its several Cities and Dioceses aforesaid. And the said Bishops of Glasgow, and Dunkeld and Aberdeen, as well as of Moray and Brechin and Dunblane, and Ross and Caithness, as well as of Candida Casa, and Lismore, and Sodor or the Isles, and of Orkneys, for the time being, may be bound and obliged to the same Archbishop of St. Andrews as their Metropolitan and Archbishop in all and everything in which Suffragans are holden, and are obliged to their Metropolitans according to the sanctions of the Canons. Also we, by the said authority, decree to our venerable and noble brother, the Bishop of St. Andrews and his Successors, the Primates of St. Andrews for the time being, that the Pall and Cross shall be assigned them as a sign of the fulness of our Pontifical Office and of Archiepiscopal power: and that the said Church of St. Andrews shall be reckoned Metropolitan, and the said present Prelate of St. Andrews, and those afore-mentioned, for the time-being should be reckoned, and in all times to come called and denominated Archbishops of St. Andrews, bear all things, marking the Archiepiscopal and Metropolitan Office, and perform, bear and exercise, execute and administer, both all and every right and jurisdiction which Metropolitans in their Cities, Dioceses, and Provinces can lawfully perform and exercise. Willing and by the foresaid authority appointing that the Archbishop and Church of the said St. Andrews, as well as our beloved sons of the same Church of St. Andrews, the Chapter, may possess and enjoy all and every privilege, exemption, immunity, favour, and perquisite derived from the Apostolic See, and every thing else which Archbishops and Metropolitan Churches and their Chapters can in any way use and enjoy through custom or right. And that the aforesaid Suffragans and their Clergy and people may show such reverence and honour as befits the said Archbishop their Metropolitan. And decreeing that it shall be henceforth void and null, should any attempt happen to be made concerning these things contrariwise by any one, or by any authority knowingly or ignorantly, notwithstanding any Apostolic constitution and ordinance, as well as all statutes and customs of the aforesaid Churches, whether enforced by Oath, Apostolic Confirmation, or any other strong obligation; or that perchance the said Churches of the aforesaid Kingdom have hitherto been immediately subject to the Roman Church, and have been

exempted from the superiority and power of any other Prelates, and any privilege, indulgence, and exemption, and general or special Apostolic Letters, granted in general or particular terms by the said See, either to the other said Churches or their afore-mentioned Prelates, whatever may be the tenor of them, and whatever, though not being expressed or altogether omitted in the presents, may hinder or delay their being carried into effect, and everything which by the general tenor ought to have been specially mentioned in the said Letters, and all other things whatever in opposition thereto. No one, therefore, shall infringe our erection, adornment, ennobling, subjection, constitution, will, statute, and decree, &c. And if any one, &c.

Given at Rome, at S. Peter's, in the year, &c., 1472, the 17th of August, the first year of our Pontificate.

In like manner to our venerable brethren, the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld and Aberdeen, as well as Moray and Brechin and Dunblane, and Ross and Caithness, as well as Candida Casa, and Lismore, and Sodor or the Isles, and Orkney, Suffragan Churches of St. Andrews, greeting, &c.

In like manner to our well beloved sons, the Chapters of the Churches of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Dunkeld, and Aberdeen, and Moray and Brechin and Dunblane, and Ross and Caithness, and Candida Casa, and Lismore, and Sodor or the Isles, and Orkney, greeting, &c.

In like manner to our beloved sons, the Clergy of Glasgow, &c.

In like manner to our beloved sons, the People of Glasgow, &c.

In like manner to our most dear son in Christ, James, the illustrious King of Scots, greeting: A reward of Divine mercy and commendation of human praise is obtained, if through secular Princes the protection of timely favour and due honour is bestowed on the Prelates of Churches. To-day, since through certain reasonable causes moving our mind, we have erected the Church of St. Andrews in Scotland, &c., as above. Since, then, most dear son, it is a virtuous work to accompany the Ministers of God with kind favour, and to venerate them by words and works for the glory of the Eternal King, we beg and earnestly entreat your Serene Majesty, inasmuch as we have gladly commended, according to the reverence due to us and the Apostolic See, the said noble Archbishop and the Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews committed to him in extending and preserving his rights, so to accompany them with the aid of your kind favour—that the said Archbishop, through the aid of your kindness, may be more easily enabled to acknowledge in the government of the said Archiepiscopal See, and there may thereafter proceed to thee from God the reward of eternal life, and from us well-merited gratitude.

Given as above. A. de Urbano.

Judgment and Information given by Zutpheld Wardenberg, Warden of Gustrova and Apostolic Scribe, as to what should be done by the Archbishop of Nidros in the matter of recovering the Church of

ORKNEY, FORMERLY A SUFFRAGAN OF THE SAID ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEE, BUT NOW, BY FRAUD (AS IS ALLEGED), SUBJECTED TO THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS BY THE AFORE-CITED BULLS.

MOST REVEREND LORD (sc-Archbishop of Nidros),—The last matter entrusted to me remained, concerning the Bishop of Orkney, who has slipped away from the obedience of his mother, the Metropolitan Church of Nidros, and gone over, against what is due to reason and equity, to the Archbishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, by that deed robbing your Church of its subject, and other rights due from the Bishop of Orkney to your Eminence and the Church of Nidros, by right of its being Metropolitan. And because I wish to consider the matter, and transcribe to your Eminence my advice respecting it, and my ideas of this affair (which seems to me very prejudicial and important, on account of other Churches, your Suffragans), being very mindful, and wishing to come to the very bottom of this case, I caused search to be made, and searched myself many days, first, in the Register of the Pope's Bulls, where we found nothing, after wasting much labour to no purpose; and afterwards, in the Apostolic Chamber, we met with the Erection, or the Bulls of the Erection, of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan See, which we found at last in the Registers of Sixtus IV. All this was done in order that I might see from them whether, in the Bulls of the Erection of the said Church of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan, and of the subjecting of other Suffragan Churches, any mention might be made of the Church and Diocese of Orkney, and by what right it was subjected to the Metropolitan of St. Andrews; or even whether mention was made that the said Church of Orkney had been before subject to that of Nidros. But at last, when the Bulls were found, I discovered nothing respecting this, but that Orkney was in the realm of Scotland, and immediately subject to the Apostolic See, and never before Suffragan to any Church, and that Pope Sixtus was taken in by this deception, as your Eminence will see better from the preceding abundance of proofs. Therefore I took an extract of all the Bulls, of which I send a Copy to your Eminence in these presents, to consult with your Chapter of the premises for the recovery of the said Church: Lest at last, on account of the long lapse of time, and continued uninterrupted possession, the Archbishop of St. Andrews have prescription against your Church. It would appear to me convenient that your Most Reverend Eminence should send me a Copy of the Bulls of the Erection of your Church of Nidros into a Metropolitan, that I might consult with some Advocate from among the Doctors of this Roman Court, and that also he might give his advice on the writing to be sent to your Eminence, so far as there shall be found any in the said Bulls concerning the Church of Orkney, subjected therein to you and the Archbishop of Nidros for the time being. Though there might also be some instruments or documents, from which it might be evident that the Bishop and Diocese of Orkney always acknowledged the Church of Nidros, and that its Archbishop had been in the undisputed possession of that right,

and had received subsidies for the Pall from the Bishop and Church of Orkney, from which evidence would be gained respecting the undisputed possession before that time: And now respecting the robbery subsequent on the erection of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan See above, that the suit should be pleaded in those parts respecting the robbery against the Bishop of Orkney and his Chapter, if you are unwilling to go to law with the Archbishop of St. Andrews. And that the names of three or two Judges should be put on record, to whom the suit of one seeking restitution of robbery might be entrusted. And your Eminence will look to the writing back word respecting the entrusting the suit of the foresaid robbery in a better form.

Inscription: From the Roman Court, concerning the Church and Diocese of Orkney—To the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Nidros.

Extract of a Letter of Zutpheld Wardenberg, Warden of Gustrova and Apostolic Scribe, to the Lord Olave, Archbishop of Nidros, from Rome, written the 13th March, 1525.

. . . . Besides one matter only yet remained, which had been entrusted to me by your Eminence, respecting which I hitherto have not written, yet I was not unmindful of it, but took care faithfully to hasten its fulfilment according to all the necessity of the case, because it is of no small importance for our Church, I mean, respecting the Bishopric of Orkney, about which your Eminence consulted and asked me to be willing, when opportunity offered, to make a thorough search in the Books of the Apostolic Chamber for the erection of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan See, and how the Church and Diocese of Orkney, belonging to your right of Metropolitan, was subjected to the Church of St. Andrews. Therefore, having used much diligence and labour, at last a Register was found in the Apostolic Chamber, wherein the Bull of Sixtus the 4th had been registered, respecting the erection of the Church of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan, together with the subjecting that of Orkney to it, I extracted a Copy of the Pope's Register, the whole of which, word for word, I send with the presents to your Eminence, even with a marginal note of the volume and page where the Registry was found. At the end of this Copy, I have appended my judgment and information as to what ought to be done in this matter, and there your Eminence will see more at large my mind: saving your own judgment and that of your Chapter, to which I willingly yield, I offer myself in all things as heretofore most ready. . . . .

(Subscribed) Zutphel Wardenberg,
Warden of Gustrova and Apostolic
Scribe. With his own hand.

From the Munchenian Collection, in the Archives of the Kingdom of Norway.

No. VI. $\frac{1472}{1}$ and MDCXXXVIII. $\frac{1525}{342}$

[*Scottish Magazine, vol. ii.*, 501, 563.]

XLII. William Schevez. A.D. 1478-96 or 97.

William Schevez, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was next preferred to this See, in 1478. He was still Archdeacon of St. Andrews in 1473 and 1476. [*Rolls of Parl.*, and *Chart. King James III.*, *b.* 8, *No.* 318.] He Confirms the Privileges "of our most devoted daughter the University of St. Andrews," by King James II., in 1444. "In testimony of all which, we have caused our round Seal to be affixed, at Edinburgh, 2nd June, 1479, the first year of our Consecration." He was Bishop here 27th July, 1479, and in 1483 [*Cart. Aberbr.*]; in 1479, 1481, and 1493 [*Reg. Chart.*]; in 1485. [*Invent. Aberd.*] On the 27th day of March, 1496, he was Bishop here [*Cart. Aberbr.*], and bears the title of "Primate of all the Kingdom of Scotland, and Legate;" and again, *Legatus natus* of the Holy Apostolic See in this year. And he was Archbishop here, and Primate of Scotland, in this same year 1496. [*Cart. Cambusk.*] Bishop Keith says, in a Note—"I see among the *Writs of the Family of Mar* two different Bulls of Pope Innocent, both of them in the

S. WILLIELMI DEI GRACIA ARCHIEPISCOPI SCI A'DREE. Over the upper centre niche is the Shield with Scotland. Beneath is the Trinity, as in the former Seal. In the centre niche is S. Andrew. Laing details that in the dexter niche is S. Michael with a pair of scales and cross. In the sinister niche is a Bishop vested in the act of Benediction. The Holy Dove is above. In the lower sinister niche is S. Giles with a branch and a kid playing. Under the lower centre niche, having a Bishop praying, are the Family Arms, described in the Counter Seal. [*Principal Lee.* A.D. 1480.]

year 1487, respecting the Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews; and they both take notice of a former Bull by his Predecessor, Pope Sixtus, erecting this See into an Archbishopric." He was, for some time at least, a great Courtier with King James III.

Schevez had been Coadjutor during the lifetime of the last Prelate, whose bitter foe and persecutor he was. In the Chapel of Holyrood in 1478, the King and divers of the Nobility being present, he was invested with the *Pall Metropolitan*, which was a small vestment or tippet of pure lamb's wool, having little black crosses upon it, and cost £3000 or £4000. Graham, the last Bishop, was not able to pay the extravagant fees demanded for his *Pall*, and he was cast into prison, and a legal demand therefor made on his revenues. The *Pall* was made by a particular Order of Nuns; then it was Consecrated, and laid for a short time upon the tombs of S. Peter and S. Paul, as emblematical of the Apostolical authority which is communicated to the Archiepiscopal wearer. Archbishops were Buried in their *Palls*. Schevez performed various journeys, in company with a retinue of others, to England, France, and Rome, on errands Political and Religious.

Counter Seal of Schevez. S. RO. WL. ARCHEPI. SCI A'DREE LEGATI PRIMT. REGNI SCOTIE. H. Laing describes this *Sigillum Rotundum:* In front of the pedestal is a Shield quarterly; first and fourth—three mountain-cats passant in pale, for Schivez of Mureton; second and third—a cross voided in the centre, and therein a mullet. [*Glammis Charters.* A.D. 1494.]

Amid the corruptions and abuses of all kinds which were fast accumulating in the Church, Schevez enjoyed a great reputation on the Continent, for his skill in science generally, but especially in astronomy. Dempster states that "he had made such progress in astrology, theology, and medicine, that he had scarcely his equal in France or Britain." This last Writer further informs us,

that Schevez, moved by an extreme veneration for the character and useful services of the ancient Bishop S. Palladius, performed a solemn pilgrimage to Fordoun in the Mearns, where he had been Buried 1000 years before; and that, collecting his bones carefully together, he deposited them in a silver box. According to Boethius, this box and its contents were, up to his time, exhibited to those who piously resorted to the place for the purpose of beholding them. Martine of Clermont adds, that the box was sacrilegiously seized by Wishart of Pittarow, at the time of the Reformation; after which, he says, "the Family never prospered." [See Page 40.] In 1487, a Provincial Council was held at St. Andrews, of which, of course, the Archbishop was President; but we have no farther account of this Council, all the documents connected with it having perished; nor should we have known even this much, but that a copy of the summons to the Abbot of Arbroath to be present at it, is preserved in the Chartulary of that Monastery. [*Lyon's Hist. of St. Andr.*] During the residence of Schevez at the Papal Court, he obtained from the Pope the Privilege of Reconciling Churches by proxy. In right of this Privilege, he commissioned certain Clerks of his Diocese to reconcile the Collegiate Church of Roslin, which had been polluted by blood. [*Gray's MS., fol.* 296, *Adv. Lib., Edin.*, 34. 7. 3.]

He Died at St. Andrews, the 28th of January, 1496 or 97, and was "Buried before the High Altar of the Cathedral, in a Monument of brasse provided for him." [*Spottiswoode.*]

Safe-Conduct from Henry VII. to William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, A.D. 1491.

The King to all, &c., salutem.—Know, that we have taken into our safe-conduct and special protection, William, Archbishop of St. Andrews, of the Kingdom of Scotland, with forty persons, or under, of his company (cum quadraginta personis, vel infra, in comitiva sua), with all their horses, carts, carriages, waggons, bags (bogeis), wallets (manticis), packages (fardellis), papers, clothes, vestments, jewels, caskets, gold and silver, whether coined or uncoined; as also, their other necessary or useful goods and effects, in our Kingdom of England, and all other places subject to us, by land, or sea, or fresh water, on foot or on horseback, as often as we shall see fit during the continuance of this our Safe-Conduct, coming, remaining, sojourning, transacting affairs, and returning homewards, and have secured them from

all molestation and hinderance from any our servants or officials whatsoever, any Statute or Ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding. And therefore, we command, &c. Provided always that the said Archbishop and his attendants conduct themselves, &c. In testimony of which, &c. To remain for one year.—At Canterbury, 17th day of April.

Dedication of an Astronomical Work to Archbishop Schevez, by Jasper Laet de Borchloen, A.D. 1491.

To the most reverend father and lord in Christ, William, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, and Legate of the Apostolic See, Jasper Laet de Borchloen, the humble pupil of all astronomers (astrologorum), commends himself.

The singular kindness which you have recently shown me, though unworthy, emboldens me, most reverend Archbishop, to dedicate to you the sentiments of the astronomers concerning the eclipse of the sun on the 8th of May in this current year, 1491. This, I trust, will prove agreeable to you, since I know you are endowed, in an uncommon degree, with virtue and learning; that you possess a complete knowledge both of human and divine things; and are known by all to be a proficient in every kind of literature. Since, then, no one is ignorant of this, why should I dwell upon it? Such knowledge is honourable to you, and it is moreover necessary, seeing you are Primate of all Scotland. In a word, all philosophy is familiar to you. The four sciences* have brought you glory and honour. Who has not admired your profound learning? In the City of St. Andrews, where there is an illustrious University, and an influx of many learned men, you have instituted, at great expense, and with unwonted diligence, a valuable library, which is filled with books of every kind. But especially have you brought from the darkness of obscurity into the light of day the mathematical sciences, which, through the negligence of the Scotch, had become nearly forgotten; and you have collected numerous volumes for the restoration of the sidereal science. On this account, most noble Prelate, and not because I would be guilty of flattery, I present to you this little work, the fruit of my poor genius, and dedicate it to your infallible wisdom, earnestly entreating that, with your accustomed kindness, you would deign to receive it, however unworthy of your acceptance. [*Lyon's Hist., vol. ii., p.* 342.]

XLIII. James Stuart. A.D. 1497-1503.

Consecration doubtful.

James Stuart, Duke of Ross, and second lawful son of King James III., by his Consort Margaret of Denmark, succeeded

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* "Disciplinæ quadruviales," viz., arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The "disciplinæ triviales" were the first three.

immediately in this See. Singularly enough, he was Christened *James*, though his elder brother was so named before him. He was Bishop in 1497, and Bishop here and Chancellor in 1503. [*Reg. Chart.*] In 1502 he was Bishop, and is styled by the King "Carissimoque fratre nostro." [*Invent. Aberd.*] In a Charter Dated at St. Andrews the 17th day of February, 1502, and which year, he says, is the fifth of his Administration, he is designed "James, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Duke of Ross, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ardmenach, Lord of Brechin and Nevar, Perpetual Commendator of the Monastery of Dunfermline, and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Scotland." No record of his Consecration remains, nor is the fact alluded to by the Historians of the period. It is perhaps a presumption against his ever having been Consecrated, that he Dates a Charter by the year of his Metropolitan government, and not of his Consecration. [*Grub's Hist., vol. i., p.* 395.] If he performed Episcopal and Sacerdotal acts without Ordination, the latter mockery was far worse than the Papal Confirmation of his uncanonical Nomination to the See. These observations also apply to his Successor, Alexander Stuart.

S. JA. ARCHIEPI. SCI ANDR. TOTIUS SCOTIE PMAT. SE. AP. LEGATI DUCIS ROSSIE SCE. CRUC. COMEDAT. Almost the same pattern as the Seal of Schevez, but the niches, pillars, and crockets are much richer. Below is a Shield bearing the lion, with a coronet above. [*St. Andrews University.* 1501.]

Abbot Shaw, of Paisley, was this Prince's tutor, who seems

to have given him a taste for the Church; for, when it was proposed to contract a Marriage between him and Lady Catherine, daughter of Edward IV. of England, he signified his determination to enter into Holy Orders. On the Death of Schevez, he was immediately nominated to the Primacy, though not more than 21 years of age—the Pope dispensing, in his favour, with the Canons which relate to the age of obtaining such high preferment. After his nomination, he set out on a journey to Rome, to receive Confirmation and Investiture from Pope Alexander VI.; and, when he passed through England, on his way thither, he obtained a very complimentary Safe-Conduct and reception from his Royal kinsman, Henry VII., who calls him "reverendissimus in Christo, ac procarissimus consanguineus noster;" and alludes to the purity of his life and manners, and his other eminent virtues. [*Rymer, vol. xii., p.* 670.] In *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials* there are some curious particulars concerning the Funeral of this Royal Prelate, which seems to have been conducted on a magnificent scale. The cost of the various articles amounted to nearly £3000. The body was "trussed in wax," and a great number of torches were consumed, which evidences that the Funeral must have been at night. A procession of Cross-bearers, Acolytes, and Thurifers led the way. The Prior and other dignified Clergy followed in the train, and the whole procession was closed by 436 persons

The Circumscription of this fine round Seal bears that Archbishop James Stuart was PRIMATE OF ALL SCOTLAND, LEGATE OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE, DUKE OF ROSS, MARQUIS OF ORMOND, COMMENDATOR OF ARDMANACH, AND LORD OF BRECHIN. This is among the earliest examples of the Unicorn being used as the supporter of the Arms of Scotland. A.D. 1500.

carrying banners with Armorial bearings, which were deposited round the corpse in the Cathedral Church, while the obsequies were being celebrated at the High Altar. Sums of money also were distributed on the occasion, among the Franciscan Friars and the poor of the City.

This illustrious Prince and Prelate held likewise the Monastery of Arbroath, as appears by that Chartulary, which confirms his Death to have happened in 1503 (soon after his brother James IV.'s Marriage at Holyrood), at the early age of 28. He was Buried in his Cathedral, among the Bishops his Predecessors.

In 1505, John is titled "Prior of the Metropolitan Church of St. Andrews, and Vicar General of it during the vacancy of the See." [*Reg. Chart.*]

XLIV. Alexander Stuart. A.D. 1509-13.

Consecration doubtful.

He was the natural son of James IV., King of Scotland, by Mary, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw. He was Born in the year 1495; and being a child of great hopes, all imaginable care was taken of his education; for the King, his father, intending to breed him to the Church, provided an excellent Tutor for him, the learned and polite Dr. Patrick Panther, the Royal Secretary, who was a person thoroughly well qualified in all respects for so great a trust. [*Epistolæ Jacobi IV. Regis Scotiæ*, two elegant unprinted Epistles of Panther to his pupil.] This young gentleman having gone through a course of grammar learning at home to all imaginable advantage, it was thought necessary, for the further improvement of his education, to send him abroad into Foreign parts to follow his studies, which he did, his Majesty having pitched upon Sir Thomas Halkerton, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Crichton, to have the inspection of his education, and who accordingly accompanied him in his travels as his Preceptor and Governor. Stuart, having made the tour to France, went to Italy, and settled at Padua, where he pursued his studies with uncommon application, under the direction of the most famous Masters, particularly that great restorer of learning,

Erasmus Roterodamus, whom we find, among others of the Literati, exceedingly condoling the Archbishop's immature Death.

The King designing his son to the highest dignity of the Church within his Dominions, Pope Julius II. indulged his Majesty in the matter, and provided him to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews in 1509 [*Epist. Jacobi IV. Reg. Scot.*], which had been kept vacant for him from the Death of the former Primate, his uncle. *Grub* seems to doubt his Consecration [*vol. i., p.* 395].

This Seal is precisely the same as that of Archbishop James Stuart, his Predecessor, with the exception of the circumscription.

After the young Archbishop had, by his study and travelling, rendered himself capable of serving the Church and his country, he returned home in 1510 [*Bp. Lesley's Hist.*], and was received with great love by the King, Queen, and Court, and the Nobility, for his rare learning and natural sweetness of temper, qualities he was endowed with to a very eminent degree; and the King, who loved him most passionately, being desirous that he should appear with as great lustre in the State as he was to do in the Church, was pleased to make him Lord Chancellor in 1511 [*Rymer's Fœdera*]; and that the Pope might contribute all he could to aggrandize the young Archbishop, he made him his Legate *a latere* in Scotland, and gave him the rich Abbey of Dunfermline and Priory of Coldingham *in commendam*, on pretence that, as this latter place was a frontier, its Prior should be a per-

son of eminent position and secure fidelity. All these dignities this most hopeful Royal youth held for the space of three years, till he lost his life, with the King his father, at the Battle of Flodden, the 9th of September, 1513, with above 5000 of the noblest persons of the Kingdom, before he had completed the 21st year of his age. [Only the 18th, if he was Born in 1495.]

Erasmus gives a notable character of the Archbishop. "I was at one time domesticated with him in the Town of Sienna, where I instructed him in Greek and Rhetoric. Good Heavens! how quick, how attentive, how persevering in his studies! How many things he accomplished! At one and the same time he learnt Law—not a very agreeable study, on account of its barbarous admixtures, and the irksome verbosity of its interpreters; he heard lectures on Rhetoric, and declaimed on a prescribed thesis, exercising alike his pen and his tongue; he learnt Greek, and every day construed the part which had been assigned him, within a given time. In the afternoons, he applied himself to Music, to the virginals, the flute, or the lute, accompanying them sometimes with his voice. Even at meals he did not intermit his studies. The Chaplain always read some useful book, such as the Decretals of the Popes, or S. Jerome, or S. Ambrose; nor was the voice of the reader ever interrupted, except when some of the Doctors, in the midst of whom he sat, made an observation, or when he himself asked the meaning of anything he did not clearly understand. At other times, he would listen to tales, but short, and connected with literature. In this manner, no part of his life was exempt from study, except what he devoted to piety and sleep. And if he had any spare time, he employed it in reading History, in which he took great delight. Thus it happened, that, though a very young man, scarcely out of his 18th year, he excelled not only in every kind of learning, but in every quality which one can admire in a man. Nor did that happen to him which sometimes happens to others, '*the more apt at letters, the less apt at morals;*' for his morals were pure, yet mixed with uncommon prudence. His mind was noble, and far above sordid affections; yet so constituted, that there was nothing forward or fastidious about him. Though he felt acutely, he was

accustomed to repress his feelings, and never allowed his passions to be inflamed—so great was the mildness and moderation of his nature. He greatly enjoyed wit and humour, but it was of a literary kind, and not too caustic; that is, he loved not the wit of Momus so much as that of Mercury. If any discord arose among the servants of the household, it was admirable with what dexterity and candour he would allay it. In a word, he was religious without being superstitious. No King was ever blessed with so accomplished a son."

But whatever might be his merits, nothing could excuse his being placed, at so early an age, in so responsible a situation as the Primacy of Scotland. But indeed the whole history of this period shows that Church Benefices had become a mere matter of traffic among the leading men of the day. Every noble Family had one or two of its members in the Church; and every Ecclesiastic, with the sanction of the Pope, but in violation of the Ecclesiastical Canons, got as many Benefices for himself as he could, without the least regard to his fitness for the performance of the duties annexed to them. In 1512, Archbishop Stuart, concurring with the King and Prior John Hepburn, founded the College of S. Leonard's, St. Andrews, the three original Foundation Charters of which exist. [*Lyon's History of St. Andrews.*]

Carnegie Charters.

Alexander was Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1510 [*Reg. Chart.*]; also Chancellor and Archbishop in 1512, and Commendator of the two Abbeys of Dunfermline and Coldingham. [*Ibid.*] He was Bishop in 1511 [*Errol et Cart. Aberd.*], and 1512. [*Cart. Dunferml.*]

Three Stone Coffins were discovered in 1826, when, by order of the Exchequer, the *debris* occasioned by the demolition of the Cathedral was removed. These Sarcophagi still remain as they were found, projecting from under the floor of the High Altar. They are supposed to have been the Coffins of Archbishops Schevez, James Stuart, and James Beaton. Close beside these Coffins was found a Skeleton with a deep cut on the skull: probably this was Archbishop Alexander Stuart, who received his death-wound at the memorable Battle of Flodden, in 1513.

In the centre of this Round Seal is a floriated Cross of S. Andrew, with the Apostle on the dexter, and the Blessed Virgin crowned, holding an open book, on the sinister. Below are the Arms of Scotland. All surrounded with scroll work and the Scottish Thistle. 1512.

XLV. Andrew Foreman. A.D. 1514-22.

Andrew Foreman, through the favour of Louis XII., was made Archbishop of Bourges, in France, in 1513, and Bishop of Moray, from which See he was translated to this of St. Andrews in the year 1514. He was descended from the Family of the Foremans of Hatton, in Vico de Berwick. His brother-german, Sir John Foreman of Dalvene, obtained a considerable estate in the Shire of Roxburgh, by the Marriage of Helen Rutherford, one of the two sisters and co-heiresses to Rutherford of that ilk. I find him designed, September 30, 1497, "Andreas Forman, Pronotarius Apostolicus ac Prior de Maii." And on the 9th day of the month of May, 1501, he was appointed one of the Ambassadors sent to England. [*Rym.*, *T.* 12, *Macfar.*] In the *Harleian*

MSS., 2363, the name of Foreman occurs, including a notice of his Death in the following terms—"Anno D'ni M° V° XXII°. Andreas Forman, Legatus de latere, et Eps. Sti. Andreæ, in quadragesima diem clausit extremum, et Commendatarius fuit de Dunferlyn et Pittenweyme." His Arms are carved on a stone built into the east side wall of S. John's Church, Priory, Pittenweem. Pope Julius II. took a most extraordinary fancy for him to be a Cardinal, 6th May, 1511; but his Holiness Died before the first Creation took place. But Foreman managed matters so well, that Leo X., the Successor of Julius, made him his *Legatus a latere* for Scotland. [*Lyon's Hist., vol. i., p.* 255.] According to Dempster, this Archbishop wrote—1, Contra Lutherum; 2, De Stoica Philosophia; 3, Collectanea Decretalium. He was a great scholar and excellent politician, and of so generous a spirit, that he bestowed, in acts of hospitality, the large revenues of two Archbishoprics he possessed in France and Scotland. [*Guthrie.*]

S. Peter in the dexter niche, having a book in his right hand and a key in his left. S. Paul in the sinister niche, with his sword. *Laing* describes the lower part of the Seal as a Shield quarterly, first and fourth, a chevron between three fishes haurient, for Forman; second and third, a horse's head erased, and a hawk's bell at the neck, for Horsburgh. Above the Shield a cross bottonée, on each side of which is a scroll, with the motto "Defende me Deus." [*Appended to a Gift by Foreman to Lermont of Clatto.* A.D. 1517.]

The brief but vigorous Episcopate of Archbishop Foreman was marked by a Code of Synodal Statutes which are of peculiar value, as shedding light on the condition of the Church at the beginning of the great movement which forty years later issued in the Reformation. Some of them—such as the rigorous Canons against clandestine espousals, against the abuse of public espousals as a license for concubinage, against clandestine marriages—may perhaps be thought to have a wider and more lasting interest, as bearing on social or moral questions still in debate. The Ordinance requiring of the nine greater Monasteries of the Diocese, that each shall send two Monks,—of the four lesser Monasteries, that each shall send one Monk to the University, avows as one of its objects the necessity of offering more effectual resistance to Heretics; but it adds at the same time, that the requirement is only in conformity with laudable, approved, and ancient custom. One Statute reiterates the old injunction, that every Curate shall present yearly to the Diocesan Synod a schedule of the names of all persons deceased within his Parish. To another Canon we seem to owe the establishment of our Registers of Confirmed Testaments. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., Preface, clxxxviii.*]

The Blessed Virgin, with Jesus, in the dexter niche. S. Mary Magdalene in the sinister, having the alabaster vessel of spikenard. The lower part has the same Coat of Arms as in the former Seal. [*Principal Lee.* 1518.]

He was Archbishop here in 1515. [*Cart. Paisl.*] He was also Perpetual Commendator of the Monastery of Dunfermline on July 10, 1517, which he himself calls the third year of his Translation, and styles himself, "Sti Andreæ Archiep. totius regni

Scotiæ primas, legatus natus ac apostolicæ Sedis cum potestate et facultate legati de latere per universum regnum prædictum, nec non commendatarii perpetui monasterii de Dunfermline." *i.e.*, "Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, and Legate *born* of the Apostolic Seat, with the power and faculty of Legate *de latere* throughout the foresaid Kingdom, as also perpetual Commendator of the Monastery of Dunfermline." [*Writs of Clackmannan.*] And in the same Writs, 13th March, 1516, he says, "Sigilloque nostrae legationis jussimus et fecimus appensione communiri." *i.e.*, "We have commanded and caused to be fortified with the appendage of the Seal of our Legation." He Died and was Buried in Dunfermline, in 1522.

XLVI. James Beaton, A.D. 1522-39,

Was the sixth and youngest son of James Beaton of Balfour, by Marjory Boswell his wife, daughter of Sir David Boswell of Balmuto. The Family takes its name from the Town of Bethune, on the small river of Brette in Artois, five leagues from Aire and six from Lisle; and the first fact we meet with in History of these Lords of Bethune is, that Robert I. founded the Collegiate Church of S. Bartholomew A.D. 999. No doubt the Scotch Family are descended from the same stock with the French, but French Writers are wrong to suppose that James de Bethune, who lived in the Fifteenth Century, was the founder of the Family, since it appears (from *Rymer's Fœdera, vol. vii., p.* 358) that Robert de Bethune possessed lands in Scotland in the Reign of King William the Lion; and Sir David Bethune, who probably was his son, was living in 1296. The Family of Bethune had their chief possessions in the County of Angus, as appears from their names as Witnesses to Charters. Robert de Bethune, who was of the household of King Robert II., Married the daughter and heiress of Sir John Balfour, chief of that Family, and obtained with her the lands of Balfour, in Fife, from whence the Family of Bethune, or, as it is commonly written, Beaton of Balfour. This was their principal Seat, and the Family gained an establishment by Marrying the heiress of Balfour; but they, nevertheless,

retained the name of Bethune, and quartered the Arms of Balfour with their own, viz., Quarter 1st and 4th—*Azure*, a *Fess* between three Mascles; Or, 2nd and 3rd—*Argent* on a *Cheveron sable*, an *Otter's head* erased of the *first* for *Balfour;* supporters, two *Otters* proper, and an *Otter's head* for *Crest*, with the word *Debonnaire*. [*Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii., p.* 213.] Besides this, there have been several Families of note of this surname in Scotland, such as the Beatons of Creigh, of Bandon, of Blebo, &c., which all derive themselves from Beaton of Balfour. Details of this Prelate will be given under the several Sees which at the time he governed. At present we shall be confined to his Episcopate here,—premising that he was educated at St. Andrews, and having great natural talents, he was kept to his studies with a view to Holy Orders. In 1487, the name "Ja Betoun" occurs among the *Intrantes;* in 1491, among the *Determinantes;* and in 1493, as a Licentiate, he took the Degree of M.A. In October, 1497, Maister James Betoun was presented to the Chantry of Caithness, vacant by the decease of Mr. James Auchinleck. [*Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii., p.* 162.] In 1503, he was Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, and Prior of Whithorn. In 1504, he was Abbot of Dunfermline, and a Lord of the Session. In 1505, he succeeded his brother as Lord Treasurer. In 1608, he was raised to the See of Galloway; and, within twelve months, having been translated to Glasgow as Successor to Blackader, he resigned the Office of Treasurer. In the Rolls of Parliament, 26th November, 1513, the Archbishop of Glasgow appears as Chancellor of the Kingdom: and he secured to himself the rich Abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning. On succeeding to the Primacy of St. Andrews, in 1522, he resigned the Commendatory of Arbroath in favour of his nephew, David Beaton (Cardinal), with the reservation to himself of half its revenues during his life. In a Letter to Cardinal Wolsey, Dr. Magnus, the English Ambassador, on the 9th January, 1524 or 1525, after referring to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as "the greatest man, both of lands and experience, within this realm," goes on to say, in the same Letter, that this Beaton is "noted to be very subtle and dissembling." He had been accused by Magnus (who was also

Archdeacon of Reading) of carrying on a private Correspondence with the French to the prejudice of the English. Beaton writes in his defence to Magnus from St. Andrews, 29th December, 1524, thus—"And as for the Frenchmen being here in St. Andrews, you shall understand that one of them came this last S. Stephen's Day, and others since. I never knew of their coming till the time that they knocked at the gate, I being at dinner in company with the remainder of my Lords who are in this Town for the time; and I let them in, and treated as accorded, because they had writings forth of France to me and others my Lords being here. But they were general, and of old dates. Their galleys came not here, but passed by to the Water of Tay." In another Letter from the English Ambassador to Cardinal Wolsey, Dated 24th January, 1525, he says—"Of late have been at St. Andrews, with the Archbishop there, the Earls of Angus, Lennox, and Argyll, with many others both Spiritual and Temporal; and it is said the Archbishop there, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Prior of St. Andrews, the said three Earls, and many other with them, are combined to take one great part together for the weal, as they say, of the young King their master, and of this his Realm, and for a peace to be between England and Scotland. . . . I understand there hath not been such a house kept in Scotland many days before, as of late the said Archbishop hath kept, and yet keepeth; insomuch as at the being with him of these Lords, both horse and man, he gave livery nightly to twenty-one score horses." [*State Papers, vol. iv., p.* 286.]

Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, and James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, were both rivals at the same time for the Archbishopric of St. Andrews and the Primacy of Scotland. The former solicited the appointment from the Pope through the interest of King Henry VIII., at whose Court he was at the time residing; the latter was supported by the Regent and the Three Estates of Scotland, who wrote to his Holiness that the Bishop of Dunkeld was at that time a fugitive in England, banished from Scotland, and was endeavouring to be preferred to the Primacy of Scotland through the interest of the public enemies to Scotland. The King of Denmark was written to interpose at the

Court of Rome on behalf of the King of Scots, his nephew, to prevent the Pope from making Gavin Douglas Primate. The two Prelates resembled each other in point of ambition; but the Grave in the meanwhile covered Douglas (1552), which event left Beaton without competitor to the highest Office in the Church of Scotland.

But with all his dignities and wealth, such was the rapid transition of the times, that, in the brief space of a year, he experienced the extremes of good fortune and bad. A little before (1517), the Earl of Angus and his faction had forced the Archbishop to fly for his life for sanctuary at the Altar of Black-friars' Church, Edinburgh, from which he was even dragged to be slain, but for the rescue of his friend *Bishop Gavin Douglas*. The very same year that he was made Primate, the power of the Regent was abrogated by Parliament, the Earl of Angus (his deadly foe) returned from France, and by degrees made himself master of the Government and of the King's person. He was extremely incensed against the Archbishop, drove him from Court, dispossessed him of the Office of Chancellor, obliged the King to write him demanding the Great Seal, which he very respectfully delivered, and, some time after, took upon himself the Office of Chancellor. The Archbishop afterwards found means to revenge, in some measure, this usage, by giving a Sentence of Divorce, at the instance of the Queen, against the Earl of Angus. The Douglasses were banished from Court, the King recovered his freedom, and Beaton came again into power, which was only recovered to be as soon lost. At a bloody battle which was fought between the armies of the Earl of Douglass and the Earl of Lennox, at Kirkliston, which ended in the victory of the Douglasses and the slaughter of Lennox, the Archbishop was obliged, for his life, to hide in the hills of Balgrumo in Fife, to don the plaid of a shepherd, and to do his best to herd, with his Pastoral Crook, a flock of sheep for three months, accompanying the Chant of their bleating *Miserere* with his lute and pipe.

In this year (1526), meanwhile, his Castle at St. Andrews and his Abbey at Dunfermline were sacked, Douglas, Earl of Angus, actually seizing and using the Archbishop's Seal. Matters

were, for all this, soon adjusted between the Primate and the Douglasses, a *solatium* being given to the latter out of the Archiepiscopal coffers. Beaton once more occupied his Castle at St. Andrews, refurnishing and embellishing it *de novo*, to which the King and the Douglasses were invited to spend their Easter holidays of 1528, the year after the Burning of Patrick Hamilton, who was the second doomed thus to Die in Scotland for his Religious opinions. This act *immortalizes* the Archbishop. Hamilton was Abbot of Ferne, in Ross-shire, promoted (3rd October, 1524, while only a boy), doubtless, from his Family connexions. Such were the abuses then common. He does not appear to have been in Holy Orders. His father was Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel, and was an illegitimate son of James, first Lord Hamilton. He went abroad in 1525, visiting Wittemberg and Marburg, and becoming acquainted with Luther, Melancthon, and Francis Lambert. It is evident, however, that, from the Sentence pronounced upon Hamilton by the Archbishop and his compeers, before his visit to the Continent, he had been suspected of heresy. His Writings have been conserved in *Knox's History* and in *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. Having returned to Scotland in 1527, impelled by zeal to win over his countrymen to his belief (the result is well known), he was apprehended, imprisoned in the Sea Tower of the Episcopal Palace or Castle of St. Andrews, and tried.

HERE FOLOWETH THE SENTENCE PRONOUNCED AGAYNST HYM.

Christi nomine Inuocato: We Iames, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Saint Andrew, Primate of Scotland, wyth the counsaile, decree, and authoritie of the most reuerend fathers in God, and Lordes, Abbottes, Doctoures of Theologie, professors of the holy Scripture, and maisters of the Uniuersitie, assisting us for the tyme, sitting in iudgement within our Metropolitane Church of S. Andrew, in the cause of hereticall prauitie, agaynst M. Patrike Hamelton, Abbot or pensionarie of Ferme, being summoned to appeare before vs, to aunswere to certeine Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by hym, and so appearyng before vs, and accused, the merites of the cause beyng ripely weyde, discussed, and understanded by faythful inquisition made in Lent last passed: we haue founde the same M. Patrike, many wayes infamed wyth heresie, disputing, holding, and maintaynyng diuers heresies of Martin Luther, and hys folowers, repugnant to our fayth,

and which is already condemned by generall Councels, and most famous Vniuersities. And he being vnder the same infamie, we decernyng before, hym to be summoned and accused vpon the premisses, he of euill mynde (as may be presumed) passed to other partes, forth of the Realme, suspected and noted of heresie. And beyng lately returned, not beyng admitted, but of his owne head, without licence or priuiledge, hath presumed to preach wicked heresie.

We haue found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught diuers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appeare before vs and our councell: That man hath no free wyll: That man is in sinne so long as he lyueth: That children incontinent after their baptisme, are sinners: All Christians that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: No man is iustified by workes, but by fayth onley: Good workes make not a good man, but a good man doth make good workes: That fayth, hope, and charitie, are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c., wyth diuers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsaile nor perswasion, he may be drawen therefrom, to the way of our right fayth.

All these premisses being considered, we hauing God and the integritie of our fayth before our eyes, and followyng the counsaile and aduise of the professours of the holy Scripture, men of law, and others assistyng vs, for the tyme: do pronounce, determine, and declare, the sayd M. Patrike Hameltone, for his affirmyng, confessing, and maintayning of the foresayd heresies, and his pertinacitie (they beyng condemned already by the Church, general Councels, and most famous Vniuersities) to be an hereticke, and to haue an euil opinion of the fayth, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemne, and define hym to be punished, by this our sentence definitiue, depriuyng and sentencyng him, to be depriued of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church: and therfore do iudge and pronounce him to be deliuered ouer to the secular power, to be punished, and his goodes to be confiscate.

This our sentence definitiue, was geuen and read at our Metropolitan Churche of S. Andrewes, the last day of the moneth of February, an. 1527, beyng present, the most reuerend Fathers in Christ, and Lordes—

1. Gawand, Bishop of Glasgow.
2. George, Byshop of Dunkelden.
3. Iohn, Byshop of Brecham.
4. William, Byshop of Dunblane.
5. Patrike, Prior of Saint Andrew.
6. Dauid, Abbot of Abirbrothok.
7. George, Abbot of Dunfermelyng.
8. Alexander, Abbot of Caunbuskyneth.
9. Henry, Abbot of Lendors.
10. Iohn, Prior of Pittynweme.
11. The Deane and Subdeane of Glasgow.
12. Mr. Hew Spens.
13. Thomas Ramsay.
14. Allane Meldrum, &c.

In the presence of the Clergy and the people.

The following Notes, explanatory of the above names, are given by John Parker Lawson, in his Edition of *Keith's History, vol. i., p.* 331 :—

1. Gavin Dunbar, Preceptor to James V., Archbishop of Glasgow.
2. George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Lord Privy Seal.
3. John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin.
4. William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, uncle of his Coadjutor, and Successor in that Diocese, Bishop William Chisholm.
5. Patrick Hepburn, second son of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, succeeded his uncle John as Prior of St. Andrews, and advanced to the Bishopric of Moray in 1535, when he also received the Abbey of Scone *in commendam.*
6. Afterwards the celebrated Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate.
7. George Durie; but the proper Abbot of Dunfermline at the time was Archbishop James Beaton, who succeeded Archbishop Foreman in the Primacy, and also in the Abbacy of Dunfermline, which he held a second time *in commendam,* while he allowed the title and probably devolved the duties of Abbot on Durie. This Ecclesiastic, who was Archdeacon of St. Andrews, styled himself Abbot in 1530, and he continued to take the title, or that of Commendator, apparently subordinate to Archbishop Beaton, during the Primate's life. After the Archbishop's Death in 1539, Durie acted as sole Abbot or Commendator, and as such granted Charters down to 1560, when he went to France, and it is uncertain if he ever returned.
8. Alexander Milne, or Mylne, successively Canon of Aberdeen, Prebendary of Dunkeld, Dean of Angus in that Diocese, selected by James V. to be Administrator of the Revenues of the Abbey of Holyrood at Edinburgh and of the Priory of St. Andrews, which he had bestowed on his two infant illegitimate sons, and in 1523 first Lord President of the Court of Session.
9. Henry, whose surname is unknown, was, as far as can be ascertained, the thirteenth Abbot of Lindores in Fife.
10. John Rule, Prior of Pittenweem.

Immediately after dinner, the very same day, the fire was prepared before the gate of S. Salvator's, or the Old College, where Hamilton was burnt to ashes that afternoon. [*See Woodcut, S. Salvator's Chapel, under Bp. Kennedy, Page* 215.] While preparing for such a death-bed, he gave to his servant his gown, coat, bonnet, and such like garments, saying, "These will not profit me in the fire—they will profit thee; after this, of me you can receive no commodity, except the example of my Death, which, I pray you, bear in mind; for, albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet is it the entrance into Eternal

Life, which none shall possess who deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation." The "innocent servant of God" being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, some timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of gunpowder was made and set on fire, which gave to the "blessed Martyr of God" a "glaze," "skrimpled" his left hand and that side of his face, but neither kindled the wood nor yet the coals. Then a baker, called Myrton, ran and brought his arms full of straw, and cast it in to kindle the fire; but there came such a blast of wind from the east, and raised the fire so vehemently, that it blew upon the man (Alexander Campbell) who accused him, "dang him to the earth, and burnt all the fore part of his coul." And so remained the appointed to Death, until men ran again to the Castle for more powder, and for wood more able to take fire; which at last being kindled, with loud voice he cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this Realm? And how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" The fire was slow, and therefore was his torment the more. But most of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, among whom Campbell, the Black Friar, noticed before, was principal, who continually cried, "Convert, heretic; call upon our Lady; say, *Salve Regina*," &c. To whom he answered, "Depart, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan." After which and other

This Seal differs from Foreman's by having, in the sinister niche, S. James the Less, with pilgrim's staff and scrip at his girdle. The lower part has the Arms of Beaton of Balfour. Quarterly, first and fourth, a fess between three mascles or lozenges, for Beaton; second and third, on a chevron, an otter's head erased of the first, for Balfour. Above the Shield is a cross bottonée. The scroll is "Misericordia."

words which could not well be understood nor marked, both for the tumult and vehemence of the fire, "the Witness of Jesus Christ" got victory, after long sufferance, the last of February, in the year of God 1527. [*Knox's Works, vol. i., p.* 17.]

A Letter *congratulatory* was sent from the Masters and Professors of Theology of the University of Louvaine to Archbishop Beaton and the Doctors of Scotland, commending them for the execution of Patrick Hamilton. Dated 21st April, 1528. [Given in *Foxe's Book of Martyrs, vol. ii., p.* 228; *Knox's Works, vol. i., p.* 512; *Lyon's History, vol. ii., p.* 356.] After Patrick Hamilton's Martyrdom, many publicly professed their opinion that he suffered unjustly; and his Death was so far from answering the intentions of the Clergy, that it promoted the onward course of the Reformation exceedingly. Within a few years after the Burning of Hamilton, a young man, Henry Forrest (a native of Linlithgow, who, a little before, had received the Orders of Benedictæ Collette, founded by a devout virgin of Picardy, in the Fifteenth Century), was also Burned for *heresy*, "at the North Church Stile of the Abbey Church of St. Andrews, to the intent that all the people of Angus might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like Doctrine." James Hamilton, the brother of Patrick; Katherine Hamilton, the spouse of Captain Dunbar—"an honest woman of Leith;" David Straiton, of the House of Laurieston; and Norman Gourlay, within a year after the shameful Death of Henry Forrest, were called to the Abbey Church of Holyrood, by James Hay, Bishop of Ross (Commissioner of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews), in presence of King James V., clad in red apparel, and accused of *Heresy*. The three former escaped the flames, but had their goods confiscated—except "the woman of Leith," who was caused to recant, and so got off without confiscation, because she was Married; but Straiton and Gourlay were condemned to be Burned upon the Greenside, between Leith and Edinburgh, that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror and fear, and not fall into the like.

Counter Seal, having the same bearings as the former. 1527.

Thus much touching those who suffered under James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. It has been said that he "moved heavily in these kind of proceedings;" and there are two remarkable stories recorded to have happened about this time, which show that, but for the *Civil Statutes* of the age, he was not naturally inclined to such inhuman severities. Astonishing to say, *John Knox* is not particularly hard upon the Archbishop, and mentions that he had *a leprosy*, of which there is not a word by any other Writer. It happened that some who were most vehement for going on with *proceedings against heretics* in the Archbishop's Court, one Mr. John Lesley, a very merry man, and in great credit with the Archbishop, delivered himself to this purpose: "*If you Burn any more of them, take my advice, and Burn them in cellars; for I dare assure you, that the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected all that it blew upon.*" The other story (as given by *Spottiswoode*) was, that one Alexander Seton, a Black Friar, Preached openly in the Church of St. Andrews, that, *according to S. Paul's description of Bishops, there were no Bishops in Scotland;* which being reported to the Archbishop not in very precise terms, he sent for Mr. Seton, and reproved him sharply for having said, according to his information, that *a Bishop who did not Preach was but a dumb dog, who fed not the flock but fed his own belly.* Mr. Seton said that those who had reported this were *liars;* upon which witnesses were produced, who testified very positively to the fact. How much soever the Bishop might be incensed, he dismissed Friar Seton without hurt, who soon afterwards fled the Kingdom.

It does not appear that, from this time forward, Beaton acted much in pouncing upon *heretics* himself, but chose rather to grant commissions to others who were inclined to proceed against such as Preached *the new doctrines*—a line of conduct which seems fully to justify the remark of Archbishop Spottiswoode upon this Prelate—"Seventeen years he lived Bishop of this See, and was herein most unfortunate, that, under the shadow of his authority, many good men were put to Death for the cause of Religion, though he himself was neither violently set, nor much solicitous, as it was thought, how matters went in the Church." The

famous George Buchanan, who was obliged to fly for *heresy* after Patrick Hamilton was Burnt, has nowhere spoken with heat or vehemence of the Archbishop. On the contrary, he styles him "a very prudent man;" and, speaking of the violence with which the Earl of Angus persecuted his enemies, he adds, "Neither did the Douglasses exercise their revenge and hatred less fiercely upon James Beaton, for they led their forces to St. Andrews, seized upon, pillaged, and ruined his Castle, because they counted him the author of all the projects the Earl of Lennox had undertaken; but he himself went about in various disguises, because none durst receive him openly, and so escaped." Hume, in his *History of the House of Douglas, p.* 256, who disliked all that were no friends to the Family of Douglas, for all this, does not chide the Archbishop. Speaking of the Earl of Angus attacking the Castle of St. Andrews, and pillaging it, he adds, "He could not apprehend the fox himself, who fled from hole to hole, and lurked secretly among his friends."

George Buchanan, John Major, Hector Boëthius or Boëce, Gilbert Crab, and William Gregory, men of great learning, flourished at this time.

Beaton founded the New Divinity or S. Mary's College at St. Andrews, which, however, he did not live to complete, but left the perfecting of it, and the general administration of the Diocese, to his nephew, David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, and now become Coadjutor and future Successor to him in the Bishopric. He was Chancellor in the year 1524, and Bishop in 1535. [*Reg. Chart.*] He was Bishop here in the years 1523, 1524, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1536, 1537, and 1538, and calls 1534 the 25th of his own Consecration, and the 12th of his Translation to St. Andrews. [*Cart. Dunferml.*] He says himself, in 1530, that he was then in the 7th year of his Primacy of St. Andrews, and in the 30th of his Consecration. [*Cart. Arbr.*] But this does not seem to coincide with the time that we say he was Consecrated, unless we suppose, what is not unlikely, that there has been an error, either in the reading or writing this Paper, of the 30th for the 29th. In 1524, we find the Archbishop imprisoned at Berwick, and deprived the Chancellorship, for having joined the

party against Arran and the Queen-Mother, who wished the young King, then only twelve years of age, to be declared of age, and to assume the government. In 1533, we again find the Archbishop in confinement, though for what reason does not clearly appear. He Died in the harvest-time of the year 1539 [*Sadler's Letters*], and was Buried before the High Altar of the Cathedral; and it is certain, that, in 1538-39, James Beaton is called "olim Archiepiscopus Sti Andreae." [*Reg. Chart.*] This Prelate Married King James V. to Mary of Lorraine, in his Cathedral of St. Andrews; and one of his last public acts was to be Godfather to their first son.

XLVII. David Beaton. A.D. 1539-46.

David *Beton* (old spelling) or *Bethune* (modern), nephew to the last Bishop, and third son of seven to John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, and Isabel Monypenny, daughter of David Monypenny of Pitmilly, chief of an ancient Family for centuries settled in the East of Fife,—was Born at Balfour, in the Parish of Markinch in Fifeshire, in the year 1494. By the Marriage of James, first Earl of Arran, to Janet, daughter of Sir David Beaton of Creich, the Cardinal became the near relative of the third Earl, Regent of Scotland, declared next heir to the Crown in default of Queen Mary dying without issue. Until the 16th year of his age, he studied at St. Andrews, and on the 26th October, 1511, he Matriculated at the University of Glasgow, of which Diocese his uncle was then Archbishop. He was then sent to the University of Paris, where he evidenced singular scholarship in Civil and Canon Law. In 1519, for his great talent and winning manners, James V. made him Resident for Scotland or Envoy at the French Court, where he managed affairs with great dexterity. He was about 25 years of age. His uncle, the Archbishop, now bestowed upon him the Rectories of Campsie and Cambuslang. He was then only a plain "Clericus." In 1523, his uncle was Translated from Glasgow to the Primacy of St. Andrews, and resigned in his nephew's favour the wealthy Commendatory of the Abbey of Arbroath, and prevailed with the

Pope (Adrian IV.) to dispense with his assuming the Monastic Habit, on account of his youth, for the space of two years, which he spent in France. He returned to Scotland in 1525, and took his seat in the Parliament held that year, as Abbot of Arbroath.

In 1528, he was appointed Lord Privy Seal—the same year in which the Convent of the Black Friars, Edinburgh, was burnt, near to which, in the Cowgate, was the town residence of his uncle the Archbishop. Having by that office many opportunities of being in young King James V.'s company, he soon became an especial favourite; and in 1533 he was sent to France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erskine, Bart., of Brechin, the Secretary, to confirm the League between the two Kingdoms, and to solicit the hand of Magdalene of Valois, the elder daughter of Francis I., for King James; but the Princess being at that time in an indifferent state of health, the Marriage did not take place till four years afterwards. During this time Beaton ingratiated himself with Francis to such an extent as to be naturalised in that Kingdom. King James, having gone over to France about

S. Andrew in the centre, supported by the Blessed Virgin and Child on the dexter, and a Bishop in the act of Blessing on the sinister. Underneath all the Seals is a Shield quarterly, Beaton and Balfour, with a cross bottonée, Cardinal's Hat, strings, and tassels, having a Scroll with *Intentio, Intentio.* A.D. 1542.

the end of 1536, had the Princess Magdalene given him in person, whom he espoused on 1st January, 1537. Beaton returned to Scotland with their Majesties, where they arrived at Leith on Whitsunday Eve, the 19th of May, at ten o'clock evening. Magdalene was received by the Scottish nation with the utmost cordiality; but she was already far gone in a decline, and Died on the 7th of July following, *enciente*, at the early age of 16, to the grief of the whole nation. It was on the Death of this Queen that mournings were first worn in Scotland. King James, upon this event, fixed his attention upon Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville, and mother of Mary Queen of Scots; and Beaton was again sent to France to negotiate a second Marriage for the King with the Lady Mary, and to bring her over to Scotland; and during his stay at this time at the Court of France, Francis conferred on him the Bishopric of Mirepoix (a town in the Department of Arriege, at the foot of the Pyrenees), Suffragan to the Archbishop of Toulouse—a very considerable preferment in every respect, the revenue being no less than 10,000 *livres* per annum, which was then a large sum, and enabled Beaton to make a great figure. We find him styled "Administratoris Episcopatus Mirapicen in Gallia." [*Reg. Cart., lib.* 22, *No.* 147.] But the King of France's favour did not end here. He solicited Pope Paul III. to elevate his favourite to the dignity of a Cardinal, which was accordingly conferred on him by that Pope on 20th December, 1538, in the 44th year of his age. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., cxxx.*] Pope Paul III., on raising Beaton to the dignity of Cardinal, conferred upon him the title of *S. Stephen in Monte Cœlio.*

In the *Epistolæ Regum Scot., vol. ii., p.* 66, there is given a Letter from Beaton to the Pope, Dated from Edinburgh, May 4, 1540, praying that Mr. William Gibson, Dean of Restalrig, should be raised to the Episcopate, and to act as his Suffragan while he was absent and engaged with State affairs. To this petition the Pope acceded, and created Gibson Bishop of Libaria *in partibus infidelium*, with a pension of £200 Scots out of the Rents of the Bishopric of St. Andrews.

All things being settled in regard to the second Marriage of

King James, in the month of June the Cardinal embarked with Mary of Guise for Scotland, where they arrived, after a very stormy passage, and landed at Balcomie Castle, near Crail, in July, where they rested for a little while to receive refreshments from the hospitable proprietor, and to recover from the fatigues of the voyage, and afterwards, passing through the ancient Burgh of Crail, they proceeded to St. Andrews, where the King was then residing. Here the Cardinal solemnised the Marriage of his Sovereign in the Cathedral of that City, and the Queen was welcomed by a numerous train of the Prelates, Nobility, and Gentry; and in February following the Coronation was performed with great splendour and magnificence in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.

Archbishop James Beaton being old and infirm, his nephew, the Cardinal, was appointed to be his Coadjutor in the See of St. Andrews. The old Archbishop Died in 1539, when the Cardinal was fully invested with the Primacy. He was assured of the Primacy on the 15th August, 1538, six months before the Death of his uncle and Predecessor. He was Installed in the See, and received the Cross and Pall, between the 13th and 25th Feb., 1538-9. A few days afterwards, his bastard son—"Dauid Betoune filius naturalis reverendissimi in Christo patris Dauid Sanctiandreæ Archiepiscopi etc.," *i.e.*, "David Beaton, natural son of the Most Reverend Father in Christ David, Archbishop of St. Andrews, etc."—gets a grant of Crown land in Angus. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., cxxx.*] David (senior) was soon after invested by the Pope with the dignity of Legate *a latere* in Scotland. He had been induced to solicit Legatine power on account of the spreading of the Protestant doctrines among the Nobility and higher classes. He is said to have shown the King a list containing 360 names suspected of *heresy*, and recommended his Majesty to recruit his empty coffers by the confiscation of their estates. Cardinal Beaton's Commission as Legate *a latere* throughout Scotland is Dated on the 30th January, 1544. It was captured by an English Privateer, on board a bark bound

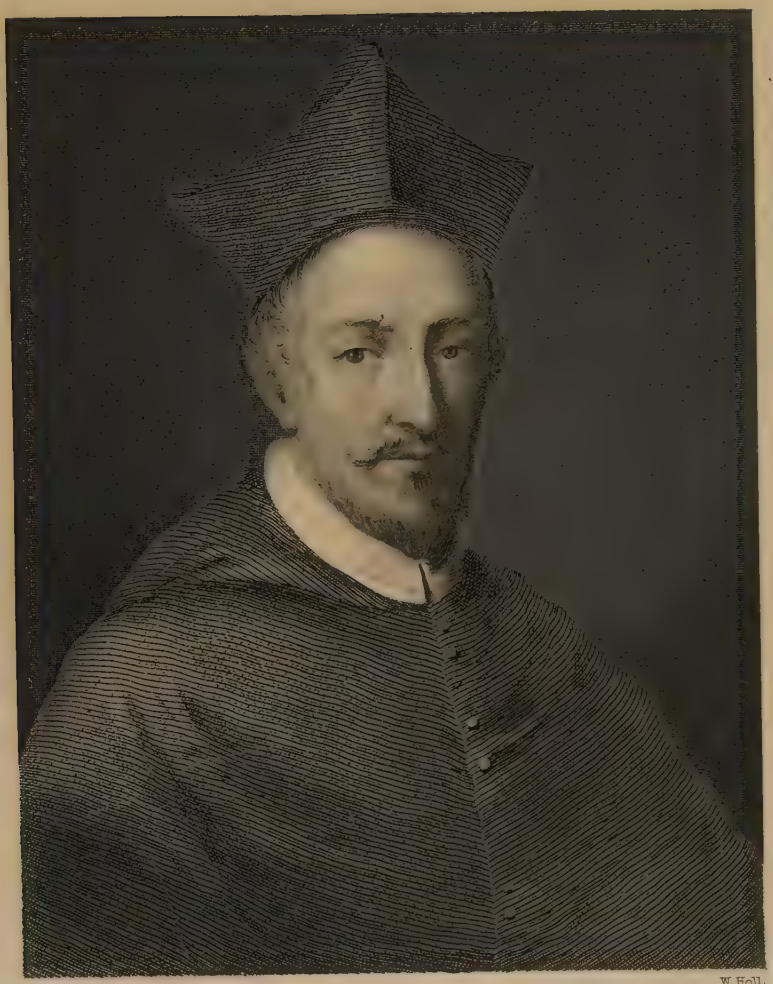
Counter Seal of the preceding.

from Campvere to Scotland, and was sent to King Henry VIII., in May, 1545. It found its way to the State Paper Office, where it was seen by Bishop Burnet, who printed it in his *History of the Reformation* (*vol. v., pp.* 409-24, Pocock's Edition). It is now in the Public Record Office at London. [*Stat. Ecc. Scot., cxxx.*]

There are three different kinds of Legates. A *Legate*, simply taken, is an Ambassador or Representative of the Pope. The *Legate a latere, i.e.*, from the Pope's side, is always a Cardinal, vested with the fullest powers that can be given him, and in some measure capable of doing as much in the name and by the authority of the Pope, as if his Holiness were present in person. The *Legate de latere* has, or may have, the same power, but is not a Cardinal. The *Legati nati*, or *Legates born*, are so in virtue of their office, or in right of their dignity in the Church.

King Henry VIII., having intelligence of the ends proposed by the Pope in creating Beaton a Cardinal, sent a very able Minister to King James V. with particular instructions to carry on a deep-laid scheme to procure the Cardinal's disgrace. The representation made was, that the Cardinal held a correspondence with Traitors; and that he was endeavouring to render himself independent of his Sovereign by the powers he laboured to procure from Rome; and that he was entirely devoted to that See. In proof of which he was to produce a Letter of the Cardinal [*Sadler's Letters, pp.* 31-36], which, if King James was eager to hear, he was to deliver. "The very able Minister" came back to Henry VIII. with this speech—"I assure your Majesty he [James V.] excused the Cardinal in everything, and seemed wondrous loath to hear of anything that should sound as an untruth in him, but rather gave him great praise." King Henry bit his lip. The Cardinal was too deep for them—their plot ended in nothing.

Shortly after the Cardinal's promotion to the Primacy, he made a magnificent display of his power and grandeur at St. Andrews. He brought to the City the Earls of Huntly, Arran, Marischal, and Montrose; the Lords of Fleming, Lindsay, Erskine, and Seton; Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow (Lord Chancellor); William, Bishop of Dunblane; the Abbots of Melrose, Dunfermline, Lindores, and Kinloss; with the Prior of Pitten-



Original in Blairs College. W. Holl.

CARDINAL BETHUNE OR BEATON

David Cardinal and Chancellor

weem, and a multitude of other Priors, Deans, Doctors of Divinity, and other Ecclesiastics; and went with them from his Castle in splendid procession to the Cathedral, where he sat in an elevated Chair of State. His rank as Cardinal and the Pope's Legate entitled him to the same precedence as a Sovereign Prince. He was attended on his right by the other Bishops, the Nobility, and Commons. On this occasion he addressed the assembly in a Speech wherein he represented to them the danger wherewith the Church was threatened by the increase of *heretics*, who had the boldness to profess their opinions even in the King's Court, where, said he, they find too great countenance and encouragement. As he proceeded, he denounced Sir John Borthwick, Provost of Linlithgow, as one of the most industrious incendiaries, and caused him to be cited before them for dispersing heretical books, and holding opinions contrary to the Doctrines of the Roman Church. Then the Articles of Accusation against him were read, and Sir John, neither appearing in person nor by proxy, was found and declared to be a *heretic*, his means and estate confiscated, and himself burnt in effigy, if he could not be apprehended, and all manner of persons forbidden to entertain or converse with him under the pain of Excommunication or Forfeiture. This Sentence was executed the same day, the 28th of May, so far as was in the power of the Court, his effigy being burnt in the Market Street of St. Andrews, and two days after at Edinburgh. Sir John retired to England, where he was kindly received by King Henry, who sent him into Germany in his name to conclude a treaty with the Protestant powers of the Empire.

Sir John Borthwick was not the only person proceeded against for heresy. About the end of February, 1539, five Protestants were Burnt to death, and nine recanted, but some escaped out of prison, among whom was George Buchanan, the celebrated Poet and Historian; and as the King left all to the management of the Cardinal, it is hard to say to what lengths such a zealot might have gone had not the King's Death put a stop to his arbitrary proceedings. Many attempts were made to effect his disgrace at Court, or at least to lessen his power, but his influence with King James continued unabated. He never lost the King's confidence

or his friendship and affection so long as he lived. Up to the hour of the King's defeat at Solway Moss, the Cardinal directed all his affairs. When the King Died at Falkland of a broken heart, or, as it is termed, a "Lent fever," consequent, it is believed, on the recent defeat at Solway, Knox and Buchanan assert that Beaton suborned a mercenary Priest, Henry Balfour, to guide the King's hand to sign a Will after his Majesty was insensible. By this Will the Cardinal was constituted Regent of the Kingdom. He immediately caused himself to be proclaimed Regent, but added along with him the Earls of Arran, Huntly, Argyll, and Moray as his Colleagues or Council. Arran was next heir to the Crown after the infant Mary, Born a few hours previous to her father's Death. The Earl of Arran and his adherents treated the late King's Will as a forgery. The Cardinal was set aside, and Arran was proclaimed Regent and Governor of the Kingdom.

Beaton was arrested and confined in Blackness Castle, a State Prison in the Parish of Carriden, County of Linlithgow, six miles west of South Queensferry. Some state that he was arrested in the end of January, 1542-43, and imprisoned by the Governor first in the Castle of Dalkeith, next in Seton House, Haddingtonshire, from whence he was transferred to Blackness, and at last he obtained permission to go to his own Castle of St. Andrews, under the guard of the fifth Lord George Seaton, who was not at all a faithful custodier. He was accused of High Treason, which was pretended to be aggravated by his giving orders to his retainers to hold out his Castle of St. Andrews against the Regent. Things did not remain long, however, in this position; for the Cardinal, though under confinement, managed to raise so strong a party that the Regent (Lord Arran), whose imbecility of mind was well known, not knowing how to proceed, began to dislike his former system, and having at length resolved to abandon it, released the Cardinal and became reconciled to him. On his release the Cardinal determined to govern both the Church and the Kingdom. Arran was a weak man, and the Cardinal soon gained an ascendancy over him. He represented to Arran that it was alone by the Pope's authority that he could be accounted

legitimate, Arran's father having Married his mother during the lifetime of his first wife. She had been repudiated without sufficient cause by the Pope's Apostolic authority; so that, were the Papal Supremacy destroyed in Scotland, he (Arran) would be declared illegitimate, his Mother's Marriage become null and void, his right to the Earldom and his hopes of the Crown would be forfeited. In consequence of this representation, Arran turned with his whole heart and mind to the promotion of the French and Papal interest. He broke faith with King Henry of England; and the young Queen Mary was sent to be educated in France, with a view to her being Married to the Dauphin. To keep the fickle Regent firm to his purpose, the wily Cardinal induced him to place his eldest son in his power, under pretence, indeed, of education, but, in reality, as an *hostage*. The Cardinal was now, in fact, Governor of the Kingdom. He had now leisure to turn his attention to Ecclesiastical affairs. The "Protestants" had enjoyed some degree of security while the Regent professed the "Reformed doctrines" and kept two Protestant Chaplains in his Family, but their fears were now greatly increased by his apostacy and the dismissal of their Protestant Chaplains. To add to the signs of the times, the Act of Parliament permitting the Holy Scriptures to be read in the vulgar tongue was not only repealed, but the offence was made punishable with Death. The Regent Arran publicly declared his determination to punish *heretics*, and to root out what he called their *damnable opinions*. He exhorted the Prelates to inquire within their own Dioceses respecting all *heretics*, and to proceed against them according to the Laws of the Church; at the same time promising that "my Lord Governor (meaning the Cardinal) shall be at all times ready to do therein what accords him of his Office."

In 1543, King Henry VIII. again entered into a conspiracy against the Cardinal's life. His antipathy to the Cardinal was early excited, and had taken deep root. That able Ecclesiastic had disappointed most of Henry's schemes for the annexation of Scotland to his other dominions. When the Cardinal was committed to Blackness Castle, King Henry proposed through his Ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, that he should be delivered into

his custody; but the Cardinal having recovered his liberty, disappointed his designs at that time. Henry afterwards made several attempts unsuccessfully to secure the Cardinal and carry him to England. "This rooted enmity to the Cardinal, in the mind of Henry, was well known to Crighton, Laird of Brunston, a man in whose character we recognise the ferocity and familiarity with blood which mark the feudal times in which he lived, the cunning and duplicity which are the growth of a more civilised era, and this united to the most revolting feature of all, a deep religious hypocrisy. Busy, unscrupulous, and active, this pliant intriguer insinuated himself into the confidence of all parties, and seems to have been willing at various times to desert all, till the money of England fixed him by the powerful chain of self-interest in the service of Henry VIII. We first meet with him as a familiar and confidential servant of Cardinal Beaton, intrusted with letters from that dignitary to Rome, which were intercepted by Henry VIII. He next attached himself to Arran, the Governor, who thought him worthy to be trusted in diplomatic missions to France and England; and it would seem that on the 28th August, 1543, Sadler had not much intimacy with him, as he denominates him a gentleman called the Laird of Brunston. In a few months, however, Brunston had deserted Arran, and so completely gained the confidence both of Sadler and his Royal master, that we find him furnishing secret intelligence to the Ambassador, and honoured by a letter from the King." [*Tytler.*] In 1544, Brunston engaged in correspondence with Henry, in which, on certain conditions, he offered to assassinate the Cardinal.

George Wishart, commonly called "the Martyr," was engaged in this plot, and formed one of the band paid by Henry VIII. to murder the Cardinal. This has been fully proved, through the Correspondence found in the State Paper Office. Brunston despatched Wishart to the Earl of Hertford at Newcastle, to communicate the particulars of the plot on the Cardinal's life. He stated that Brunston, Kirkcaldy, the Master of Rothes, and others, were willing to assassinate the Cardinal, if assured of proper support from England. Hertford despatched George

Wishart to the Court of England, who communicated to King Henry personally the above offer. Henry received Wishart and Laird Brunston's letter *with much satisfaction, and approved of the plot*, and promised the conspirators his Royal protection. A correspondence on this subject continued for three years between Brunston, the Earl of Cassillis, and Sir Ralph Sadler at Alnwick. King Henry cautiously avoided appearing directly in it, but deputed Sadler to make the arrangements and promise the reward. The conspirators, however, would not act without Henry's authority under his Sign-manual. This Document they might produce after the atrocious deed had been done, and claim their reward.

Glammis Charters. A.D. 1544.

While the deliberations of the Provincial Council were held in the Blackfriars', the Cardinal obtained information that George Wishart was at that time at Ormiston in Haddingtonshire, the Seat of Sir Alexander Cockburn, who had early connected himself with the preachers of the new doctrines, who was, like Wishart, paid by Henry VIII. to murder Beaton, and whose son was a pupil of Wishart. He had long desired to secure the man whose preaching had been so effectual in spreading the "Reformed Doctrines." Wishart was seized at Ormiston House, at midnight, by the Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the County. He was delivered to the Cardinal at Elphinston Tower, four miles from Dalkeith, and two miles from the Village of Tranent. The room (very dismal) is still shown, under the great Hall, in which Wishart was temporarily incarcerated. The room is also shown in which the Cardinal slept. George Wishart was a son of James

Wishart of Pitarrow in Kincardineshire, another son of whom was Sir John Wishart, an Extraordinary Lord of Session, and filled several important offices in the Reign of Queen Mary and James VI. The Family were ancient and respectable, and one of them, William Wishart, was Bishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland from 1272 till 1279. Tylney, one of Wishart's pupils at Cambridge, describes him as of tall stature, bald-headed, of a melancholy countenance, black haired, long bearded, courteous, and lowly. In February, 1546, the Cardinal summoned the Prelates and other Ecclesiastical dignitaries to meet at St. Andrews for the trial of Wishart. The Archbishop of Glasgow advised the Cardinal to apply to the Governor for the sanction of the Civil power. His authority as Legate *a latere* superseded that power, but he consented. However, the Regent listened to the advice of David Hamilton of Preston, who dissuaded him, and he declined to interpose his sanction. Instead, therefore, of granting his Warrant, he replied to the Cardinal that "he should do well not to precipitate the man's trial until his coming; for, as to himself, he would not consent to his Death before the cause was well examined; and if the Cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation, *that the man's blood should be required at his hands.*" This answer displeased the Cardinal. As the Pope's Legate, he assumed supreme authority, and had only consulted the Regent out of courtesy. Afraid lest Wishart should escape the vengeance due to his heresies, the Cardinal proceeded with the trial, notwithstanding the Governor's inhibition. He at the same time returned for answer, "That he did not write unto the Governor *as though he depended in any matter on his authority*, but out of a desire he had, that the *heretic's* condemnation might proceed with some show of public consent, which, since he could not obtain, he would himself do that which he held most fitting." George Wishart was arraigned in the Cathedral Church, before the Cardinal himself and the other Bishops and Abbots. There were eighteen Articles of *heresy* preferred against him. He denied the jurisdiction of the Court, and asserted that he was unjustly accused of several of the Articles. His objections were overruled, and himself condemned as

a *heretic*, to be burnt. He was accordingly Burnt alive on the 2nd of March, 1546, in front of the Castle or Episcopal Palace.

We shall present the reader with the account of this Burning given by George Buchanan, of which, indeed, most of the rest seem to be but copies, and those, too, in all respects very far inferior to their original. Our Author, having given an account of the manner in which Wishart spent the morning of his Execution, proceeds thus: "Awhile after, two executioners were sent to him by the Cardinal; one of them put a black linen shirt upon him, and the other bound many little bags of gunpowder to all the parts of his body. In this dress they brought him forth, and commanded him to stay in the Governor's outer chamber; and at the same time they erected a wooden Scaffold in the Court before the Castle, and made up a pile of wood. The windows and balconies over against it were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the Cardinal and his train, to behold and take pleasure in the joyful sight, even the torture of an innocent man,—thus courting the favour of the people as the author of so notable a deed. There was also a great guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the Execution, as for a vain ostentation of power; and beside, brass guns were placed up and down in all convenient places of the Castle. Thus, while the trumpets sounded, George was brought forth, mounted the Scaffold, and was fastened with a cord to the Stake; and having scarce obtained liberty to pray for the Church of God, the executioners fired the wood, which immediately taking hold of the powder that was tied about him, blew it up into flame and smoke. The Governor of the Castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted him in a few words to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To whom he replied: *This flame occasions trouble to my body indeed, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place* (pointing to the Cardinal), *shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease.* Having thus spoken, they straitened the rope which was tied about his neck, and so strangled him, his body in a few hours being consumed to ashes in the flame."

We have the same story told at large by Spottiswoode, and more briefly by Petrie, but it is evident that they copied all they say from Buchanan. On the other side, Bishop Keith suggests that the story is very doubtful, if not plainly false. As to this "Prophecy" concerning Wishart, it may be noticed, that there is not one word of it to be met with in the first Edition of *Knox's History;* and if the thing had been true in fact, Knox, who was an intimate friend of Wishart, and no farther distance from the place of his execution than East Lothian, and who continued some months along with the murderers of Cardinal Beaton in the Castle of St. Andrews, could neither be ignorant of the story nor neglect to insert in his History so remarkable a Prediction. Sir David Lindsay, who lived at that time, and wrote a Poem, called *The Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton*, in which he rakes together all the worst things that could be suggested against Beaton, yet makes no mention either of his glutting himself inhumanly with the spectacle of Wishart's Death, nor of any Prophecy made by Wishart concerning the Cardinal; nor does *Foxe* take notice of either of these circumstances; so that it seems to have been a story trumped up a good time after the Murder. *Knox's History* was first Printed in Octavo, in 1570, and suppressed by order of Queen Elizabeth, next in Quarto, and again in Folio in 1644, where we have this passage at full length, which shows evidently the liberties taken with this *History of the Reformation in Scotland.* Therefore, the want of these passages in the *first* Edition, is a good proof that *John Knox* knew nothing either of the Cardinal's looking out of the window, or of Wishart's "Prophecy." The arguments from Lindsay and Foxe are likewise very strong, for Sir David Lindsay hated the Cardinal, who drove him from Court, was a friend to the "Reformation," and a hearer of Wishart, and wrote immediately after the Cardinal's Death. As for *Foxe*, he had the best information from Scotland that could be, and he always quotes them, so that these passages being wanting in his Work, is very strong evidence that they were not then heard of in Scotland; if they had, unquestionably they would have been sent to him. But there is still something more to be given on this head, that will add to the weight of Keith's objection, which

is this, that our famous *John Bale* has given us an Article of Cardinal Beaton, in which the Burning of Wishart and the Murder of the Cardinal are both mentioned, but not one word of the Cardinal's beholding the Execution, or of the "Martyr's Prophecy." Yet, John Bale wrote his *Fourteenth Century of Learned Men* to include the Scots, dedicated it to Alexander Ales and John Knox, of whose friendship to him, and their communications in a literary way, he makes honourable mention, having had their company long in exile, into which John Knox was driven, for adhering to the Cardinal's Murderers. This seems a very strong proof that neither he nor they ever heard of this wonderful "Prophecy," or the manner in which it was so surprisingly fulfilled; since, if they had, such as are acquainted with the characters of the men and their Writings, will scarce believe that it could be omitted. There is still one circumstance more, which seems absolutely conclusive. Bale has added to his Article of Cardinal Beaton an Appendix, for the sake of giving us from Hall an account of his first Visitation, when he condemned Sir John Borthwick, May 28, 1540, for Heresy; and in the close of this account we are told, that by the just judgment of God, six years afterwards, the said Cardinal on the same month, day, and hour, was killed, and afterwards shamefully hanged out a Window of his own Castle, in all the pompous habiliments of his dignity. Bale printed this (as appears by the colophon of his Book) in February, 1559, which is but thirteen years after the fact; and in that space he had conversed long with John Knox, who acted as Pastor and Preacher to those who, after they had killed the Cardinal, held out the Castle of St. Andrews against the Government, and who, knowing both Bale's design of writing and all the circumstances of the Cardinal's Death, would never have suffered him to make such a mistake as this about the judgment visible therein.

Every one who respects the character of Wishart will be glad to find that he did not utter the Words in question. Recent investigations in the State-Paper Office have removed all doubt from a suspicion, formerly entertained, that the Murder of the Cardinal was premeditated by certain persons in the pay of Henry

VIII., some of whom were intimate friends of the Martyr. It would be no consolation to those who deplore his Death, and admire his principles, to find, on evidence which can no longer be questioned, that he was privy to the plan of Beaton's assassination, and that, in proclaiming his approaching murder, he spake only what he knew, and predicted an event which he was aware would certainly be attempted. Such is the inference which would naturally be drawn by those who have traced a connexion and a frequent intercourse between Wishart and those persons who corresponded with the English Secretary, as to the expediency of assassinating the Scottish Primate. That such a Correspondence existed, will no longer be denied; it is even certain that a person named Wishart involved himself in the conspiracy; and it admits not of the slightest doubt that Crighton, the Laird of Brunston, a friend of the Martyr, was deeply concerned in it. This Laird wrote to the Earl of Hertford, offering, on certain conditions, to slay Beaton; stating distinctly that he relied on the aid of the "Larde of Grange, the Master of Rothes, the Earl of Rothes' eldest son, and John Charters." [*Note on Wishart, by Bishop Russell, Spottiswoode's History, vol. i., p.* 230.]

The Cardinal and those who were attached to the Roman Church exulted in imagining that they had given the death-blow to *heresy*. Their triumph was but short lived. Wishart's cruel Murder only excited a more fervent spirit of inquiry. It aroused the resentment of the whole Nation, and proved the proximate cause of the Cardinal's own Murder. Wishart's courage, meekness, and patience produced a deep sympathy, and the conviction that he suffered for the truth. The conspirators who had been hired to assassinate the Cardinal thought this a good opportunity to execute their determinate purpose, under colour of revenging Wishart's Death. The Cardinal now lost all the popularity which he had unquestionably held. The Master of Rothes openly vowed to have blood for blood, and the other conspirators began to draw together. Beaton's sagacity had long discovered some dark designs against his life. He had accordingly taken measures to baffle his enemies. Suspecting the Leslies, he had taken bonds and securities from Norman Leslie and some other Barons.

Soon after Wishart's Death, the Cardinal went in great pomp into the County of Angus, to be present at the Marriage of one of his illegitimate daughters, Margaret Beaton, whose mother was Marion Ogilvy (daughter of the first Lord Ogilvy of Airley), who bore the Cardinal other bastards. The very morning of his assassination, "the Cardinal had been busy at his counts with Maistres Marion Ogilbye that nycht, who was espyed to departe from him by the previe posterne that morning." [*Hist. Reform. Scot., vol. i., p.* 174.] This "Marion Ogilbye," designed "Lady Melgund," Died in June, 1575. In Petrie's *History of the Catholick Church, P. ii., p.* 184, we read: "The lady who lived with the Cardinal as his concubine, was Mrs Marion Ogilby, by whom he had six children—three sons, to each of whom he gave a good estate of land; and three daughters, who were Married into three as good Families as any in Scotland. Mrs Ogilby was of that Family which has since borne the honourable title of *Earls of Airly*, and lived many years after the decease of the Cardinal, in great credit and respect. One of the sons was Mr. Alexander Bethune, Archdeacon of Lothian, and Laird of Carsgonny, who turned Protestant, Married and established the Family of Nether Tarvit, who bear quarterly—first and fourth, azure, on a *fess* between lozenges, Or, a leaf of betony (alluding to the name Beaton), slipped Vert; second and third, the Arms of *Balfour;* crest, a Physician's square cap; motto, *Resolutio cauta.*" [*Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i., p.* 214.]

The Cardinal himself celebrated his daughter's Marriage with David Lindsay, Master of Crawford, and the Wedding was celebrated with the utmost magnificence at Finhaven Castle, the then residence of the Earl of Crawford, but now in ruins on the banks of the Lemno, which joins the Esk a short distance below it, in the Parish of Oathlaw, Forfarshire. The Marriage Contract (still existing in the possession of David Beaton of Balfour) is Dated at St. Andrews, 10th April, 1546, and subscribed by the Cardinal, who expressly calls the bride "my daughter." Upon this occasion the Cardinal bestowed a dowry on his daughter equal to that of a Princess—4000 Marks Scots. The Nobleman whom she Married was David, only son of Alexander, Master of

Crawford, who succeeded as ninth Earl of Crawford. The issue of the Marriage was four sons and one daughter, viz.—1, David, whose son and grandson became the tenth and eleventh Earls; 2, Henry, who succeeded as twelfth Earl; 3, Sir John Lindsay; 4, Alexander, created Lord Spynie in 1590; 5, Lady Helen, who Married Sir David Lindsay of Edzell. The male representation of the ancient Family of Crawford, by the descendants of the Cardinal's daughter, ceased with George, third Lord Spynie, at his Death in 1672.

But in the midst of the Marriage festivities, the Cardinal was obliged to hasten back to St. Andrews, having received intelligence that Henry VIII. intended to invade the Kingdom with a powerful army. He determined, therefore, to put his own Castle in a state of defence, and to summon the Barons in his neighbourhood, with their forces, to the defence of the Kingdom. He resolved that the Kingdom should not again be left defenceless to the merciless devastation of the English Monarch. The intended invasion, however, turned out to be a false alarm.

Brunston continued his machinations against the Cardinal's life. He complains in a Letter to Lord Wharton that King Henry had never expressly authorised him under his own hand to Murder the Cardinal, nor promised him a specific reward. He also expressed his desire to serve Henry, and his determination to cut short the Cardinal's projected journey into France. The circumstance of Wishart's Death, and a private quarrel between the Cardinal and Norman Leslie respecting some property, hastened the long projected Murder of the Prelate. The property was Easter Wemyss, which was taken from him upon Lord Colvin being pardoned, which had been given to him upon that Lord's forfeiting. John Leslie had borne an old grudge against the Cardinal, and had publicly vowed revenge. Kirkaldy of Grange was roused to resentment because his father had been denuded of the Office of Treasurer in the late King's Reign. Carmichael had also a dispute with the Cardinal about lands, for which he bore him mortal hate. The rest concerned were the minions of these gentlemen.

The circumstances of the Cardinal's Death have been gener-

ally unanimously reported, but variously censured, according to the sentiments of those by whom they are recorded. On the evening of the 28th May, Norman Leslie came, with only five followers, to St. Andrews, and rode, without exciting suspicion, to his usual inn. William Kirkaldy of Grange was there already, and they were soon joined by John Leslie, who took the precaution of entering the Town after nightfall, as his appearance, from his known enmity to Beaton, might have raised alarm. Next morning at daybreak, the conspirators (sixteen in all) assembled in knots in the vicinity of the Castle; and the Porter having

EPISCOPAL PALACE OR CASTLE.

(The lower window of the Tower is said to be that from which the Cardinal viewed the Burning of Wishart.)

lowered the drawbridge to admit the masons employed in the new works, Norman Leslie, and three men with him, passed the gates, and inquired if the Cardinal was yet awake. This was done without suspicion; and as they were occupied in conversation, James Melville, Kirkaldy of Grange, and their followers, entered unnoticed; but on perceiving John Leslie, who followed, the Porter instantly suspected treason, and, springing to the drawbridge, had unloosed its iron fastening, when the conspirator Leslie anticipated his purpose by leaping across the gap. To

despatch him with their daggers, cast the body into the fosse, and seize the keys of the Castle, employed but a few minutes; and all was done with such silence as well as rapidity, that no alarm had been given. With equal quietness the workmen who laboured on the ramparts were led to the gate and dismissed. Kirkaldy, who was acquainted with the Castle, then took his station at a private postern, through which alone any escape could be made; and the rest of the conspirators going successively to the apartments of the different gentlemen who formed the Prelate's household, awoke them, and threatening instant death if they spoke, led them one by one to the outer wicket, and dismissed them unhurt. In this manner, a hundred workmen and fifty household servants were disposed of by a handful of men, who, closing the gates and dropping the portcullis, were complete masters of the Castle. Meanwhile, Beaton, the unfortunate victim against whom all this hazard had been encountered, was still asleep; but awakening, and hearing an unusual bustle, he threw on a night-gown, and drawing up the window of his bed-chamber, inquired what it meant. Being answered that Norman Leslie had taken the Castle, he rushed to the private postern, but seeing it already guarded, returned speedily to his own apartment, seized his sword, and, with the assistance of his page, barricaded the door on the inside with his heaviest furniture. John Leslie now coming up, demanded admittance. "Who are you?" said the Cardinal. "My name," he replied, "is Leslie." "Is it Norman?" asked the unhappy man, remembering probably the bond of manrent. (Norman Leslie had granted a bond of manrent to the Cardinal for the estate of Easter Wemyss.) "I must have Norman, he is my friend." "Nay, I am not Norman," answered the ruffian, "but John; and with me ye must be contented." Upon which he called for fire, and was about to apply it to the door, when it was unlocked from within. The conspirators now rushed in, and Leslie and Carmichael throwing themselves furiously upon their victim, who earnestly implored mercy, stabbed him repeatedly. But Melville, a milder fanatic (a man, says Knox, of nature most gentle and most modest), who professed to murder, not from passion but

from religious duty, reproved their violence. "This judgment of God," said he, "ought to be executed with gravity, although in secret;" and, presenting the point of his sword to the bleeding Prelate, he called on him to repent of his wicked courses, and especially of the Death of the holy Wishart, to avenge whose innocent blood they were now sent by God. "Remember," said he, "that the mortal stroke I am now about to deal, is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and the holy Gospel." On saying this, he repeatedly passed his sword through the body of his unresisting victim, who sunk down from the chair to which he had retreated, and immediately thereafter expired.

The alarm had now risen in the Town; the common Bell was rung; and the citizens, with their Provost, running in crowds to the side of the fosse, demanded admittance, crying out that they must instantly speak with my Lord Cardinal. They were answered from the battlements that it would be better for them to disperse, as he whom they called for could not come to them, and would not trouble the world any longer. This, however, only irritated them the more, and being urgent that they would speak with him, Norman Leslie reproved them as unreasonable fools, who desired an audience of a dead man; and dragging the body to the spot, hung it by a sheet over the wall, naked, ghastly, and bleeding from its recent wounds. "There," said he, "there is your god; and now ye are satisfied, get you home to your houses"—a command which the people immediately obeyed. "They brought the Cardinal to the wall, held in a pair of sheets, and hung him over the wall 'be the tane arm and the tane fute.'" [*State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. v., p.* 560.] Eighty years afterwards—so it was said and believed,—the stains of his blood remained still fresh and indelible on the wall.

A very singular account of the Murder in question, and different from that detailed by all his other Biographers (Knox, Buchanan, the President De Though, Spottiswoode, Hume, Robertson, Pennant, and Dr. Towers), is given by T. Dempster, the Scotch Biographer and Historian—1579-1625—(the original

in Latin), and is preserved by Dr. M'Kenzie [*Lives, vol. iii., p.* 23, *n.*], a Translation of which follows:—

This eminent Prelate was strangled in his chamber, by heretic cut-throats, the chief of whom was named Leslie, who * into the mouth of the deceased, and equipping the dead body with the Cardinal's ensigns, hung it upon the wall, and treated it with much sacrilegious contumely, for which God was afterwards pleased to resent by a proper punishment. For, all the wicked murderers came to untimely ends; and Leslie was thrown from his horse and killed; and the horse *staled* in his mouth as he fell —which was a memorable instance, and certainly showed a degree of judgment in the Divine vengeance!

Thus perished Cardinal David Beaton, the most powerful opponent of the Re-formed Religion in Scotland, by an act which some Authors, even in the present day, have scrupled to call *Murder*. To these Writers, the secret and long-continued Correspondence with England must be unknown—a circumstance to be regretted, as it would have saved some idle and angry reasoning. By its disclosure in the *State Papers*, we have been enabled to trace the secret History of these iniquitous times; and it may now be said, without fear of contradiction, that the assassination of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart, but an act of long-projected Murder, encouraged, if not originated, by the English Monarch, and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary motives. [*Tytler's Hist., vol. v., p.* 426.]

In the Summons of Treason and Murder against Beaton's enemies, Dated July, 1546, no less than thirty-five persons are mentioned by name as being implicated.

M. F. Conolly, in his *Fifeshire Biography, p.* 50, says: At the time of the Cardinal's Death, John Beaton of Balfour, his cousin, was keeper of the Castle of St. Andrews, under whose directions the body of his relative was conveyed to Kilrenny, and Buried in the Family Tomb. This ancient Monument stands in Kilrenny Churchyard, at the east gable of the Church, with the Arms of Beaton of Balfour finely sculptured thereon.—Fox and Clark say that he lay seven months unburied; and Knox says

that he was salted in the Sea Tower: "Now because the weather was hot (for it was in May), and his funerals could not suddenly be prepared, it was thought best, to keep him from stinking, to give him great salt enough, a cope of lead, and a nuke [corner] in the bottom of the Sea Tower [of the Castle], a place where many of God's children had been imprisoned before, to await what exsequies his brethren the Bishops would prepare for him." [*Hist. Reform. Scot., vol. i., p.* 179.] Sir James Balfour, in his MS. Account of the Bishops of St. Andrews, says of the Cardinal, that "his corpse, after it had lain salted in the bottom of the Sea Tower, within the Castle, was nine months thereafter taken from thence, and obscurely interred in the Convent of the Black Friars of St. Andrews, in anno 1547." Holinshed [*Chron. of Scotland, p.* 466, *edit.* 1577] adds, "They delivered also the dead body of the Cardinal, after it had lain buried in a dunghill, within the Castle, ever since the day when they slew him." Probably, the Cardinal's body lies in the present Play-ground of the Madras School, a few yards east from the Ruin of the Blackfriars' Chapel,

The same as the first, excepting the Circumscription, and SS. Peter and Paul on either side of S. Andrew. [*Morton Charters.* A.D. 1545.]

where was the Choir—the usual Cemetery of persons of rank and eminence.

Lyon says that "Cardinal Beaton's moral character has been as much mangled by Knox, Buchanan, and Sir D. Lindsay, as his body was by his assassins. The unproved assertions of avowed enemies can be of no weight against any man, and would be rejected in every Court of Justice. It has been asserted, or hinted, that he poisoned his master, and forged his Will; that he had an intrigue with the Queen; that he caused, or endeavoured to cause, various murders to be committed; and that he kept numerous mistresses: but they who bring those charges against him, betray so much hatred of the man, that, without more evidence than they have ever yet produced, they cannot be credited. The charges were never raised till after his Death [?]; they are often absurd and contradictory; and they are strenuously denied by his admirers, Lesley, Winzet, and Burne, who are fully as worthy of credit as his enemies. For these reasons, I think it unnecessary to enter upon a formal investigation of them. The accusations and the denials may be considered as neutralizing each other; and for the facts themselves, we have scarcely sufficient evidence from History to decide upon them positively. As to Beaton's mistresses, the number would appear to be immense, if we could trust the peasantry of Forfarshire, who point out half the Towers in their County as having been the residences of these ladies."

Some try to exculpate the Cardinal upon Old Testament authority, asserting that he was not so proficient as Abraham, or Solomon, or David, in the Art of Concubinage. This is surely a pretext which falls into the Devil's frying-pan; for, in the Cardinal's case, *it was not the Cowl that made the Cardinal "lo'e the lasses."* Carruthers, Lawson, Lyon, and others, contend that the Cardinal was Married before he entered into Holy Orders, and that his children were consequently born in lawful Wedlock! But, in all the Documents in which his sons and daughters are mentioned, they are expressly designated "natural." Chambers, in his *Pictures of Scotland, vol. ii., p.* 234, says, that he is well known to have had six illegitimate daughters, besides sons,

almost all by different mothers. [?] Three of his sons were legitimated, according to the Scottish Law, during his life-time. These were James, Alexander, and John Beaton; and in the Act of Legitimation they are styled the "natural sons of the right reverend," &c. Alexander Beaton entered the Church, and was appointed Official of Lothian, but it is singular that he afterwards became a Protestant. His descendants, and those of his brothers, are in the County of Fife at the present time—all *ultra* Protestants, even *Plymouth Brethrenites* some of the "weaker vessels" are. Such is earthly Pedigree; little, at best, to be proud of—first *something*, then *nothing*, then, perhaps, *something* again; for, as the crow is, the egg will be.

Cardinal Beaton was one of the greatest men Scotland ever produced, and he was certainly the most distinguished person of his time in the Kingdom. He possessed the highest abilities, great eloquence, and was of a remarkably dignified, elegant, and winning appearance, as the Portraits of him evidence. There are various Portraits of the Cardinal in the Baronial Mansions of Fife, several Proprietors of which were connected with or descendants of his Family. There is a neat one in Kilconquhar House, in which he is represented with a skull-cap on his head, and dressed in a cassock or gown. There is also a fine Portrait of him in Holyrood, in a similar costume. The Engraving which accompanies this Work, chosen as the best, is from an original Painting now at Blairs Roman Catholic College, near Aberdeen, —which came from the Scots College at Rome. This Engraving has the Cardinal's Autograph. In all the Portraits given of him, as of Archbishop Sharp (both belaboured by sword, pen, and tongue), their countenances are uncommonly mild and pleasing. Dempster says that this Prelate wrote three different Books (in Latin), viz.—1, An Account of his own Ambassies, in one Book, containing his Negotiations with the French King and the Pope; 2, An Account of the Supremacy of Peter, one Book, over the rest of the Apostles; 3, Epistles to several persons, one Book.

A ludicrous but unbecoming contest seems to have taken place on the 4th June, 1545, when Mons. Lorge de Montgomery arrived from France with auxiliary troops. Upon the same day,

the Archbishop of Glasgow (Dunbar) resisted the bearing of the Cardinal's Cross within his Cathedral Church, alleging that in his own Cathedral and Seat he would give place to no man; and that the power of the Cardinal belonged but to his person, and not to his Bishopric; for it might be that his Successor should not be Cardinal; while his (Dunbar's) dignity was annexed to his Office and to all his Successors, as Bishops of Glasgow. "At the Choir Door begins a striving for State betwixt the two Cross-Bearers, so that from shouldering they go to buffets, and from dry blows they assay which of the Crosses was the finest metal, which Staff was strongest, and which Bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminence. And that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground go both the Crosses, and then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for Rochets were rent, Tippets were torn, Crouns were knapped, and Side Gowns might have been seen to wantonly wag from the one wall to the other. Many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, for they could not buckle each other by the *birse*, as bold men would have done. But the Sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many. The one in his folly, as proud as a *packoke*, would let the Cardinal know that he was a Bishop when the other was but Beaton before he got Aberbrothoc." [*History Reform., vol. i., p.* 146.] [*See Charter, Page* 283.]

From the Household Books of Cardinal Beaton, we learn that he spent for a Manual at the Funeral of King James V., 10s.; for a Mitre of white damask, 42s.; for four mourning garments, £3 18s. 10d., wherewith to officiate in the Services of the Chapel at Holyrood, before committing the remains of his Royal master to their last resting-place.

The ancient tenement still standing (though greatly modified by modern alterations) in the Cowgate, at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, directly opposite Lord Chief Baron Smith's Episcopal Chapel, of date 1722—was Cardinal Beaton's Archiepiscopal residence in Edinburgh—of no mean character in the Sixteenth Century. In the *Diurnul of Occurrents, p.* 79, we learn that Queen Mary, after her arrival in Edinburgh, "came up in an honourable manner from the Palace of Holyrood to the Cardinal's

lodging in the Black Friar Wynd, which was prepared and hung most honourable; and there her Highness supped, and her Lords with her. And after supper, the honest young men in the Town came with a convoy to her back to the Palace."

BEATON'S TRANSLATION FROM THE ABBEY OF ARBROATH TO THE CARDINALATE. APRIL 23, 1524.

Sanctissimo Domino nostro Pape.

Sanctme. Pater, Post humillima ad pedes oscula obsequium. Cum monasterio de Abirbroth(oc) ordinis Cluniacensis, per resignationem Reverendissimi in Christo patris Iacobi Archiepiscopi Sancti Andree vacanti, honestum virum Magistrum David Betonn, ipsius archipresulis ex fratre nepotem, benignitate vestra preficiendum nostris litteris et commendationibus humillimis nominavimus: Ipse autem archipresul, huius Regni cancellarius et primas, nobis et toti huius Regno suis prudentia et consilio, quibus egregie floret, plurimum subveniens gratissimus est pariter, et prefatus promovendus eius nepos, multociens apud Reges Christianissimum, Catholicum et Anglum oratoris officio moderatissime fungens legatus, non tam gravia pericula perpessus, verum ingentem pecuniam nostro intuitu exposuit, quibus aliisque plurimis non modicis in nos collatis obsequiis plurimum (se) devictum reddidit, et ab utroque instanter requisiti, provisionem super predicto monasterio de Abirbroth nostris impensis expediri promisimus. Quocirca Beatitudinem Vestram rogamus humillimeque obsecramur, quatinus predictam provisionem et Bullas apostolicas prefato Magistro Davidi hiis nostris votis gratis, et absque quavis pecunie exactione ab alio quam a nobis impendenda Sanctitas Vestra sua benignissima humanitate expediri mandet et curet, quo rem gratissimam nobis efficiet, obsequiumque nostrum eidem deditissimum perpetuo reddet, que ad felicissimum Catholice Ecclesie moderamen diutissime valeat. Edinburgi nono Calendarum (sic) Maiarum (1524).

E. S. V.

Humillimus, devotissimus et obedientissimus filius
Illmi. Scotorum Regis tutor et regni moderator
JEHANN.

CARDINAL BEATON COMPLAINS TO THE CARDINAL OF THE HOLY CROSS (MARCELLUS OF CERVINI, AFTERWARDS POPE PAUL II.) OF THE VERY DISMAL STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS IN SCOTLAND. DECEMBER 24, 1544.

Rmo. et Illmo. Dno. Card. S. Crucis in Hierusalem, Domino meo observandissimo.

Revme. et Illme. Dne. semper Colme. Sepius de statu huius regni et rerum nostrarum fuisset certior facta tua Illma. D., nisi literas nostras hac de re scriptas intercepissent inimici, qui vias omnes obsident et intercludunt, ne quid rerum nostrarum uspiam perferatur. De afflictione regni huius

scripsi pluribus ad Sanctissimum. De meis laboribus pro communi salute susceptis quid attinet scribere, facultates meas impendi, vitam transegi laboriosissimam in magnis et gravibus angustiis, ut meis periculis aliorum pericula declinarem. Nullum recuso laborem, sumptum, periculum, ut paci studeam, ut concordiam inter principes alam, ut scismata tollam, ut hereses evellam: ut denique omnium commodis consulam, libenter fero incommodum, nec dubito, quin meus labor sit Sanctissimo Domino nostro gratissimus, cuius auxilium ad regni nostri defensionem adversus Anglos veteres inimicos ut promoveat, tua Paternitas Rma., summo affectu contendo. Regni huius afflictionem variam illius Beatitudo abunde intellexit ex verbis Patriarche, ex relatione Adami Mori, qui nobis est a secretis, novissime autem ex hisce nostris literis, quas impresentiarum mittimus, monere illius Sanctitatem, cum multa debent pro regni huius defensione tum Regine infantis tenella etas, Regis immatura mors Scotis omnibus luctuosa, inimicorum summa vesania cum pari coniuncta crudelitate, nostra denique obedientia perpetua erga Sacrosanctam Sedem Apostolicam, illorum ex adverso cum inobedientia, tum pertinax pervicatia: his si tua accesserit benevola humanitas, speramus, fore, ut a Sanctissimo atque ab aliis iure honesti federis nobis coniunctis adiuti hostium pervicatiam non retundamus modo, sed etiam domemus et evincamus. Hac in re si Paternitatis tue favorem senserimus, lubenti animo fatebimur, nos illi plurimum debere, qui de nostra republica fuerit quam optime meritus. Interim omnia fausta ac felicia Celsitudini tue exopto, quam florentem servet Christus, in cuius manu sita sunt omnia. Scriptum Edinburgi xxiiii. Decembris M.D.XLIIII.

E. V. Rme. et Illme. Dnis.

Humillimus servitor

D. Cardinalis S. Andree.

Beaton acquaints Pope Paul III. about the Warfare in the Convent of Stirling against the King of England. July 6, 1545.

Beatissime Pater, Sanctorum pedum humili et devota osculatione praemissa. Quum scio Sanctitatem V. de statu huius regni Scotiae, cuius praecipuam curam semper habere dignata est, ut saepe ac saepius certioretur summopere optare, propterea oblata mihi Nuncii occasione has meas ad eam scribere atque destinare curavi, ex quibus Sanctitas V. intelliget omnia in hoc regno in statum longe meliorem mutata esse, quam antea fuerat. Nam nobilium huius regni divisiones et discordiae sedatae, variaque circa christianam religionem, atque haereticae opiniones, quae per antea vigebant, Dei O. M. clementia pene extinctae sunt. Itaque ubi alias discordia et animorum dissensio, haeresesque atque diversi abusus inoluerunt, nunc pax, concordia, religioque ac verus Dei cultus reperiuntur. Sed quia ad hanc Rempublicam in pristinum statum reponendam nihil aliud deerat, nisi ut audacia Anglorum regnum istud infestentium aliquid reprimeretur. Propterea postquam Christmus. Francorum Rex mense Iunii proxime praeterito

quasdam militum (equitum scilicet quingentorum, peditum vero circiter duorum millium quingentorum) copias, ductore domino de Lorges, ad nos misit, Ego, qui ut aliquo tempore contra Anglum communem hostem bellum indiceretur, semper optavi, quod certa nobilium huius regni conventio in aliquo loco idoneo fieret, procuravi: quo factum est, ut die xxiv. mensis Iunii Illustrissimus Dominus Gubernator, et ego una cum caeteris omnibus huius regni nobilibus in oppido Strivilingii conveniremus, ubi post nonnullas consultationes, denique quod magnus omnium procerum atque nobilium, militumque electorum exercitus hoc instante mense congregaretur, concorditer decretum fuit. In quo quidem negotio nihil, quod ad huiusmodi sanctam in Anglum ipsum expeditionem ineundam et prosequendam opportunum mihi visum fuit, praetermisi, nec sum in posterum praetermisurus. Quae quidem omnia Sanctitati V. significare, eamque certam reddere volui, quod ego pro huius regni Scotiae defensione Sanctitatisque Vestrae, cui semper obsequentissimus atque devotissimus ero, Sanctaeque Sedis Apostolicae honore, sic exigentibus multis et magnis in me (licet immeritum) collatis beneficiis, huic expeditioni non tantum consilio et opibus, verum etiam vita et sanguine assistam, in Deo, cuius causa agitur, certam et indubitatam fidem deponens, quod ipso Anglo per nostros milites superato huius belli victoriam atque palmam reportabimus. Nec alia, bene valeat Sanctitas Vestra, quam Deus V. M. diutissime incolumen servet. Ex Litcho pridie Nonas Iulii M.D.XLV.

E. Sanctitatis V.

Humillima creatura

D. Cardinalis S. Andree.

Beaton complains to Paul III. against the Bishop of Glasgow intercepting him in Procession. July 6, 1545. [*See Page* 279.]

Sanctmo. ac Beatmo. Dno. Nostro Pape.

Beatme. Pater, Sanctorum pedum humili et devota osculatione premissa. Multa sunt et magna Sanctitatis V. in me, licet immeritum, beneficia, quibus si non omnino satisfacere, tamen pro viribus (quoad possum) respondere semper conabor. Hanc ob rem nullis vigiliis, laboribus atque sumptibus parco, ut pro libertate ecclesiae, ac S. Sedis Apostolicae dignitate, regnique huius incolumitate omnem operam curamque meam impendam. Quo factum est, ut omnia in hoc regno sint in statum longe meliorem mutata, quam antea fuerat. Verum dum assiduis et indefessis laboribus publica subeo negotia, ut aliorum consulam otio et quieti, Gavinus Archiepiscopus Glasguensis modernus manifestum scandali initium praebuit. Nam cum ego in comitatu Sermae. Reginae et illmi. gubernatoris ad civitatem Glasguensem profectus essem, dictus Archiepiscopus crucem suam me praesente deferri fecit, ac populo benedicere non erubuit. Ego autem, ut huius reipublicae tranquillitati consulerem, ne quis tumultus ob hanc causam suboriretur, licet privilegiis Sanctitatis V. munitus de iure, ac etiam de facto suae tem-

eritatis atque audaciae penam infligere potuissem, nihilominus illum quanta potui humilitate atque modestia, ut ab incoeptis desisteret, admonere curavi. Ille autem non tantum monitis meis minime obtemperans, sed etiam, quod dicto gubernatori de ipsa cruce non ferenda promisit, non observans, armatis militibus instructus Glasguensem ecclesiam ingressus, ubi ego audiendi sacri causa conveneram, me cum aliquo vitae meae discrimine invadere conatus est, adeoque gubernator ipse facti turpissimi indignitate offensus, et alia per ipsum Archiepiscopum per antea perpetrata facinora memoria repetens, eo ipso die supplicium fieri decreverat, nisi precibus contendissem, ut totum negotium huiusmodi ad Sanctitatem V. perferretur. Quapropter Venerabilibus in Christo Robertho Orchadiensi Episcopo, et Georgio Abbati de Donfermelin dedi in mandatis, ut aliquos testes graves et idoneos super praemissis, et aliis criminibus, de quibus dictus Archiepiscopus diffamatus existit, reciperet et examinaret, quorum depositiones per dictos commissarios in scriptis redactas et ad me transmissas ad Sanctitatem V. per praesentium latorem destinare volui, ut causa ipsa cognita de remedio provideat opportuno, neque haec gravissima facinora temere perpetrata in Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae contemptum, huius regni detrimentum, ac ovium Christifidelium scandalum impunita remanere permittat. Nec alia, bene valeat Sanctitatis V. quam Deus Opt. M. diutissime incolumem servet. Ex Litcho pridie Non. Iulii M.D.XLV.

E. Sanctitatis Vestre

Humillima creatura

D. Cardinalis S. Andree.

[*Theiner's Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot.*, *Nos.* 952, 1066, 1069, 1070.]

XLVIII. John Hamilton. A.D. 1549-71.

John Hamilton, natural son of James, the first Earl of Arran, by Mrs Boyd, a gentlewoman of a very good Family in the Shire of Ayr, was made Abbot of Paisley in 1525. Dr. Mackenzie says that he studied the Belles Lettres at Glasgow, and as he had a fine genius for letters, he went over into France to pursue his studies, where he continued till his brother, the Earl of Arran, was preferred to the Regency, upon the Death of King James V. He returned through England, and was nobly entertained at Court by King Henry VIII. In 1543, he was made Keeper of the Privy Seal. February 12, 1550, anno R. 9, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, is Treasurer. [*Clackm.*] The Bishopric of Dunkeld happening to vaik by the Death of Bishop Crichton, who Died in January, 1543-4, Hamilton was Presented to that See

in 1545, by the Queen and Lord Governor. [*Epist. Reg. Scot.*] There he sat Bishop until sometime after the Murder of Cardinal Beaton, in May, 1546, when he was promoted to the Primacy of St. Andrews, in which he continued until the total alteration of Religion and Revolution of the State.

S. Andrew occupies the centre, having his Cross before him. In the dexter niche is a figure holding in his left hand probably an Agnus Dei; and in the sinister is a Bishop with his Crook, in the act of Benediction—all three under rich Canopies. The Family Shield is below: Quarterly, first and fourth, three cinque foils, for Hamilton; second and third, a galley without sails, for Arran. Above the Shield, a cross bottonée; and on either side a Scroll with the Motto *Miseri*[*cordia*] *Pax*.

In 1551, the first public act of Hamilton after his elevation to the Primacy was to Burn for heresy, on the Castlehill of Edinburgh, a poor weak creature of the name of Adam Wallace; and in 1558 he was assisted by the Bishops of Moray, Brechin, Caithness and the Isles—the last also Titular Archbishop of Athens, the Abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, and Balmerino, after Sermon and Trial in the Cathedral, to condemn and Burn in front of the main Gate of the Priory (now called the *Pends*), Walter Mill, a decrepit man of 82 years of age, who was Parish Priest of Lunan in Angus, who had embraced the new opinions. He summoned and presided at a Provincial Council at

Linlithgow in August, 1549, and at another held at Edinburgh in January, 1552. Of the six Bishops who sat in this Council, three are known to have been "Bulls prolific," viz., William Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen; Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray; and William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane. [*Miscell. Spalding Club, vol. ii., p.* 54; *Reg. Episc. Aberd., vol. i., pp.* 64-66.] The *living monuments* of the *whoredom* of the Clergy of all ranks furnished too good cause for accusation and derision. The mass of the Conventual Orders of both sexes was sunk in licentious debauchery. Not only had Bishops and Priests *Harlots*, but *fructifying* Harlots—after having Vowed the solemn Vows of Chastity. God's wrath was kindled, and the untimely deaths of many Ecclesiastics bore striking evidence thereto, and to man's wrath also, for warnings of the advent of the REFORMATION were unmistakeably audible.

In 1549, the Primate was cured of a lingering asthma by the incantations of an Astrologer named Cardan, from Milan. This Physician abode with the Primate eleven weeks, at his Country Residence at Monimail, near Cupar Fife. In 1560, Hamilton attended the Parliament, and voted against the new Confession of Faith. On the 19th May, 1563, he, along with the Prior of Whithorn and 46 other persons, were tried before the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh, for hearing Auricular Confession and assisting at Mass, and were ordered to be committed to Ward.

John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, grants a Charter to Alison Charters, Lady Pourie, and Thomas Fotheringhame, her son, of the Lands of Newdosk, lying in the Regality of St. Andrews, Dated "Apud dictam nostram Metropolitanam Ecclesiam St. Andreæ die 7mo mensis Aprilis, An. Dom. 1555, Nostræ Consecrationis Anno Nono, Etad Regni Provincialem Translationis Sedem, Anno 7mo." The Charter is Confirmed April 22, 1585. [*B.* 36, *No.* 121.] His designation in the Charter is "Joannes, Miseratione Divina Sti Andreæ Archi Episcopus totius Regni Scotiæ Primas, Legatus Natus Monasterii de Paslato Abbas ac etiam cum potestate Legati a latere Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Papæ et Sancta Sedes Appostolicæ Legatus, &c." To a Precept by him in favour of Alexander Forbes of Pitsligo, as Heir to his

Father in the Lands of Coddilston, 8th April, 1557, is appended the Archbishop's Seal, having the Arms of the See on one side and that of his Family on the other, with no mark of *Bastardy*. [*Riddle's MS. Notes.*]

We find him a member of Queen Mary's Privy Council in 1566, and he Baptized her son, the Prince. Spottiswoode alone, of all the other Historians, is right as to the day of King James VI.'s Baptism, performed by Archbishop Hamilton; and from him only likewise we have an account of the Ceremonial, which the others copy without acknowledgment. Preparation was making for the Baptism of the Prince, who, about the end of August, 1566, was removed to Stirling Castle from Edinburgh Castle, where he was Born on the 19th June. To honour this solemnity, the Count de Briance was sent Ambassador from the French King, Monsieur de Croke from the Duke of Savoy, and the Earl of Bedford from the Queen of England, who brought with him a Font of gold weighing two stones weight, with a Bason and Laver for the Baptism. At the day appointed for the solemnity, which was the 15th [not the 17th] of December, being Sunday, at five in the evening, they all convened in the Castle of Stirling. The Prince was carried by the French Ambassador, walking betwixt two ranks of Barons and gentlemen that stood in the way from the Chamber to the Chapel, each holding a pricket of wax in his hand. Next after the French Ambassador came the Earl of Atholl, bearing the *great serge of wax*. The Earl of Eglinton carried the *salt;* the Lord Sempil the *cude*, *i.e.*, the *face-cloth* for the infant, which was commonly the Priest's fee; and the Lord Ross the *bason and ewer*. In the entry of the Chapel, the Prince was received by Archbishop Hamilton, accompanied by the Bishops Crichton of Dunkeld, Chisholm of Dunblane, and Lesley of Ross. Next followed the Prior of Whithorn, sundry Deans and Archdeacons, with the Singers of the Chapel, in their several Habits and Copes. The Prince was held up at the Font by the Countess of Argyll, in name of and by commission from the Queen of England. For so doing, in the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 25th December, 1567, the Countess was ordered to make public Penance in the Chapel

Royal of Stirling. Archbishop Hamilton administered the Sacrament of Baptism with all the Ceremonies used in the Roman Church, the *Spittle* excepted, which the Queen was bullied to inhibit. After the Rites were all performed, the child's name and titles were thrice proclaimed by the Heralds under sound of trumpet—Charles James, James Charles, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew. Then did the Music begin, and after it had continued a good space, the Prince was again conveyed to his apartment.

Hamilton had a Commission under the Great Seal, restoring the Jurisdiction in the Probate of Testaments, and other things pertaining to the cognizance of the Spiritual Court. He acted also very cordially for the Queen, and he is greatly to be applauded, and she to be condemned, for her not following the sound advice which he gave her after the unfortunate Battle of Langside, in May, 1568. He attended the Queen as far as the Solway, and on seeing that she was determined to reject his advice, leave her own Kingdom, and throw herself into the power of her rival, Queen Elizabeth, he waded knee-deep into the water, held back her boat, and conjured her, by every argument which his agitated mind could suggest, not to trust herself in England. After this he was declared a traitor by the Earl of Moray, then become Regent; whereupon, after lurking some time among his friends and relations, he fled for security to the strong Castle of Dumbarton; at the surprise of which Fortress, 2nd April, 1571, he fell into his enemies' hands, and was Hanged on a Gibbet, in his Episcopal Robes, over the battlements of the Castle of Stirling, the 6th of April, 1571. He was the first Bishop in Scotland who had Died by the hands of the Executioner, and the last Primate of the Scottish Roman Catholic Church.

"To purge his reins," the Archbishop colluded, *regulariter et ambuster*, with a Mistress Grizzle Semple, widow of James Hamilton of Stanehouse. Martine, in his *Reliquiæ Divi Sti Andreæ*, has given an account of Hamilton, in which, in reference to his Grace and this Lady, he says—"I have seen copies of Charters granted by this Archbishop to William, John, and James Hamil-

tons, his three naturall sones, born of this Grizzele Sempill; and they are designed her naturall sones, but they came all to be forfeited." [*P.* 244.] Letters of Legitimation of John and William Hammylton, bastard sons of Grizzel Sempill, daughter of Robert, Master of Sempill, were Dated 9th October, 1551. [*Reg. Mag. Sigill.*] Lady Grizzel Sempill was the eldest daughter of Robert, third Lord Sempill, and was the second wife of James Hamilton, Laird of Stenhouse, Provost of the City, as well as Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, about September, 1543. Bishop Lesley says the occurrence which led to his Death took place October 1, 1548. He was slain in endeavouring to quell a tumult between some of the auxiliary troops quartered in the Canongate and the inhabitants. We may charitably conclude, it was only subsequent to her husband's Death that she became the avowed "Mistress" of the Archbishop. Knox says—"He took also possession of his Eme's [kinsman's] wife, the Lady Stanehouse. [A Charter under the Great Seal was granted of the Lands of Kittiemuir, on the 10th March, 1539, 'Jacobi Hamilton de Stanehouse et Grizeldi Sempill ejus conjugi.'] The woman is and has been famous, and is called Lady Gilston. Her Ladyship was holden always in property; but how many wives and virgins he has had since that time in common, the world knows, albeit not all; and his bastard birds bear some witness." Two of her sons are thus styled in the Register of the Great Seal—"Legitimatis Johannis Hammyltoun junioris bastardi filii naturalis Grissillidis Sempill filiæ Roberti Magistri de Sempill, et Willielmi Hammyltoun ejus fratris etiam bastardi," 9th October, 1551. It

Round Seal of Hamilton, the first of Elizabethan style.

was in virtue of some Property she acquired that she obtained the title of Lady Gilton or Gilston, as there is no evidence of her having been twice Married: indeed, her connexion with the Archbishop was too cohesive for anything like Holy Matrimony.

On the 11th July, 1550, William, third Lord Creichton of Sanquhar, was slain in the Governor's chamber by Robert, Master of Sempill, who was acquitted by the Governor, on the 10th September, 1550. [*Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, vol. i., p.* 354*.] Pitscottie says that "he escaped punishment by means of John Hamilton, Bishop of St. Andrews, brother to the Governor, who entertained the Lady Stenhouse, commonly called Lady Gilton, daughter to this Robert Lord Semple, as his concubine." From the Date of the Reprieve, it must have been her brother who had committed this Murder. Buchanan and other Authorities likewise attribute his acquittal to the same influences; and one Compiler says of the Archbishop, in very plain terms—"Among many others his Harlots, he entertained this Harlot Sempill, neither beautiful, of good fame, or otherwise in any sort notable, except his own kinsman, and followed him as she had been his lawful wife." [*Johnston's Hist. Scot., MS., Advocates' Library.*] The most remarkable notice of this lady occurs in the Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 26th November, 1561, on which day the Provost and other members of Council ordained "Acts to be set forth, charging Grizzell Sempill, Lady Stanehouse, *Adulterer*, to remove herself forth of the Town betwixt and Mononday next, under the pains contained in the Proclamation set forth against Adulterers." As the Archbishop of St. Andrews had a residence in Edinburgh, it was no doubt her living openly with him that occasioned this peremptory Enactment. She also acquired the Lands of Blair, in the Lordship of Culross, and was sometimes called "Lady Blair." She Died in October, 1575, and in the Confirmation of her Testament dative, she is styled "ane honorabill Lady Gryssell Sympill, Lady Stanehous." [*D. Laing's Ed. of Knox's Works, vol. i., pp.* 124, 222, 280, *Notes.*]

Archbishop Hamilton completed S. Mary's College, begun by his two Predecessors, Archbishops James and David Beaton. Having finished the College, he endowed it out of his Archiepis-

copal Revenues, in virtue of a Bull of Pope Julius III., Dated 1552, with Lands and Tithes for the maintenance of four principal Professors, called the Provost, Licentiate, Bachelor, and Canonist; eight Students of Theology; three Professors of Theology, and two of Rhetoric and Grammar; five Vicars pensionary; sixteen Students of Philosophy; a Provisor, Cook, and Janitor. In seven years afterwards, the whole of this Foundation was subverted and alienated. Over the Gateway leading to the Divinity Hall are the Arms of Archbishop Hamilton; they are also cut in stone over one of the Windows at the south-east corner of the Castle, which he repaired and inhabited, after its surrender and partial demolition on the last of July, 1547.

The following quotation illustrates his great zeal in useful works: "He built fourteen bridges, of which there were one over the Eden at Dairsie, two over the Orr (the upper and nether), one over the Lochtie, one at Cameron, one at Kemback, one at Leuchars, the two bow bridges at St. Andrews, and also he completed the Guard Bridge. He built also the House of Monimail, a Mensal Kirk of the See of St. Andrews, and the wall about the yard [garden] thereof, and planted the most part of the yard with fruit-trees brought from France. And when he had completed all, he gave the same freely to King James V., in his minority, for his more commodious hunting in Edin's muir [Strath-eden]. He also built the whole forework of the Castle of St. Andrews, and several other works there. He built, too, the Church of S. Serf's, called Newburn." [*M'Farlane's Genealogical Collections, MS., vol. i., Advoc. Libr.*] Sibbald notices two of these bridges: "To the east of Pitewchar, and on the highway from Kirkaldy to Falkland, is a stone bridge of two arches, built by James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Below that bridge, Lochtie runs into Orr. And again, in the way from Kirkaldy to Falkland, is a stone bridge of two arches, built by the same Archbishop" (named the Orr Bridge, near the Village of Thornton). Of this last, only a large fragment now remains.

There was reason for the Statute enforcing the observance of the Decree of the Council of Basil against "Ecclesiastical whoremongers and whores in Scotland," on the part of the two Metro-

politans. If the Archbishop of Glasgow was without reproach, the licentiousness of his brother of St. Andrews was only too open. His Catechism, with its emphatic warning, "how S. Paul sets lecherous men in the first place among them who shall be excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven," had not been three weeks out of the Printer's hands, when his Physician, the famous Cardan, gave him this counsel: "De Venere, certe non est bona, neque utilis; ubi tamen contingat necessitas, debet uti ea inter duos somnos post mediam noctem, et melius est exercere eam ter in sex diebus, pro exemplo ita ut singulis duobus diebus semel, quam bis in una die, etiam quod staret per decem dies." [*About a Difficulty of Breathing in the Most Rev. Lord Sir John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, of the Cathedral Church, in the Kingdom of Scotland; in Cardan's Works, vol. ix., p.* 135; *Lugd.*, 1663.] The *inter duos somnos* above may explain a passage in Knox's account of the Murder of Cardinal Beaton: "Maistres Marioun Ogilbye . . was espyed to departe frome him by the previe posterne that morning; and therefor qwyetness, after the reullis of phisick, and a morne sleap, was requisite for my Lord." [*Hist. Reform. Scot., vol. i., p.* 174; *Stat. Ecc. Scot., p.* 301.]

Discordant accounts have been given of a Catechism commonly called Archbishop Hamilton's. This Version is taken from the Catechism itself, compared with the Canon of the Council which Authorised its Use. The Title is as follows:—

"The Catechisme, That is to say, ane cōmone and catholik instructioun of the christin people in materis of our catholic faith and religioun, quhilk na gud christin man or woman suld misknaw: set furth be ye maist reuerend father in God Johne Archbischop of sanct Androus Legatnait and primat of ye kirk of Scotland, in his prouincial counsale haldin at Edinburgh the xxvi. day of Januarie, the zeir of our Lord 1551, with the aduise and counsale of the bischoippis and other prelatis, with doctours of Theologie and Canon law of the said realme of Scotland present for the tyme.—S. Aug. libro 4 de trinitate, cap. 6.—Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra scripturam nemo christianus, contra ecclesiam nemo pacificus senserit.—Agane reasone na sober man, agane scripture na christin man, agane the kirk na

peaceabil or quiet man will iudge, or hald opinoun." On the back of the Title are two Copies of Latin Verses, "Ad Pivm Lectorem." The Title, Preface by the Archbishop, and "Table of Materis," are on thirteen leaves. The Catechism begins on folio i. and ends on folio ccvi., after which there are three Pages of Errata, on the last of which is the following Colophon:—
☞ "Prentit at Sanct Androus, be the command and expēsis of the maist reuerend father in God, Johne Archbischop of sanct Androus, and primat of ye hail kirk of Scotland, the xxix. day of August, the zeir of our Lord M.D.lii."

The Volume consists of about 440 Pages in Black Letter, small quarto, and is a good clear Instruction upon the Commands, Seven Sacraments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Magnificat, and Ave Maria. It is written in the Scottish vernacular. The Author is not known, but it has been attributed to Winram, Sub-Prior of St. Andrews. But in a List of Books belonging to the University of St. Andrews, taken in 1599, are the two following separate entries—"Catechismus D. J. Winram Supprior; Catechismus Jo. Hamilton Epi." This Catechism was to be read to the people in Church, before High Mass, when there was no Sermon; as much as would occupy half-an-hour being read from the Pulpit every Sunday and Holiday, with a loud voice, clearly, distinctly, impressively, solemnly, by the Rector, Vicar, or Curate, in his Surplice and Stole. The Clergy were enjoined to exercise themselves daily in reading it, lest their stammering or breaking down might move the jeers of the people; and heavy penalties, fines, and imprisonment, were imposed on all who should fail to observe any part of the Canons regarding it. The Catechism reminds the Beneficed Clergy of their duty in "reparation of their Choir when it needs."

Dr. M'Crie, in his *Life of Knox, p.* 348, says: "Upon the whole, this Catechism has been written with great care, and the style is by no means bad. It is singular that it should have been so little noticed by the Writers of that age, and that it does not appear who was its Compiler. . . As it was printed at his expense, and as his name appears on the Title page and Colophon, it has been usually called Archbishop Hamilton's Cate-

chism; but there is not the least reason for thinking that the Primate would have taken the trouble to compose a Book of 411 Pages 4to, even although he had been in other respects qualified for the task."

In the little wooden Cell of the College Library, called the "Curator's Room," where I sit and write daily, looking across to Barr's Land, the site of the Greyfriars' Monastery,—here before me is a mutilated Copy of this ancient Catechism, bound in time to be saved from perdition. As the Book is a great Curiosity, being the earliest Printed in St. Andrews, I have selected, and given as close a Copy of two Leaves, with Woodcuts (Pages 299-302), as could be executed from the coarse paper and style of Printing in Scotland 315 years ago.

Spottiswoode, Keith, and others, confound this Treatise with the Catechism termed "The Twopenny Faith" (from 2d. Scots, equal to the sixth part of a penny sterling, which the pedlars charged for its sale, or, probably, called so in derision), printed in 1558, when a Provincial Council was held. Not a Copy of this "Twa-penny Fayth" was known to exist until the discovery of it by the late Rev. George A. Griffin, Roman Catholic Clergyman, Dumfries, in a Volume of Miscellaneous Tracts which belonged to his Predecessor, the Rev. Henry Small. He allowed Dr. David Laing to reprint it in *fac simile*, in the *Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. iii., p.* 313, and also supplied the deficiencies by the words in brackets. It is a Tract of only four pages, in Black Letter, from the Press of John Scott, Printer in St. Andrews and Edinburgh. Besides the difference of six years in the Date, the absurdity of supposing that the former bulky Volume could have been sold for such a price, sufficiently points out the confusion among Historians. [*See Laing's Ed. of Knox's Works, vol. i., p.* 291; *vol. vi., part* 2, *p.* 676.]

I wrote to Dr. Laing for the loan of his types, but they are lost or demolished, so that I had to get new ones specially cast for the Representation given in the next four Pages, 295-98.

[Ane G]odlie exhorta=

[tioun maid a]nd ſett furth be the maiſt Reuerende
[Father in God] Johane Archibischope of Sanctandrous.
[Primate of] Scotland, Legat, &c. With the auyſe of
[the Prouin]ciale counſale, haldin at Edinburgh the
[ſecund day of Marche, the zeir of God ane thouſand
[fyve] hundreth fifty aucht zeiris, to all Vicaris,
[Cu]ratis, & vtheris consecrate Preistis lauch=
[full] Ministers of the Sacrament of the Al=
[tar]e to be red and schawin be thame to the
Christiane peple, quhen ony ar to reſaue
the ſaid Blyſſit Sacrament. &c.

Cum *Priuilegio Reginali.*

DEVOTE Christiane men and wemen, quha at this preſent tyme ar to reſaue the blyſſit Sacrament of the altare. Wytt ze perfitlie, and beleue ze fermlie, that vnder the forme of breaid, quhilk I am now preſentlie to minister to zow, is contenit trewlie, & realie, our Saluеour Jeſus Chriſte, heale in godhede and manhede, that is, baith his bodie, and blude, and Saule, coniunit with his Godhede, quha in his mortale lyue, offerit hym ſelf upon the Croce to the father of heuin, ane acceptable Sacrifyce, for our redemptioun, fra the Deuyll, ſyn, eternall dede, and hell. And now in his immortall lyfe, ſittis at the rycht hand of the Eternal Father in heuin, quhame in this blyſſit Sacrament, inuiſiblie contenit vnder the forme of breade, I am

to minister to zow. And wit ze, [that ressaue this] blyssit Sacrament worthelie, ze re[ssaue the blyssit] bodie and blude of our Salueo[ure Chryst for the] fude of zour saulis, to strenth zow a[gains all mor-] tall and deidlie synnis, and power of [the Deuill,] to mak zow starke in zour faith towar[tes zour] God, to get his grace largelie ekit to zo[w, to keip] vp zour hope vnto the mercye and glore of [God, to] kendle zour hertis, and mak zow ardent in [to the] lufe of God, and of zour nychtbour, to ca[use zow] haue quick remembrance of the blyssit P[assioun of] our Saluiour, and redemptour, Jesus Christe, quhilk he tholit for zow. Quhairthrouch w̄ leuyng faith, ze maye get and obtene remissioun of zour synnis, and be reconciliat to the Father of heuin, and als be delyuerit fra eternale damnatioun, and brocht to eternale lyfe & glore. ¶ Attoure, wytt ze Christiane & faithfull Peple, that quha ressauis worthelie this blyssit Sacrament, ar vnit and coniunit to the mistical bodie of our Saluiour Jesus Christe: that is to the Sanctis of Heuin, and to thame that hes the grace of God in the erd, and maid quick and leuyng membris of the sampn misticale bodie. Heirfor J maist hertlie for ỹ maist tender lufe, reuerence, and mercy of Christe Jesus our Saluiour, exhort zow all christiane peple, that ze ressaue this precious Sacrament, with perfyte faith, beleuyng fermlie that Christ Jesus zour saluiour tholit passioun, and deid upon the Croce for

[zour ſynnis. Jn reme mbrance quhareof, with [a perfyte con ſcience, ze aucht to reſſaue the [ſamyn: and becau ſe this Sacrament, is the Sa=[crament of luſe] & concorde, ſe that nane of zow [with deſpyte] in zour herte, preſume to cum to [this hlyſſit ſacrament], bot as ze walde be forgeuin of [zour ſynnes, and reſſauit in vnitie with God, ſwa [aucht ze to forge]ue vther. And becauſe ze [deſyre to prepare z]our ſelf to reſſaue ſa preci=[ous a gift, raiſe zo]ur hertis to God, and als [with grete dolour] praye him in Jesus Chriſtis na=[me], and for the merit of his Blyſſit Passioun, to mak zow worthy be his grace thairto. For and ze re=ſaue ỹ ſamyn vnworthelie: it wyll be to zour dam=natioun. And becauſe Curſing cuttis, and deuy=dis the Cursit fra the haly congregatioun off the Kirk of God, and deidly ſyn makis Man vnabyll to reſſaue worthelie this blyſſit Sacrament. Heir=for J praye zow, and als Ernestlye in Jeſus Chri=ſtis behalfe and name chargis, that nane off zow knawing hym ſelf curſit, or in ſtait of deidly ſyn, or nocht confeſſit to his Curate, or vther Preiſte, hauyng power thairto, according to ỹ law of God, and haly kirk, presume to cum to this haly & maiſt excellent Sacrament, of our Saluiour Jeſus.

to the Clergye.

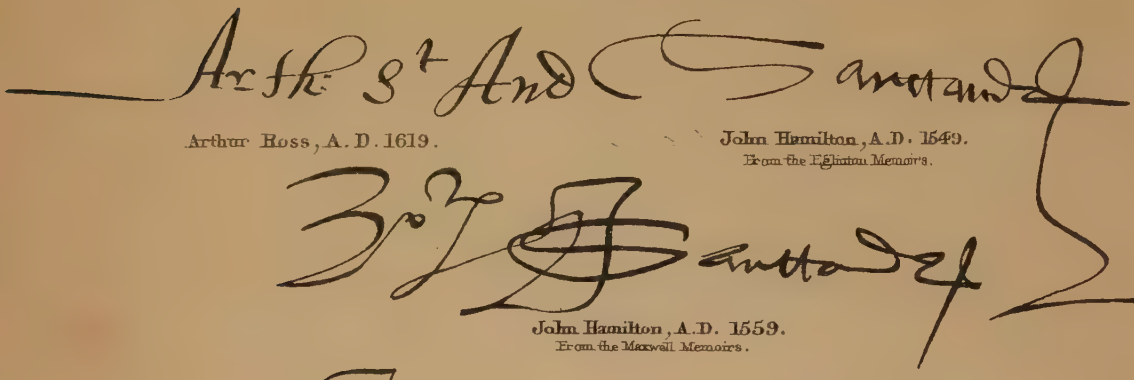
E VICARIS, [CVRATIS and vthe=] ris Preistis, th[at are employit in the] miniſtrati[oun of the blyſſit Sacra=] ment of the [Altare, witt ze that the] Prouincia[le Counſale straitlie char=] gis zow, that [ze miniſter the blyſſit] Sacrament mair Godlie, mair honeſtlie and w̄ [gre=] tare reuerence, than ze war wount to do, thole nocht zour Parrochianaris to cum to this Blyſſit Sacrament misordourlie. But put thame in or= dour be zour miniſteris before the Altare, and re= quyre thame to heir zow reid the afore wryttin, ex= hortatioun without Noysse, or Din, and to ſit ſtyll ſwa in Deuotioun, with deuote hert and mynde, quhill thay be ordourlie ſeruit, of the said Blyſſit Sacrament. &c.

FINIS.

¶ *Extractum ex libris actorum & statutorum dicti Prouincialis Concilij: per me eiuſdem concilij Clericum, & Notarium Subſcriptum.*

Andreas Elephantus manu ſua,
De mandato. Subſcriſit.

Autographs of the Archbishops of St Andrews from 1549 to the Revoluton, taken from Original Charters granted by them as Superiors of Lands held of the See of St Andrews & other documents.

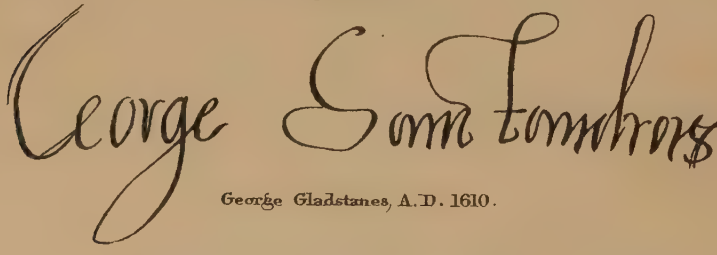


Arthur Ross, A.D. 1619.

John Hamilton, A.D. 1549.
From the Eglinton Memoirs.

John Hamilton, A.D. 1559.
From the Maxwell Memoirs.

John Hamilton, A.D. 1562.
From the Eglinton Memoirs.

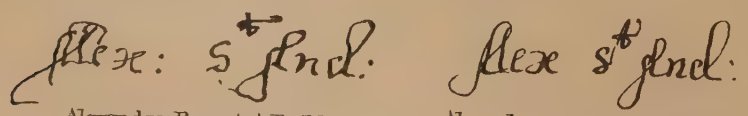


George Gladstanes, A.D. 1610.

John Spottiswoode, A.D. 1619.

James Sharp A.D. 1647.
From the Eglinton Memoirs.

James Sharp, A.D. 1662.



Alexander Burnet, A.D. 1681.
From Mis. of Maitland Club.

Alexander Burnet, A.D. 1684.

[*SPECIMEN PAGES OF HAMILTON'S CATECHISM.*]

our declaratioun of the ten commandis, geuin to vs be almychty God, to quhome be geuin al louing and thankis, honour and glore for euir and euer. Amen.

His only ſonne. Quhy ſais thow in this artikil I beleiue in Iesus Christ the only ſonne of God? Ar nocht we all, that beleiuis in Chriſt Jesu with ane trew and leiſſand faith, the ſonis of God? as it
Ioan.i. is ſaid: Dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine eius. Ye haís geuin powar to thame to be ſonnis of God, quhilk beleiuis in his
Gala.iii. name. And alſa ſanct Paule ſais: Omnes enim filii dei estis per fidem, que est in Christo Iesu. Ze ar al the ſonnis of God be faith quhilk ze haue in Chriſt Jeſu. Now ſen it is ſwa, yat al gud chriſtin men be leiſſand faith in Chriſt Jeſu ar the ſonnis of God, quhi ſais yow in yis artikil, I beleiue in Ieſus Christ the only ſonne of God? Trewly we all ſay ſwa in this artikil, beleiuand with our hart and cofeſſand with our mouth, that our ſaluiour Jeſus Chriſt is the only natural ſonne of God, nocht maid, bot got tin eternally of the verrai ſubſtance of God the fa= ther, conſubſtancial with the father, God of God, lycht of lycht, trew God of trew God, quhais eter= nal generatioun and byrth, perſonal diſtinctioun, coſubſtantial nature of godheide, equalle powar, & euirlaſtand maieſtie with the father, is declarit be the euangeliſt ſanct Johne in the beginning of his
Ioan.i. euangil, ſayand thus: In principio erat verbum &c. And as for al trew chriſtin men and wemen, quhilk beleiuis in Chriſt Jeſu with ane ſpecial faith that wyrkis be luſe, ar the ſonnis of God, nocht be na= tural generatioun, bot allanerly be faith, grace, & adoptioun, for als mekil as almychty god the eter= nal father for the luſe & meritis of his natural ſone

our

Dimitte nobis debita nostra, ſicut et nos dimittim⁹ debitoribus nostris. Forgeue vs our dettis and treſpaſſis, as we forgeue to yame yat treſpaſſis againis vs. Secundly, fra paynis ſpiritual, quhilk is to be ouircum in tentatioun, ſayand: Et ne nos inducas intentationem. Leid vs nocht into tentatioun. Laſt of all we deſyre God to deliuir vs fra paynis temporal, ſayand: Sed libera nos amalo. Bot deliuir vs fra euil. Amen. That ſa be it we pray the. Breiſly, this prayar of our Lord is ſa profound, ſa aboundant, and ſa plenteous in ſentence, that thair is na prayer maid be man, quhidder it be writtin in the auld teſtament or the new, bot the ſoume and the effect of that prayer is contenit and aſkit in ane of yir ſeuin petitiouns. Quhairfor O chriſtin man & weman ſay thi Pater noster to God oft tymes, diſtinctlie & deuoitly, and doue nocht bot quhen yow ſais yis prayer, in effect yow ſais all gud prayeris. Nochttheles all vthir prayers ſet out at mair lenth to the ſame effect is comendabil and louabil, as declaratioun of the ſame.

Of

THE PRAYER OF OVR LORD IN LATYNE.

ATER Noster qui es in cœlis, ſanctifice tur nomen tuum. Aduenіat regnum tuū Fiat voluntas tua, ſicut in cœlo & i ter- ra. Panem nostrum quotidianum, da no bis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, ſicut et nos dimittimus debitorib⁹ nostris. Et ne nos indu- cas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

THE Same prayer of our LORD.

OVR Father, quhilk is in heuin nis. Thy name mot be hallowit. Thy kyngdome mot cum. Thy wyll mot be done in erd, as it is in heuin. Geue ws this day, our day lie breid. And forgyff ws our det- tis, as we forgyfe our dettours. And lede ws nocht in temptatioun. Bot delyuer ws fra euyl. Sa be it.

The thrid Cheptour.

Sen Christ hes leirit vvs to call god fader vve ſulde praye to hym vvith gret confi- dens.

ATER noster, qui es in cœlis. O our Fa- ther quhilk is in he- uin. We can nocht O chriſtin peple compre- hend in our mynd, the gret gudnes of God towart vs, quhilk hes leirit ws, in the begin- nyng of our prayar to call God our Father ſayand: O our father God. This was nocht vūt to

THE REFORMATION.

We have now reached a Full Stop. *The Bad Lives of Ecclesiastics* chiefly accelerated the Culmination at which we have arrived: *Doctrines* were the after-birth. The Licentiousness by which the Christian Religion was universally disfigured, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other Nation within the pale of the "Western Church." Superstition, also, and Imposture mixed with Religion, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. The full half of the wealth of the Nation belonged to the Clergy, and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few individuals, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice and the love of secular pomp reigned among the Superior Orders. Bishops and Abbots rivalled the first Nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours; they were Privy Councillors, and Lords of Session as well as of Parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of State. A vacant Bishopric or Abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a petty Kingdom: it was obtained by similar arts, and not unfrequently taken possession of by the same weapons. Inferior Benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of Courtiers and the bastards of Bishops. Pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and Benefices, given *in commendam*, were kept vacant during the life of the Commendator, nay, sometimes during several lives; so that extensive Parishes were frequently deprived, for a long course of years, of all Religious Service. Altars that had been endowed by pious Donors deceased for the regular Celebration of the Holy Offices, were regularly and systematically abandoned. No marvel if the Judgments of Heaven followed upon this. The Bishops rarely condescended to Preach; the practice had even gone into desuetude among all the Secular Clergy, and was wholly devolved on the Mendicant Monks, who often employed it for mercenary purposes.

The Bishops set an example of the most shameless profligacy before the Inferior Clergy. They avowedly kept their harlots, provided their natural sons with Benefices, and gave their natural daughters in Marriage to the

sons of the Nobility and principal Gentry, many of whom were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their Families by such base alliances, for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought. We need not appeal to the testimony of the "Reformers" (which some may opine prejudiced and one-sided), nor to Satirical Poems published at that time, in proof of the lewdness and debauchery carried on within the Monasteries and Nunneries. The fact is registered in the Acts of Parliament, in the Decrees of Councils, and in the Confessions of Roman Catholic Writers. [*Lord Hailes' Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, pp.* 249, 250, 297, 309; *Wilkin's Concil., tom. iv., pp.* 46-60; *Leslie's Hist., p.* 232; *Father Baillie's True Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, &c., pp.* 15, 16; *M'Crie's Life of Knox, p.* 7.]

Friar William Airth observes about the Reformation—"So it pleaseth God to open up the mouth of Balaam's own ass, to cry out against the vicious lives of the Clergy of that age."

John Knox (a regularly Ordained Priest of the Church of Rome), there can be no doubt, was Ringleader and principal Instrument in upturning the whole Roman Catholic Polity in Scotland. A long prevalent opinion was, that he was Born in the little Village of Gifford in East Lothian. It seems to me unmistakeably made out that he was Born in Haddington, in 1505, of parents neither very rich nor very poor, who put their son to the Grammar School of his native Town. Some make his Ancestors *landed gentry;* others say that they were mere *crofters;* while others assert that some of them followed the *craft of S. Crispin.* His subsequent history speaks for itself, and will speak while this world shall last. None can gainsay that he was "famous in the Congregation, a man of renown." The spot where he is Buried, close to S. Giles', Edinburgh, on the public High Street, cannot exactly be pointed out—very remarkable to bear in mind. There are in the Canongate, *Sacred to his Memory, a Free Kirk and a Museum.* "John Knox's House" was long occupied, until lately, as a *Barber's Shop,* above the Door of which, for a sign, was a small Statue of the "Reformer," enclosed in a Pulpit with a verdant *Green* Beard. This Effigy does not accord with the Contemporary who describes him as "ane auld blak Carle." I have often stopped in the way and done homage to this *Ingenuity,* thus Breaking the Second Commandment in Worshipping Images!

The hold which the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland once had on the affections and opinions of the people was completely loosened, and became to be supported by *force.* The Reformed Religion advanced to such an extent, notwithstanding the Ecclesiastical fulminations, punishments, and deaths, that it soon attained Parliamentary sanction. A chain of events

powerfully contributed to the Re-Formation. Persecution for Conscience' sake, on whatever side, is revolting and detestable to our noble human nature, and has only strengthened the cause against which it has been ruthlessly wielded. The barbarous Burnings of those Roman Catholics who had become "Protestant" or "Heretical," were fresh in the memory of every one, and just incited the more to frenzy and infatuation those whom Knox titles "the rascal multitude."

John Knox had been proclaimed by the Queen Regent (Mary Tudor, wife of King James V., and mother of Mary Queen of Scots) as a rebel and an outlaw, and his abettors had prepared themselves to act with open force against the Queen. The sword was now to be drawn by both parties. Knox had received Letters in November, 1558, from the principal "Lords of the Congregation," urging him to return once more from Geneva to Scotland. Accordingly, he arrived at Leith on the 2nd of May, 1559; and, after remaining two nights in Edinburgh, he went to Dundee, where many of his admirers were convened. Regardless of being apprehended for Treason, he hastened through the Carse of Gowry to Perth, the headquarters of the "Congregation," and opportunely arrived in the "Fair City," as Bishop Keith quaintly observes, at the "nick of time." On the 11th of May (being the day after the Ministers had been denounced rebels), Knox Preached in S. John's Church, Perth, "his thundering Sermon against Idolatry, which (as Buchanan says) set their minds, which were already fired, all in a flame." After this Sermon, the "better sort," so Mr. Knox calls them, "had gone to dinner," but the majority remained in S. John's, among whom were the Earl of Argyll (who had recently succeeded his father) and Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, who withdrew to one of the Aisles, whilst Erskine, Laird of Dun, and others, had been seated during the delivery of the Sermon on some narrow benches near the steps leading up to the Pulpit. Bishop Keith states that "a certain Priest was so imprudent as to open a Tabernacle or Case, in which was curiously engraved the history of a great many Saints, and so prepared himself to say Mass." John Parker Lawson, who edited the Spottiswoode Society's issue of *Keith's History*, supplements this Account from a very rare Work—*Sketches from Scenes in Scotland*, by Col. Murray of Ochtertyre—thus: They observed a movement towards the Shrine and their curiosity was excited. In front of an Altar, surmounted by an ebony Crucifix, on which was the Figure of our Saviour exquisitely carved, several of the Clergy were seen kneeling in their Vestments, probably overwhelmed with grief at the exhibition they had just witnessed, and the sentiments they had heard uttered by Knox. Tapers were now lighted, and the

Clergy began a solemn and plaint Chant, to which several voices in an Aisle opposite responded. A curtain was slowly raised behind the Crucifix, and disclosed a Painting of the Martyrdom of S. Bartholomew. This Scene was not without its effect, for it revived the old associations of many, and some of the crowd evinced their former habits of devotion. At this instant a young man (absurdly called a "child" by Knox) exclaimed to his companions, "Down with this profane mummery! Shall we stand and see that practised which God in His Word has plainly condemned as Idolatry?" He was overheard by one of the Clergy, who designated him as a "blasphemer," and struck him to the floor of the Church. The youth soon rose, and dashed a missile against the Painting of S. Bartholomew. This was the signal for the general attack. As if the Service had been to them a novelty which they never before witnessed, the multitude rushed towards the Altar, attacked the Clergy, tore off their Vestments, and beat them so unmercifully while in their kneeling attitude, that they narrowly escaped with their lives. Every article in the Church—Images, Pictures, Vestments, and Sacred Utensils, and the Altars belonging to the Incorporated Trades of the City, Dedicated to particular Saints, were speedily destroyed, before many of the citizens knew anything of the outrage; for, it is locally said that this Mob consisted chiefly of the Inhabitants of Dundee, who had accompanied Knox bent on mischief, and who, on account of old feuds with the Citizens of Perth, which existed long after this outbreak, were probably more disposed to show their dislike to Perth than any particular resentment to the Church. At Perth were Monasteries of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites; Chapels of various descriptions, dedicated to particular Saints, exclusive of S. John's Church, which were all speedily gutted and robbed; while the magnificent Charterhouse (founded by King James I., in 1492, the only Carthusian Establishment in the Kingdom) was excelled by few Ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland, but which was completely razed, as in less than two days not a vestige could scarcely be seen. The furious mob yelled, as they rushed to the Gate of this noble Edifice, "Come out, ye men of Belial! ye slaves of Jezebel!" The Insurgents burst open the Gate with a large wooden Cross, which they pulled out of the grounds near the walls. They were so generous as to allow the Prior to take with him, of his own property, as much valuables as he could hastily collect!

Knox naively excuses the wholesale Sacrilegious Plunderers, whom he hied on, by informing us, that, albeit the Vows of Poverty which the various Orders of Monks professed, their storehouses presented to his *pious burglars* no inconsiderable temptations. He says—"And in very deed the Grey

Friars was a place well provided, that, unless honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to report what provision they had. Their sheets, blankets, and coverings were such, that no Earl in Scotland had the better. Their napery was fine. There were but eight persons in Convent, and yet had eight puncheons of salt beef (consider the time of year, the 11th of May), wine, beer, and ale, besides store of victuals effeiring thereto. The like abundance was not in the Black Friars, and yet there was more than became men professing poverty." Knox instances these as proofs of Gluttony; but it must not be forgot that these Houses were *Hospitia*, and had constant claims by Noblemen and wayfarers, who, by the Vows of the inmates, were housed and entertained profusely. Not only had the Religious to "entertain strangers," who quartered themselves often enough, but their "trails" whom they brought along with them. And yet, John Knox and his devout disciples, when their own interest was concerned, could easily calm Conscience by *helping themselves*, and at the same time praying God to have mercy upon them, and incline their hearts to keep the Eighth Commandment—"Thou shalt not Steal."

The example of Perth was first followed by the "Reformers" of Cupar Fife, some of the inhabitants of which had been at Perth, and gave a helping hand there in the "labours of love." At Cupar were a Dominican Convent, having a fine Chapel, and a Nunnery dedicated to S. Catherine of Sienna. These Buildings, with their contents, were likewise ruthlessly ransacked, "which," says Spottiswoode, "the Curate took so heavily, as the night following he put violent hands on himself."

On the 9th of June, 1559, Knox, accompanied with "the Lords of the Congregation" and his "rascal multitude" (his own title for them), went on to Crail, in the "East Neuk of Fife"—a small seaport, ten miles south of St. Andrews—Archbishop Sharp's first Parish. Here was an important Collegiate Church, having a Provost, ten Prebends, a Sacrist, and Choristers. In this secluded place, adjacent to the Metropolitan City, did John Knox repeat the "Idolatrous Sermon" which he delivered at Perth, by whose furious eloquence his rustic and fisher Hearers were so roused, that they vied with each other in pillage and demolition. Altars, Images, and Holy Things which had for ages been Consecrated to God, were wantonly smashed, profaned, and pilfered. On the morrow, Knox with his banditti marched along the Fife coast westward to the Burgh of Anstruther, another seaport five miles from Crail, where (now in Anstruther Wester) was as fine a Church as that at Crail, but not Collegiate. Knox preached the same sentiments here, in the same strain, and with the same results. Several alive

well remember the rows of fine Arches which were left standing in this Church, which is now a tasteless Erection within and without. The Priory at the Burgh of Pittenweem was only one mile distant, to the west, which was too good a stronghold to be left unvisited with "axes and hammers." The Prior was famous by his zeal in the Trials of Heretics at St. Andrews, and, seeing how he would have been dealt with by the Reformers, Rowle wisely in time took to his heels, and left the devoted peculators to sack and range over his Domains. *The Priory* now belongs to the (Episcopal) Church.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews (Hamilton), hearing that the "Reformers" were beating their rounds, and intended on the morrow, which was Sunday the 11th of June, to visit St. Andrews, had come to his Episcopal City the Saturday before, accompanied with 100 armed men, to intercept Knox from Preaching to the "Congregation" (this was the name of the new Religionists) in the Cathedral Church. So daring was Knox, that, in defiance of the persuasion of all his friends and threat of his life, he declared that "Preach in St. Andrews he must and would, because in that Town and Church God first began to call him to the dignity of a Minister of the Gospel." This intrepid Reply silenced all remonstrance. Archbishop Hamilton, after he had tried the affections of the Citizens, found them all inclining to the "Congregation," and was glad at an early hour to journey to the Queen at Falkland Palace. Knox accordingly Preached in the Cathedral of St. Andrews, to a numerous and mixed Assembly, among whom were Erskine of Dun; Wishart of Pitarrow, brother of the "Martyr"; Halyburton, Provost of Dundee; Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll; Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent; and Earl of Moray. "The Great Reformer of Scotland" took for his subject of Discourse *our Lord's Whipping the buyers and sellers out of the Temple*, to which he compared the "Corruptions of the Papal Church," and, by his novel style and furious magniloquence, he so electrified his Hearers, that they speedily began their work of destruction. It is said that on Sunday the 11th June, and on the three following days, he kept up with unabated frantic gesticulation a series of inflammatory Sermons. The fine Cathedral, the building of which occupied 160 years—the Metropolitan Church of Scotland, in which Prelates, Nobles, and illustrious Individuals were interred—was gutted and reduced to a melancholy Ruin, which may be justly termed *Knox's Monument*. It was upon this occasion that he exclaimed, "Down with the nests, and the rooks will fly away." Not only did the Mob spoil the Cathedral Church, but every Church in the City, levelling the Priory and the Monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars. Demoniacal possession had become an Epidemic.

The news of this Riot and fearful Sacrilege soon reached the Queen Regent at Falkland, who was so sore incensed, that she instantly gave orders for the French Soldiers to march to St. Andrews; directing Proclamations through all the neighbouring Districts, that all the Fencible men should meet her in Arms the next morning at the Moor of Cupar Fife. "The Lords of the Congregation" at St. Andrews, hearing of this, at once resolved to prevent her Majesty's muster. So great was the excitement throughout the Country, and the determination of the "Reformers" to carry everything before them, that the Protestants in Angus, having been informed of the critical situation of their brethren, came to their aid with such celerity and in such numbers, that they were quite able to face the Royal Army at Cupar Moor. The "Lords" at St. Andrews came to Cupar on Monday night, accompanied only with about 100 horse; but the next day before noon their number was increased to above 3000; and Knox tells us, "that God did so multiply them, that it appeared as men had rained from the clouds." The Queen Regent opined that the "Lords" at St. Andrews were accompanied by a small retinue, but, being apprised of the real state of matters, the Regent, afraid to risk a Battle, consented to a Truce, by which she engaged to remove her French Troops, and to send Commissioners to St. Andrews to settle all differences between her and the "Congregation." The Troops were removed, but no Commissioners appeared; and the "Lords of the Congregation" having been made aware that the Queen intended to fortify the passage of the Forth at Stirling, and to cut off their communications with the Protestants in the South, proceeded to Perth, and having expelled the Garrison therefrom, by a rapid march seized upon Stirling, and, advancing, took possession of Perth, the Capital of the Kingdom—the Regent, as they approached, retiring with her Forces to Dunbar.

The next day, some zealous men (says Knox) were of opinion that some course should be taken with Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, and Commendator of the Abbey of Scone. The Abbey of Scone is about two miles north of Perth, on the site now occupied by Scone Palace, the Seat of the Earls of Mansfield. Hepburn had threatened Perth with his men, and a message was sent, intimating that his project was known to the Insurgents, and that, unless he came forward to their assistance, they would Burn his Abbey and contents. He affected to comply, but his answer was too slow in coming, whereupon the men of Perth and Dundee marched forward to do as they had done elsewhere. Knox, by his own admission, had great difficulty in restraining his zealots. The Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart were obliged to leave Perth on a crusade into the Southern Counties on the fol-

lowing morning, but they took with them the most violent and turbulent of their abettors, leaving the residue under the command of Knox. However, after their departure, a body of the rioters circulated a report that a Citizen of Dundee, who was prowling about the Abbey for plunder, had been killed by a shot from the House of Scone, which was imagined to have been fired by a bastard son of Bishop Hepburn. (There is no doubt that his Lordship had *one* such *quotient* produced from the girdle of his loins.) This so enraged the Dundee party of the Mob, who were by far the most numerous, that, to avenge the death of their Townsman, they set to work and destroyed completely by fire the Abbey of Scone, amid shouts and exultations. No marvel if Knox apologises, after his own way, when he saw that nothing could prevail with his lawless rabble. He inflamed their passions, and saw now the dismal consequences which attended his fiery counsels. As he himself relates, "Neither the principal Lords and Gentlemen, nor even he himself, was able to stop that religious, or rather irreligious fury." It is an easy matter to raise the Devil, but few know how to lay him again.

After Burning the fine Abbey of Scone, the place where the Scottish Kings had been Crowned from very early times, the Queen Regent, suspecting that the "Lords of the Congregation" would advance farther into the country, had resolved to place a Garrison of French Soldiers in Stirling, to stop their passage to the South by means of the Bridge there, across the River Forth. Meanwhile, intelligence of this had been brought by the friends and spies on the other side of the Water; and so the Earl of Argyll and the Lord James Stuart departed with all haste from Perth at midnight (the same night they had been at Scone), and, entering Stirling early next morning, soon animated those who were like-minded to pull down all the Religious Houses to the ground. In this old Burgh there were Monasteries of considerable wealth and importance, the chief of which were the Dominican and Franciscan. These, with the exception of the Church belonging to the latter, were dismantled, their Altars and Furniture broken and defaced. About a mile from Stirling was the beautiful and magnificent Abbey of Cambuskenneth, below the Town, on the North bank of the Forth. A party of the Insurgents, aided by a number of the Inhabitants of Stirling, who had some private quarrels with the Monks, crossed the Forth to destroy this Abbey. The unfortunate Ecclesiastics could offer no resistance. In the course of one day the whole was dismantled and reduced to a mass of ruins, except the great Tower, which is still to be seen in solitary grandeur—an imposing object amid the splendid surrounding scenery. The only article the piously-disposed freebooters were anxious to preserve was the Bell of the

Abbey, which they placed in a boat, intending to carry it to Stirling; but its weight sank the boat, and the ancient Bell of Cambuskenneth Abbey lies still in the bed of the Forth. The Mariners were none the worse of the wreck.

After three days' abode at Stirling, *reforming*, and *levelling*, and *thieving*, they set forward to Edinburgh, "for Reformation to be made there likewise," as Knox words it; but they made a halt at Linlithgow (half way betwixt Stirling and Edinburgh), making the like havoc there. Though they were not above 300 men, they struck such a terror wherever they came, that the Queen, who was then at Edinburgh, got so terrified, that she fled in haste, with her retinue, her French and Scotch Soldiers, to Dunbar. The Lord Seton, then Provost of Edinburgh, took upon him the protection of the Black and Grey Friars, but was obliged to abandon his charge, and left all to the spoil of the multitude, who, before the arriving of the "Lords," had sacked all the Monasteries within the City. Knox says, "*We* arrived the 29th June;" thus saying, he criminates himself as being *art and part* in the whole wholesale Ecclesiastical *Rape*. Before the advent of him and his "Lords," such devastation had been made, that he adds, "we were the less troubled in putting *order* to such places." Knox, his "Lords," his "rascal multitude," and "the Congregation," had one and the same business to do; and no defensive Sophistry can Whitewash either the one or the other, conjointly or severally, from the charge of wanton and profane *Riot* and *Robbery*. In the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, *p.* 269, we learn—"All Kirkmen's goods and gear were spulyeit and reft fra them in every place where the samyn culd be apprehendit; for every man, for the maist pairt, that culd get any thing pertenying to any Kirkmen, thocht the same as weel won gear."

The Chapel Royal at Holyrood did not escape the "rascal" visitation. The superb Altar Vessels were confiscated for the common use of the sovereign people; the Paintings and costly Ornaments were swept with the Besom of Destruction. The "Reformers" also took possession of the Coining Irons in the Mint, because, as they said, the common necessaries of life were become exceeding dear, by the stamping of base money!

These are examples of how *the Reformation in Scotland* was carried on. Popular fury was egged up by hot-headed Zealots, who thought there could be no Reformation without totally defacing the old Ecclesiastical Polity, trampling under foot all Civil authority, and summarily taking the Houses of God in possession. Bishop Keith very appositely remarks, "That the wounds given to the one and the other at that time, are rather a scandal than an ornament both to our Reformation and its Authors. Nor ought any

to be traduced and censured as enemies to a Reformation, merely because they cannot approve of the false steps so taken to bring it about. When the Bishops saw things carried on by open rebellion and mobbing, when they saw such universal rapine and levelling, and when nothing would please but a renunciation of their own Sacred Orders, and a truckling under some of the meanest mechanics, to be either received or not received as Ministers of the Church of Christ according as they should think proper,—what wonder is it that such a Reformation looked formidable and detestable unto them, and in very deed no better than an utter overturning of all that was Sacred?" [*Hist. of Church and State in Scotland, vol. i., p.* 250.]

He was a bold man who, after Fifteen Hundred Years of a Christianity which was *vital without a printed Book*, started an entirely new order of things, and completely broke the old line of continuity, and tore up each of its parts. *The Faith* was not a process of discovery or argument, but of Revelation: it had a definite beginning, and was a complete Whole when it began. For a man to set up out of his own head, or of several human heads, a System other than that One which Apostles, Martyrs, and Missionaries sealed by their genius, labours, sufferings, and deaths,—this was to Manufacture what never before existed, and for which the inventor was entitled, of course, to this world's renown. This notion was not to Reform the existing Church, but to Substitute another *Something* in its stead; it was to cut off altogether the Traditions of the Past—to have nothing whatever to do with what Christendom ever knew. This was not washing the face of the blubbered urchin, but sending home a *Foundling* as a mere *Geck* with a new frock. This never fell within the ken of an Apostle; this the most far-sighted and imaginative Prophet of disasters might well omit from his lugubrious Catalogue.

Rev. Dr. Thomas M'Crie (consulted, as I went along, as being an eminent Divine and Historian of the Free Kirk of Scotland) has thought it good to embalm the following Paragraph in the *Notes* to his *Life of John Knox*:—

"Truly, among all their deeds and devices, the casting down of the Churches was the most foolish and furious work, the most shrewd and execrable turn that even *Hornok* himself could have done or devised. For, out of all doubt, that Great-grandfather of Calvin and old Enemy of mankind, not only inspired every one of those sacrilegious Hell-hounds with his flaming sword of malice and blasphemy, as he did their Forefathers, Luther and Calvin, but also was then present as Master of work, busily beholding his servants and hirelings working his will and bringing to pass his long-

desired contentment. They changed the Churches (which God Himself called His House of Prayer) into filthy and abominable houses of sensual men, yea, and of unreasonable beasts: when as they made stables in Holyrood House, sheep-houses of S. Anthony's and S. Leonard's Chapels, tolboths of S. Giles', &c., which this day may be seen, to the great grief and sorrow of all good Christians, to the shame and confusion of Edinburgh, and to the everlasting damnation of the doers thereof—the seditious Ministers, Knox and his accomplices. How would our Saviour say, if He were now entering in at S. Giles, and looking to bare walls and pillars clad with dust, sweepings, and cobwebs, instead of Painting and Tapestry; and on every side beholding the restless resorting of people treating of their worldly affairs, some writing and making of obligations, contracts, and discharges, others laying counts or telling over sums of money, and two and two walking and talking to and fro, some about merchandise or the laws, and too many, alas! about drinking and courting of women, yea, and perhaps about worse nor I can imagine, as it is wont to be done all the day long in the common Exchanges of London and Amsterdam, and other great Cities? And turning Him farther towards the west end of the Church, which is divided in a high house for the College of Justice, called the Session or Senate House, and a lower house, called the Low Tolbooth, where the Bailies of the Town used to sit and judge common actions and pleas in the one end thereof, and a number of Harlots and Scolds for flyting and whoredom enclosed in the other: And these, I mean, if our Saviour were present to behold such abominable desolation, that where Altars were erected, and Sacrifices with continual Prayers and Praises were wont to be offered up to the Lord, in Remembrance of that Bloody Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, there now are Holes for Whores and Cages for Scolds, where nothing is heard but banning and swearing, and every one upbraiding another. O what grief and sorrow would our Lord take at the beholding of such profanation and sacrilege!" [*Lamentation over the Demolition of the Religious Houses, by Father Alexander Baillie, in his "True Information," &c. Wurtzburg*, 1628.]

The successive Lairds of later "improving" times have filled up the measure of Vandalism in the work of *Re-forming*, pillage, and demolition. To make a dyke or fill a drain, or to erect a staring abomination of a new Mansion-house, the grey ancestral Tower was triumphantly blown down with gunpowder. The mean Barn built as a Kirk by the Heritors was supplied with its lintels and corner-stones from the mouldings of the little Chapel where their Forefathers worshipped. It is but fifty years since an Edinburgh Architect, employed to repair the Nave of the Cathedral at

Brechin, still used as a Parish Kirk, begged earnestly for leave to remove "*that useless old Tower*" which darkened a window. This was the *Round Tower of Brechin*, of mysterious antiquity—the connecting link of Irish and Scotch History! [*Quarterly Review, lxxxix., p.* 44.]

On the 23rd of August, 1560, it was Enacted by Act of Parliament that all who Celebrated Mass, or were present thereat, should be Punished, for the first offence, with Confiscation of goods; for the second, with Banishment; and for the third, with Death! The Act does not state whether this latter Condiment was to be by the old way of *Burning alive with bags of gunpowder:* at all events, the Reformers (having now completely got the upper hand) were loth to annul so handy a clearance for "the bloody Papists," as the substitution therefor of the *Hangman's Tow*, whereat they might dangle and "die dancing *Dainty Foot*, with no floor under to support their feet."

After the abolition of the Papal Jurisdiction, all the Prelates and other Churchmen were prohibited from exercising any authority in virtue of that Jurisdiction, under the "pain of barratry; that is to say, proscription, banishment, and never to bruik—that is, never to be capable of holding honour, office, or dignity within this Realm." So, "Priestcraft" and Bigotry were tolerably balanced on either side, and went up or down with the counterpoise.

TULCHAN BISHOPS.

Collaterally connected with this province of Scotch Ecclesiastical History are Tulchan Bishops. This novel "Episcopacy," or *form* of Ecclesiastical Polity, was even worse than the "*Superintendent System*," because it was the mere shadow without the substance—no Episcopacy at all, but a shamefaced Imposture. The whole was a *Political* arrangement to serve particular purposes, and to introduce a set of men into the Parliament to represent the expugned Prelates of the fallen Hierarchy, assuming their Ecclesiastical Titles, and pretending to be invested with functions which it was impossible to obtain without Consecration from Bishops regularly and Canonically Consecrated. Episcopacy without the Succession is nothing, and differs in no respect from Presbyterianism; for it is the Apostolically-derived Succession which constitutes the Episcopate. Even the common people ridiculed the persons "inaugurated" by such men as the *Lay Bishop* of Caithness, "Superintendents" Winram, Spottiswoode, and Lindsay. This sort of

"Bishops" was long nicknamed "Tulchan Bishops," derived from a practice then prevalent of stuffing a calf's skin with straw, and placing it before the mother-cow, to induce her to "let down her milk," which figure was termed a *Tulchan*—a term derived from a word signifying a *model* or *close resemblance*. So, the Tulchan Hierarchy was a complete deception, and was merely one of *Titles*. This *nominal* Order of Bishops was created just for the purpose of securing a certain fraction of the Revenues of each See to the *Titulars* or *Tulchans*, while the lion's share was to be conveyed by Statute to those of the Nobility who "put them in," and who were already in possession of the Ecclesiastical plunder. In short, they were made up *Tulchan* Calves to become *Golden* Calves to low and chew the cud in Cathedral Stalls.

In Scotland, The Church became defunct, or rather extinct, from the "Reformation" to 1610; for, neither can the "*Superintendent System*," with its array of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, nor the apophysis of "*Titular Episcopacy*" incorporated therewith, nor the Invention patented by Andrew Melville, nor *all the three Contrivements put together*, be entitled to any connexion with that Church whose Polity was, once for all, settled, and could not be formed *de novo* under any pretence or pretext. Even Dr. M'Crie, in his *Life of Andrew Melville, vol. i., p.* 151, rightly observes—"This mongrel species of Prelacy cannot meet the approbation of any true Episcopalian. . . . And, indeed, how could they acknowledge as legitimate Bishops men who possessed as little of the Episcopal power as they did of the Episcopal revenues,—who were subject to the authority of an Assembly composed of pretended Presbyters and mere Laics, by whom they were liable to be tried, censured, suspended, and deposed,—and who, in one word, were utterly destitute of Canonical Consecration?" Multifarious have been the ingenious Counterfeits of Religion, and none answered the Resemblance better than these Tulchan Parasites. Not knowing the way to hold their new Mitres upon their *heads*, they were necessitated to transfer them to their *Seals*, which, along with their Signatures, were emblazoned as if genuine articles; and, as the Reader may view at Page 317, the base Coin does not look so bad, although from this time downwards the deterioration in Seal Designing is observable. However, the *Autographs* improve, through the vigilance of the Schoolmaster—"With my hand at ye pen."

Everybody admits in *theory* that a *living authority* is as essential as a *written law;* but this Axiom was then and now continues to be ignored in practice by those who think differently from the Apostle of the Gentiles, who says that "The Church of the living God is the Pillar and Foundation of Truth"—even a great Religious College for training and teaching, for habits

as well as for information, for obedience as well as for knowledge. This Keeper and Witness was set in order before a line of her Charter or New Testament was written; and as the latter is a Divine Book, so is the former a Divine Institute. An entire Hemisphere of the Truth is obscured when Christianity is presented without The Church as her Executive Legislator; and nothing but Confusion and Schism follow when attempts are made to divorce the two. A bond of Oneness in Belief with the vast Catholic Past—the Associations of Nineteen Centuries—cannot cling around any new version of The Faith, which is unchangeable as its Author. However, we have seen the main Cause and Occasion why and how the total subversion of the olden Creed came to pass in process of time—even from the Disaffection and Disgust of the Church of Rome's own children, from those nurtured at her own Bosom and within her own Fold.—"And Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took firebrands, and turned tail to tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between two tails. And when he had set the brands on fire, he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks and also the standing corn, with the vineyards and olives."

Nothing could be more discreditable to all parties who were art and part in such Arson,—to the Nobility, who openly practised the most shameful Sacrilege; to the "Tulchan Bishops," who Simonaically sold themselves to uphold it; and to the Reformed Kirk, which connived at such negotiations. John Knox, who was by this time near his latter end—"half deid," as he writes—bewailed the evil; but he was now unable to prevent it, or to undo what he did. No more could his hands "*ding the poopit in bleds.*"

After the Murder of Archbishop Hamilton, the Chapter Elected Mr. Robert Hay to the vacant Primacy. The Metropolitan-Elect turned his attention not only to his own Suffragan Sees, but to all the Dioceses of the Kingdom; and, in 1578, he conferred extraordinary faculties on seven Churchmen, viz., the Dean of Glasgow, the Provost of Methven, Mr. William Blackwood of Dunblane, Mr. William Hay, Parson of Turriff, Mr. John Strachan, and Fathers Leyche and Beythe, or White. Mr. Hay was never Consecrated Ordinary of St. Andrews, so that his Election came to nothing. [*Stuart's Pref., p. xxvii., Blakhall's Narrat.*]

The Tulchan Triumvirate—or, as *one* of the three was rescued from being among such sacrificial *straw* Calves, I shall say *The Pair of Tulchans* who follow, whom Bishop Keith enrols in his *Catalogue*, cannot be recognised as *Bishops* at all; and so I hand down their Names and Biographies, in close Typography, to Distinguish them as *not of the Episcopal Succession*.

JOHN DOUGLAS. A.D. 1572-74. *Tulchan.*

The Earl of Morton had acquired a claim to the Revenues of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, and only needed some Ecclesiastic who could wear the Title, and discharge its duties, for a small per-centage of the Benefice. It was a degrading position, and yet there were too many who were willing to occupy it.

John Douglas, an old man, of the Douglasses of Pittendreich, a Carmelite Friar, next Chaplain to the Earl of Argyll, and now Provost of the New College [S. Mary's] of St. Andrews, was Elected *Titular Bishop* (*Titular* for want of real Ecclesiastical Consecration); and he was accordingly admitted Bishop of this Church by the General Assembly of the Kirk, convened at Perth, in August, 1572. He was the first Protestant Bishop of this See. In the *Register of Gifts, Pensions, Benefices, &c.*, under the Four Regents, during the minority of King James VI., John Douglas is named as being Rector of the University of St. Andrews, November 30, 1570; and on the 6th day of August, 1571, the King ordains a Letter to be made under the Great Seal [*Vide* SEE OF CAITHNESS, under R. STEWART, 1542] to John Douglas, Rector of St. Andrews, for all the days of his life, all and hail the Benefice of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, as well Temporality as Sprituality; and on the 8th September, 1571, the King orders a Commission for taking trial of the qualifications of the Most Reverend Father in God, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, &c. [*Bishop Keith.*]

A sad falling off now in Seal making. Below S. Andrew are the Arms of Douglas. The Scroll Inscription is illegible.

An account of the proceedings of Douglas' "Consecration" is given by Richard Bannatyne, who, as Secretary to John Knox, appears to have been present. On the 6th February, John Douglas gave "specimen Doctrine," or, in other words, Preached a "trial Sermon," in the Parish Church, and the Earl of Morton was present. The "Chapter" assembled in the Abbey or Priory on the 8th, after a Sermon Preached by Patrick Adamson, otherwise Constance, whom Bannatyne ignorantly calls Consting. He says that a considerable discussion ensued about the Election of the "Archbishop," but "in the end the said Rector was chosen, notwithstanding that many of

the godly Ministers were against it, and Mr. George Scott, Minister of Kirkaldy, took ane instrument that he condescended [consented] not."

John Knox was then in St. Andrews, and Protested against the Election of Douglas, although Historians mix up the sequel given by Bannatyne as if *Knox* spoke it:—"Here we may see what corruption the Kirk has now come into, that puts more upon the back of ane auld unable man than ten persons are able to bear; for, after he was chosen Bishop, the University continued him Rector, which is enough for one to discharge; now, also, he is continued in the Provostry of the New College, which likewise is sufficient for one man's charge; besides his Bishopric, which six good able men could do no more than discharge that cure; and yet, nevertheless, all this is laid upon his back, a man both unable to travel in body as a man should do, and more unable of his tongue to teach, the principal office of ane Bishop." [*Bannatyne's Mem., p.* 331.] On Sunday, the 10th February, Douglas was "inaugurated" in presence of the Earl of Morton. *Knox Preached the Sermon, but refused to assist farther at the Ceremony;* and the "Consecration" was performed by the Lay Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswoode (the father of Archbishop Spottiswoode), and David Lindsay of Leith. The three sat with Douglas on a seat in front of the Pulpit, during Knox's Sermon; and after it was concluded, John Winram, Sub-Prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, entered the Pulpit. He delivered an Address to Douglas from Titus ii. 1, and then followed the Order set forth in the First Book of Discipline for the Election of Superintendents. Douglas read his Answers to the several Questions, and Mr. William Cock, a Bailie of St. Andrews, appeared to represent the people. Douglas denied that he had formed, or that he intended to make, any "Simonaical paction;" declared that he would be "obedient to the Kirk, and that he should usurp no power over the same," and that he would "take no more power than the Counsall and Generall Assemblie of the Kirk should prescribe." The Lay Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswoode, and Lindsay, then "laid their hands and embraced the said Rector, Mr. John Douglas, in token of admission to the Bishopric." [*Bannatyne's Memorialles, pp.* 223, 224.]

Such was the "Consecration" which these three men had the presumption to perpetrate at the commencement of this spurious Episcopacy—one of them only Bishop *Elect* of Caithness, never *Consecrated;* and Lindsay, whose Ordination is doubtful. On the Sunday, when this Act was done, a Poetical Satire in Latin was posted on the Gate of S. Mary's College and on the Church Door. It was titled *Incommium*, but was so general in its allusions that it annoyed three individuals—Mr. Robert Hamilton, Mr. William Skene, Commissary of St. Andrews, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton, each of whom thought it levelled at himself.

The part which Knox sustained in this pretended "Consecration" is curious, but, as we see from his Secretary's statement, he was not inconsistent. Bannatyne alleges that this "Inauguration" was "altogether against the mind of Mr. Knox, as he at that time openly spake in Pulpit, and greatly inveighed against such order and doings as then were used." This excited the rage of Mr. John Rutherford, Provost of S. Salvator's College, who openly declared that Knox censured the proceedings because he had not himself been Nominated to the See. This was told to Knox, who noticed it on the following Sunday in his Sermon, when he declared that "he had refused a greater Bishopric than ever it was, which he might have had with

the favours of greater men than ever the other had with the Bishopric of St. Andrews. He only spoke at Douglas' 'Consecration' for the discharge of his conscience, and that the Kirk of Scotland should not be subject to that Order which was then used, considering the Lords of Scotland had subscribed, and also confirmed in Parliament, the Order already and long ago appointed in the Book of Discipline." [*Bannatyne's Mem., p.* 256.] In February, 1555, Archbishop Cranmer was directed by the Council to present Knox with the Living of All-Hallows, London; and, at a later period, Edward VI. offered him the newly-founded Bishopric of Newcastle.

According to Calderwood, John Douglas, "the newly-appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews," with John Knox, and several others, were appointed, by the Assembly, a Committee to meet in Knox's house, to revise the Articles agreed on at Leith in January. In the General Assembly held at Edinburgh the same year (1573), Douglas was treated in the same humiliating manner that the "Superintendents" had been before him. He was accused of Ecclesiastical irregularities and remissness of Discipline, and of neglecting to Preach often. Being asked why he had neither visited Fife nor Preached in St. Andrews, he pleaded bad health, adding, "since I took the Bishopric, I have been never *well disposed.*" These words only excited a sarcastic smile on the countenances of his brethren. Douglas was so relentlessly taunted about his feeble old age, that he made one desperate effort to Preach in his Parish Church, on the 31st July, 1574; but his strength was over-taxed—he sunk down in the Pulpit and Died there. He was Buried in the Public Cemetery, without any Monument or Inscription. [*Pringle's MS., University.*]

Spottiswoode says that Douglas was a Carmelite or White Friar. [*Hist., p.* 94.] It is not improbable he may have been the same person whose name appears as a Determinant in S. Salvator's College in 1554. In that year another John Douglas had the same rank in S. Mary's College, where he became a Licentiate in 1555. It is, I think, quite certain that John Douglas, who was Chaplain to the Earl of Argyll in 1558, and who may have assumed the name of *Grant* to escape detection, should not be confounded with the Provost of S. Mary's College, as Keith and other Writers have done. The latter was Born about the year 1494, and was descended from the Douglasses of Pettendreich. He studied at St. Andrews at the same time with John Wynrame, and was a Determinant in S. Leonard's College in 1515, and a Licentiate in 1517. Whether he was the person who entered the Carmelite Order, may be left to conjecture; but on 1st October, 1547, he was Elected Provost of S. Mary's College. This College was authorised by a Bull from Pope Paul III., under the name of *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.* Robert Bannerman resigned the Provostship, July 12, 1546, on account of his advanced age. On the same day Collation was given to Archibald Hay, "clerico Sti Andreæ dioces." October 1, 1547, the Office was conferred "perdocto et spectabili viro Magro. Johanni Douglass clerico dunkelden. dioc.," in consequence of the death "quond. Magri. Archibaldi ultimi primarii." In 1550, "Magister Joannes Douglas Prepositus Novi Collegii Mariani," was Elected Rector of the University; and being annually elected to this Office for the unprecedented period of 23 successive years (1572-3 being called "Vigesimus tertius Rectorabus Johannis Douglas), and being a constant resident in St. Andrews, it is obvious he could not have been the obscure person who was protected by the Earl of Argyll. [*Laing's Ed. of Knox, vol. i., p.* 286, *Note; and M'Crie's Life of Melville.*]

Keith has confounded this "Archbishop" with a Preacher named Douglas, who was Chaplain to the Earl of Argyll in 1558. The description given of the latter will not answer to the former, who was Provost of S. Mary's College from 1547 till his Death in 1574, and was always resident in the University. [*M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, p.* 352, *Note.*]

While Douglas was Provost of S. Mary's College, he was very kind and condescending to Andrew Melville. He used to invite him to his rooms, take him between his knees, propose questions to him about the subject of his studies, and, delighted with his answers, exclaim, "My silly fatherless and motherless boy, it's ill to witt what God may make of thee yet!" [*Melville's Diary, p.* 28.] In 1550, being made Rector for the first time, Douglas had for one of his Deputies "Richardum Martialem verbi dei præconem egregium." Richard Martial, D.D., was of Christ Church College, of which he was made a Dean in 1553. [*Wood's Athenæ Oxon., by Bliss, vol ii., col.* 136, 138.]

At the beginning of the Reformation, the Kirk Session of St. Andrews were in the habit of calling in the principal Professors of the Colleges, and taking their advice in the decision of the most difficult causes which came before them. From experience of the benefit derived from their advice, it came to be the common practice to choose a certain number of Elders from the University every year. Even archbishops were chosen to be Ruling Elders, and did not think themselves degraded by occupying an inferior form in the lowest Court of the Presbyterian Church. The following is given from *Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews:* "The names of Eldars and Deaconis chosin vpon ye xii daye of October, 1571. Eldars, Mr. Johne Douglas, archbishop and rector of Sanctandr., Mr. Thomas Balfour, Mr. John Rutherfurd, Mr. Wm. Cok, Mr. James Wylkie," &c. [*M'Crie's Life of Melville, p.* 155.] "At the 25 (Generall) Assemblie, holden at St. Andrewes, March 6, 1572, Mr. Robert Hammilton, Minister of St. Andrewes, Moderator,—though Mr. John Douglas, Archbischop of St. Andrewes, wes present at the Assemblie." [*Row's Kirk of Scotland, p.* 339.]

The name of *John, Bishop of Sanct Andrews*, occurs several times in the account of the proceedings of the General Assembly held in March, 1572-3, at Edinburgh, when several complaints were preferred against him. One of these was by Mr. John Brand, Minister of Holyroodhouse, who alleged that the Titular Archbishop had authorised a Popish Priest named Forrest to Administer the Sacrament of Baptism at Swinton in Berwickshire, in violation of the Injunctions of Spottiswoode the Superintendent. Douglas answered that "the foresaid Priest had recanted all Papistrie in the Kirk of St. Andrews, and thereafter he admitted him to Administer the Sacrament of Baptism." [*Lawson's History of the Episcopal Church, vol. i., p.* 126.]

Robert Stewart (brother of the late Earl of Lennox, Regent), Provost of the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton, who had been *Bishop Elect* of the See of Caithness just before the "Reformation," but who had never been *Consecrated*, was residing at St. Andrews at this time. For the sake of filthy lucre he joined the "Reformers," and was so fortunate as not only to secure the Temporalities of his See of Caithness, but obtained from his brother of good-will a present of the rich Priory of St. Andrews, for the term of his mortal life. Though there be no ground to think that this person was ever duly, and according to the invariable usage of the Primitive Catholic Church, vested with any Sacred character at all, yet it is a little diverting to observe

how the men at the helm of public affairs, in those days, granted Commission to him to assist in the Consecration of other men to the Sacred Office of Bishops. I persuade myself the Preamble of the following Commission will surprise most people:—"Our Sovereign Lord, with advice, &c., ordains ane Letter to be made under the Great Seal, in due form; direct to the Reverend Father in God, Robert, Bishop of Caithness, and the Superintendents of Angus, Fife, Lothian, or any utheris lauchful Bischopis and Superintendents within this Realm, . . . Commanding them to Consecrate the said Mr. John Douglas, electit, as said is, an Bischop and Pastour of the Metropolitan Kirk of St. Androis, . . . At Leith, the 9th day of February, the year of God 1571." [*Rich. Aug. Hay.*]

PATRICK ADAMSON. A.D. 1576-91. *Tulchan.* (*No Seal known.*)

Patrick Adamson was Born March 15, 1536 or 1530, in the Town of Perth, Descended of poor, but honest and indulgent parents, who willingly afforded him all the learning that they were able. His father was a Baker and Burgess. His parents sent him to the Grammar School in Perth, under Andrew Simson; thence he went to the University of St. Andrews, where he passed through a course of Philosophy, and attained the Degree of Master of Arts. Their circumstances not allowing them to maintain him any longer there, he was constrained to return home, and think of some way of getting his bread. In order to this, he removed to the little Village of Ceres in Fife, where he taught a School; and in a short time, from his extraordinary mental endowments, he gained such a reputation, that many Gentlemen in the neighbourhood sent their sons to be educated under him. In this condition he continued about four years, till Sir James M'Gill of Rankeillor, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, intending to send his eldest son into France to study the Civil Law, made choice of Mr. Adamson to be his Tutor or Preceptor.

The several Historians do not agree either in Dates or Details. Calderwood says: "While at his Philosophical studies, he minded Poesy more than Philosophy; and he does not believe that after he was made M.A. he taught a Country School, as his son-in-law [Mr. Wilson] talks; and for this reason, that there was never any illustrious Grammar School in Ceres. . . During 4 or 5 years after the Reformation, he had the Pastoral Charge of Ceres, till being uneasy at the smallness of his Stipend, which did not answer his luxurious appetite, to which he was always given, Mr. Constance withdrew his affections from Theology and the Ministry, and betook to the study of the Law, and went to France, as Preceptor to Mr. James M'Gill's son, at this time changing his Surname from Constance to Adamson."—Wodrow, in his *MS. Biographical Collections* of him, says: "If Mr. Calderwood at this time had written his History, and seen the Registers of Assembly, he behoved to write after this manner. . . When our first Assembly met, Dec., 1560, they name *Mr. Constine* (for so it runs always in the Registers) as one fit to be put into the Ministry. This was the great business of that, and some of our first Assemblies, to look out for qualified persons to put in the Pastoral Office, when there were not many above 12 Ministers in the whole Realm. . . In the Assembly of 1562, Mr. Constine is named to supply the Towns of S. Johnstone [Perth] or Aberdeen, in case of their

vacancy. I take him to have been settled at Ceres last year, and that he is now in considerable repute, when named to supply such important Towns, though none of them took effect. . . In the Assembly of 1563, he is appointed one of the Commissioners to plant Kirks in the North: To *Mr. Patrick Constine*, Minister at Ceres, to plant Kirks from Dee to Etham. . . In the Assembly, June next, 1564, *Mr. Patrick Constane*, desiring license to pass to France and other Countries, for a time, to acquire increase of knowledge, was inhibited by the Assembly to depart out of the Country, or to leave his Congregation, without license of the Assembly. . . He began early to undervalue appointments of General Assemblies, and to act counter to them."

With young M'Gill, Adamson went to Paris in 1566. In June of the same year, Adamson's loyalty involved him in trouble. The occasion was this: Mary Queen of Scots, being delivered on the 19th of June, 1566, of a Prince, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and First of England, Mr. Adamson, to show his loyalty, and it may be also to show his genius for Latin Poetry, wrote a very fine Copy of Verses, which he caused to be immediately Printed and Published. The Title of this Poem ran thus—"Serenissimi et Nobilissimi Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illustrissimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginæ amplissimæ Filii Genethliacum." *i.e.*, "A Poem on the Birth of the most Serene and most Noble Prince of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Son of the most illustrious Hero Henry Stuart, and of the most potent Queen Mary." This Poem was published on the 25th of June, but six days after the Birth of the Prince who was the subject of it, and therefore it was both Written and Printed in some hurry. However, the giving the Titles of France and England to his own Prince, so much alarmed the French Court, that they instantly caused him to be Arrested, and might perhaps have proceeded to greater severities, if immediate applications and all possible excuses had not been made to the Ministry, which, however, did not hinder Adamson's being closely confined for six months. The English Court, also, was not less angry; but at length, with much ado, the matter was made up. This was a sort of Prophecy, which afterwards was verified, since he whom he then styled Prince was actually acknowledged as King by that very style, though our Author never lived to see it. Neither had he escaped so easily as he did, had not Queen Mary, Dowager of France and Sovereign of Scotland, with some of the principal Nobility in the Kingdom, interested themselves in his behalf.

As soon as he recovered his liberty, he retired with his Pupil M'Gill to Bourges, where they both entered as Students of Law. He was in that City during the Massacre at Paris, and the same humour prevailing there, he narrowly escaped suffering Martyrdom for the Protestant Religion, living concealed no less than seven months in a public house, the master of which (upwards of seventy years of age), for his charity to Heretics, was thrown from the top and killed by the fall. While Adamson lay in his "sepulchre," as he justly called it, he wrote two excellent Pieces in Latin verse.

Dr. Mackenzie calls the French University at which Adamson studied *Bruges*, but the Latin Writer of the Archbishop's Life, from whom he had his materials, tells us expressly that it was *Bourges*, which is a French University, and Capital of the Duchy of Berry. The Poems mentioned were "A Poetical Version of the Book of Job," and "The Tragedy of Herod, who was smote by an Angel." Of both these he immediately sent Copies to

Lyons and Paris, to be Printed. That which he sent to Lyons was directed to Rouillius, and that which he sent to Paris was addressed to Lambicius; but the Civil Wars which quickly ensued hindered their being committed to the Press, and it was not till long after that the Author recovered one of the Copies, and that by the merest accident. For, on the Death of Lambicius, his Papers falling into the hands of Dr. Henry Blackwood, he discovered amongst them both these Pieces, and immediately transmitted them to our Author, who committed them to the Press in 1572, and they were received with universal applause. [*Vit. Pat. Adamson.*] This Date is clearly wrong, as the sequel proves. Calderwood doubts the whole of this version, and thinks that the MS. was never out of Scotland.

In 1568-9, he returned to Scotland, and Married a Lawyer's daughter in Edinburgh, probably with an intent to have furthered his progress in that Science; but finding no encouragement, and standing in need of a present provision, he gave up the Law for the Gospel, and became Minister of Paisley about August, 1572. In the Assembly, March, 1570, he was Waiting on Court, and Preacher to the Regent, for which there was "modified" to him 500 Merks by year, and that he had served 3 months upon his own expenses. In March, 1571, "The Assembly brotherly required Mr. Patrick Adamson to enter again in the Ministry, in respect the good gifts that God had given him." Wodrow says: "The affair of Tulchan Bishops was now in dependence at Court, and I find our Historians asserting Mr. Adamson had a great itch to be one of them."

In 1575, he was appointed by the General Assembly one of the Commissioners to confer on settling the Jurisdiction and Policy of the Church. In a General Assembly held the succeeding year at Edinburgh, he, together with David Lindsay, was appointed to report their Proceedings to the Earl of Morton, then Regent. The same year, that Nobleman appointed him one of his Chaplains; and, on the Death of old John Douglas the "Titular," he raised him to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, a dignity which brought him nothing but trouble and uneasiness. On October 24, 1576, the General Assembly sat at Edinburgh, and, in their seventh Session, required Adamson to submit himself to the trial and examination of the Assembly, and to receive the Office of a Bishop with such limitations as they thought fit. He refused to do this, whereupon they forbade the Chapter of St. Andrews to proceed to any Election. However, after the Assembly rose, the Chapter met, and Elected Patrick Adamson "Archbishop." The next year, the General Assembly appointed Commissioners to summon the "Archbishop" before them, to examine into the validity of his Election, and to take cognizance of various charges brought against him.

David Ferguson, Minister of Dunfermline, having met at St. Andrews, along with other Commissioners, to Protest against the Inauguration of Patrick Adamson as "Archbishop" of that See, one came in and told them that there was a Crow "crouping" on the roof of the Church. "That's a bad omen," said he, shaking his head, "for Inauguration is from *avium garritu—the chattering of birds:* the raven is *omnimodo—by all means* a blackbird, and it cries *Corrupt, Corrupt, Corrupt.*" [*Row's History, p.* 40.]

The clamour of the Presbyterian party ran very high against him, and now began those stories which their Authors afterwards inserted in their Histories, though inconsistent with each other. The gross of what was alleged against him, when he became "Archbishop," was what follows:—

That his father's name was Constance, a Baker in Perth; and under the name of Constance, he assisted as a Minister in the first General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, in the year 1560. After this, having deserted his Ministry, he went over to France to study Law; but, upon his return, he betook himself again to the Ministry, and being baulked of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, in February, 1572, he Preached at St. Andrews, and in his Sermon told the people that there were "Three sorts of Bishops—my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the time of Popery; my Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord getteth the fat of the Benefice, and the Bishop sueth for a portion out of the Benefice, to make my Lord's right sure; and the Lord's Bishop is the true Minister of the Gospel." For these particulars we are referred to Petrie and Calderwood.—That the Archbishop's name was really Constance, is not a suggestion of late date, for we find in the continuation of *Hollinshed's Chronicle* that he is styled Patrick Adamson, *alias* Constance, in his life-time, for that Book was printed in 1587. But that he became a Minister before he went to France, is expressly contrary to the "Archbishop's" own testimony in his Prefaces; and it can scarcely be believed that he would dare to affirm a falsehood in the face of the whole Church. The story of his Preaching, is likewise inconsistent with his own account of his return into Scotland, which he places in 1573; nay, which is worse, it is not to be reconciled to their own account of the matter, for, if what one of their Writers says be true, that, out of mere pity to his necessity, Mr. Andrew Hay, Minister of Renfrew, procured him the Church of Paisley, it is impossible that he should immediately after pretend to the highest Ecclesiastical Preferment in the Kingdom, and this, too, against such a person as John Douglas, Rector of the University, and a man of extraordinary interest. But to put this matter out of dispute, it must be observed, that Douglas was Nominated to the Archbishopric in 1571, when Adamson was out of the Kingdom, so that he could not be piqued at missing the Archbishopric. [*Biographia Britannica.*]

The three following Paragraphs are from *M'Crie's Life of Melville, pp.* 462, 463, *Notes:*—

Dr. M'Kenzie summarily rejects the above statement, as inconsistent with Adamson's account of himself, "that he was then at Bruges [Bourges] in France, nor did he return to Scotland till the year 1573." [*Lives, vol. iii., pp.* 365, 366.] The Writer of the Life of Adamson in the *Biographia Britannica* adopts Mackenzie's statement, but blames him for not exposing more particularly the anachronisms of which the Presbyterian Writers have been guilty; and having referred to Dates and Authorities to "put this matter out of dispute," he concludes that the whole is a scandalous story, fabricated by men who were induced by "great spleen to write anything that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invective." [*Biog. Brit., vol. i., p.* 39, *2nd Edit.*] But it has happened to this Writer as to those who contradict others on a subject on which they are themselves superficially informed. For, in the *first* place, Bannatyne, who was on the spot, has recorded in his *Journal (p.* 323*)*, that "Mr Patrik Cousting (Consting) preached" at St. Andrews on the Friday before Douglas' Consecration; and James Melville says that he heard the Sermon, and has given the words used by the Preacher, as quoted above. [*Diary, p.* 27.] In the *second* place, in spite of the averments and presumptions of the Writers referred to, it is unquestionable that Adamson had left France, and was in

Scotland when Douglas was appointed to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, and even before the Death of Hamilton, the former Incumbent. Archbishop Hamilton was Executed April 1, 1571; and Douglas was Elected to the Bishopric on the 6th, and Consecrated on the 10th day of February, 1572. Now, Mr. Patrick Adamson presented a Petition to the General Assembly, which met on the 6th of March, 1572, "requesting them to ratify his pension of 500 Merks out of the Parsonage of Glasgow, because he was willing to serve in the Ministry." [*Cald. ii.*, 343.] "The Assembly (A° 1571) brotherly required Mr. Patrick Adamson to enter again in the Ministry." He answered that he would advise till next Assembly. [*Ibid. ii.*, 226.] "In the Tenth Session (of the Assembly which met March 1, 1570), Mr. Patrick Adamson showing that he was appointed by advice of the brethren then convened at Edin^r^ to await on Court, and preach to my lord Regent's Grace, and for that purpose was modified to him 500 merks be year, and had served 3 months upon his own expences: therefore requested the brethren to appoint when he should receive payment of his stipend *pro rato*, w^ch^ was done." [*Ib. ii.*, 165.] But the following document puts the matter beyond all doubt. "Gift of ane yeirlie pensioun of the soume of fyve hundreth merkis money of this realme—to Maister Patrik Adamsoun—from the personage of Glasgow, &c., 25 day of August, 1570." [*Register of Benefices disponit sen the entres of the Noble and Michtie lord Matthew erle of Levinax, Lord Dernelie, to the office of Regentrie, fol.* 2.]

These Authorities would have outweighed the testimony of Adamson himself, though he had asserted the contrary. But he has done no such thing. His words are: "Scripsi quidem in Gallia in ipso belli furore" *(Dedic. in Catechis.)*; meaning the Civil War which raged in 1567 and 1568. Misunderstanding this, his son-in-law has said, "dum Martyrii *Parisiensis* rabiis conflagraret;" and Thomas Murray, proceeding on this mistake, adds, "In medio belli civilis quo Gallia *anno* 1572 conflagrauit, incendio." [*Præfat. et Carm. ante Jobum.*] In this way carelessness creates blunders, and blunders, acting on prejudice and spleen, produce calumny. I have entered (continues M'Crie) into this examination, not on account of the importance of the facts to which it immediately relates (although truth is preferable to error in all things), but because it affords a specimen of the ease with which the common charges of falsification which Writers of a certain description have brought against Knox, Buchanan, Calderwood, and other Presbyterian Historians, may be refuted.

It would seem that Adamson had some connexion with the University of St. Andrews while he was Minister of Ceres. At least, the Preface to his Poem, *De Papistarum Inepeiis*, is Dated, "Sanctiandreæ 4. calendas Septembris. Anno. 1564. Ex pædagogio." Among the Works inscribed to him is a Eucharistical Poem to Queen Elizabeth for the liberation of Scotland from the Civil War. [*Graii Oratio de Illust. Scot. Script., p. xxxii.; Mackenzie's Lives, vol. i.; Charters; Sibbald.*] He was probably the Author of the Latin Translation of the Scots Confession of Faith, Published by Lekprevik, "Andreapoli Anno Do. M.D. LXXII." Subjoined to it are a specimen of his Paraphrase of Job, and an Epitaph by him on Walter Mill the Martyr. This is the Epitaph inserted in *Spottiswoode's History, p.* 97. Among the *Cottonian MSS.* are two Epitaphs "per Patriciũ Constantinũ Scotum;" one on Bishop Jewel, and another on the Duke of Guise. [*Calig. B.* 5, 58.]

The unfortunate "Prelate," vainly imagining that by displaying his

zeal for Religion, his great skill in the Scriptures, and his excellent vein in Latin Poesy, he should be able to soothe the passions of his Antagonists, composed a Catechism in Latin verse. This they saw and approved, but still went on Persecuting them. The Title of this Work was "Catechismus Latino Carmine redditus, et in Libros quatuor digestus, 1577," *i.e.*, "The Catechism rendered into Latin Verse, and digested into Four Books." This was Written for the use of the young King, and was received with such universal applause, that Mr. Robert Pont, who was both a Minister and a Judge, and Mr. James Lawson, both warm in the prosecution of our Author, could not forbear publishing two fine Latin Poems in praise of that Performance. It was also much admired in England, in France, and in the Low Countries, where the Author was already well known by his Latin Translation of the Confession of Faith, which he Printed while residing in France, at the hazard of his life.

In the Assembly, October, 1577, Adamson produced a Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Regent, desiring that some Commissioners might be Nominated to be present at the Protestant Council of Magdeburgh, for establishing the *Augustine Confession*. In the Assembly of 1578, the Complaints now began against him as to his tergiversation about the *Book of Discipline*. This year he submitted himself to the Assembly, which procured him a little quiet, and but a little; for in 1579 a new Commission was issued to inquire into fresh Charges against him: whereupon the "Archbishop" retired to St. Andrews, being constantly treated as an enemy to the Church, and preserved from destruction only by the power of the Court.

In 1582, Adamson was seized with a sore disease, and kept himself in the Castle of St. Andrews, which Calderwood calls "living like a tod [fox] in his hole." The Physicians were at a loss what to call his disease, and could afford him little or no relief. In his distress he took some simple medicine from an old woman, whose name was Alison Pearson, which did him good. One would have thought such a circumstance as this could scarce have been rendered worthy the ears of posterity; yet such was the malice of the "Archbishop's" enemies, that they charged the old woman with Witchcraft, and the poor "Prelate" with seeking the Devil to save his life. On this strange Charge, the woman was committed to Prison, but by Adamson's means (as they gave out) she made her escape. However, four years afterwards, she was met with again at Edinburgh, and, at the instance of the Presbyterian Ministers, was Burnt for saving the "Archbishop's" life. Petrie mentions this story of the Witch twice, once from the books of the General Assembly, and a second time from a Piece called the *Historical Narration;* but Calderwood tells us the Story more plainly. "Mr. Patrick Adamson, called commonly Bishop of St. Andrews, had keeped his Castle, like a tod in his hole, a long time, diseased of a great *Feditie*, as he himself called his disease. He sought cure of women suspected of Witchcraft, namely, of one who was apprehended, tried by the Presbyterie, and committed to his Castle to be kept to farther trial, but suffered by him to escape: yet was she apprehended within three or four years after, and was executed in Edinburgh. He keeped his Castle since the Assembly holden in April, 1582."—This is but one out of many passages wherein this heavy Charge of applying to a Witch is over and over repeated, though the Reader may observe, that it was then very customary for Women in that part of the world to pretend to great skill in curing Chronic distempers, such as this of the Archbishop's, since he was

afterwards advised to go to the Spâ for cure.—Lawson says (*Hist. p.* 189), "Adamson's alleged trafficking with Witches is the prominent theme of the coarse doggrel Satire against him, entitled the 'Legend of the Bishop of St. Andrews,' printed in Dalzell's Scottish Poems of the 16th Century, vol. ii."

"The Archbishop of St. Andrews swallowed the Prescriptions of this poor Hypochondriac with good faith and will, eating a stewed fowl, and drinking out at two draughts a quart of claret, medicated with the drugs she recommended. According to the belief of the time, this Alison Pearson transferred the Bishop's indisposition from himself to a *white palfrey*, which died in consequence." [*Sir Walter Scott's Letters on Demonology.*]

In 1583, King James VI., coming to St. Andrews, our "Prelate," who was now pretty well recovered, Preached before him, and maintained the dignity of his Order with great spirit and eloquence, and also disputed with Mr. Andrew Melville before the King, with great reputation. This drew upon him new Calumnies and fresh Persecutions. Let the Reader take it in Calderwood's own words:—"When the King cometh to St. Andrews, he becometh a whole man, occupied the Pulpit incontinent, declaimed before the King against the Ministry and the Lords, and their proceeding. He professed before, that he had not the gift of application, now he applieth, but inspired with another spirit than faithful Ministers used to be. In his Sermon he affirmed for certain, that the Duke of Lennox Died a Protestant, having in his hand a Scroll, which he called the Duke's Testament. A merchant woman sitting before the Pulpit, and spying narrowly, affirmed that the Scroll was an account of four or five years old debt which, a few days before, she had sent to him. It is true, the Duke refused to take the Sacrament out of a Priest's hand, when he was dying, but had received it before, as was reported, out of the Bishop of Glasgow."

The King, however, was so well satisfied of the "Archbishop's" wisdom and loyalty, that he sent him as his Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, in which capacity he resided for several years at London. As to his conduct there, nothing can be more different than the reports by several Authors. This much, however, is certain, that by his eloquent Preaching he drew after him such a concourse of people, and raised in their minds such a high idea of the young King, that Queen Elizabeth forbade him to enter the Pulpit during his stay in her Dominions. But still the Bishops, and such Noblemen as were zealous for the interest of the Church, received our "Bishop" kindly, doing all in their power to make the difficulties he laboured under, which were not a few, some way tolerable to him.

There seems to be no reason to doubt, that the two things he principally laboured at were the recommending the King to the Nobility and Gentry of England, and the procuring some support for himself and "the Episcopal party" in Scotland, which was then in a very low state. In each of these designs, he had as much success as the situation of things at that time, and his own unlucky circumstances, would allow. His revenues were far from being large, and his skill in managing them was very indifferent. His enemies took occasion from this to represent him as an extravagant man, and a great dilapidator; his friends said that he had spent too much time about other sciences to be well skilled in economy.

As to his intriguing with the Spanish Ambassador, or having any concern in that which was called *Throgmorton's Conspiracy*, though these are charged upon him by some Writers, yet it seems to be without any founda-

tion; since it can scarcely be imagined that the Spanish Ambassador, Mendoza, who was himself a zealot, or any of "the violent Papists who were dipped in those dark designs," should have any confidence in a "Protestant Prelate," who had written with great force and freedom against their Religion, and who was a person needy in circumstances, and of a timorous disposition. Calderwood, having reported the order made by Queen Elizabeth for the Spanish Ambassador's quitting her Kingdom, proceeds thus: "Let the Reader then judge what could move Mr. Patrick Adamson to quake and tremble, when Francis Throgmortoun was apprehended. What business could he have with the Spanish Ambassador? And upon what ground did he maintain, that liberty of conscience was expedient? Was it not because he was in working, and he was privy to it? And seeing the Duke of Guise was to be chief ringleader of the Invasion above mentioned, who will believe that the Duke of Lennox was not privy to it? If he had stayed, by all appearance this Plot had been very far advanced."

Father Parsons, in one of his Books, gives us some light into this Embassy; for, having first introduced a Discourse concerning the excessive pride of the Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland, he then makes the person into whose mouth he put it proceed thus: "And so, said I of late, to their most reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in London, whither he was come by his King's appointment (as he said), to treat certain affairs with our Queen and Council. And talking with him of this disorder of his Ministry, he confessed the same with much grief of mind, and told me, that he had Preached thereof before the King himself, detesting and accusing diverse heads thereof, for which cause he was become very odious to them, and other of their faction, both in Scotland and England. But he said, that as he had given the reasons of his doings unto our Queen, so meaneth he shortly to do the same unto Mr. Beza, and to the whole Church of Geneva, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings; protesting unto me, that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men was most scandalous, seditious, and perilous, both to the King's person and to the Realm; being sufficient, indeed, to alienate wholly the young Prince from all affection to our Religion, when he shall see the chief professors thereof to behave themselves so undutifully towards him."

Soon after the Execution of the first Earl of Gowry, in 1584, Adamson was recalled, and sat in the Parliament which was held about the end of August at Edinburgh. In that Parliament, several Acts were made for settling the peace of the Kingdom, and for establishing the King's authority in Ecclesiastical affairs. Yet, this produced little effect: the Ministers refused absolutely to pay obedience; and because the "Archbishop" Preached often before the King, persons were encouraged to beat at the Church doors in order to disturb him; and most outrageous libels were everywhere scattered against him, in order to ruin his reputation and make him odious to the people. To abate, if possible, this temper in the people, and to set things in a true light, the King caused a Declaration to be made by the "Archbishop" of St. Andrews, of the reasons which induced those Laws, and obliged his Majesty and his Council to see them put in execution. This Declaration was published in January, 1586, and was so well received, that in February it was reprinted at London with great applause, contributing highly to the "Archbishop's" reputation, who seemed now to be in a fair

way of overcoming all his difficulties, as he certainly would have done, if the Court had been more steady, this Declaration having procured King James many friends in England. This Declaration is still preserved at length, in "Thinn's Continuation of Hollinshed's Hist. of Scotland," wherein the Reader may peruse it, and therein find the true ground of that inveterate hatred which was borne to our Prelate by the Presbyterian Clergy; since, to say the truth, it is by far the boldest and strongest picture that was ever drawn of their haughty behaviour towards their Prince and towards his people. We need not therefore wonder at the following Account of the matter by Calderwood, which shows the spirit both of the man and his party. "The Acts of Parliament holden the last May, were so tossed among the subjects, and misliked by good men, that the Court was forced to set Mr. Patrick Adamson, that chief devisor, on work, to make a Declaration of the meaning, and that in the King's name. This Declaration came to light in January, and was after so greedily embraced by the English Bishops, that after the printing of it here, it was reprinted with an odious Preface of alleged Treasons prefixed unto it; and to preserve the memory of it, insert in the Chronicle of England, compiled by Hollinshed, and continued by Francis Thinne. Our Kirk was ever careful, and especially at the same time, to entertain the amity between the two Nations, and deserved no such indignity at their hands. But let such a lying libel lie there, as a blur to blot their Chronicles."

But things did not remain in this situation, for the Kirk faction, being obstinate and indefatigable, soon gained ground again, drawing in several great men to countenance them, and at last making use of open force, which so intimidated the King, that by a new Declaration he disavowed that formerly mentioned.—In April, 1586, a Provincial Synod was held at St. Andrews, whereat the "Archbishop" was present. He was accused, and, notwithstanding his defence, Excommunicated at their appointment, by Andrew Hunter, Minister of Carnbee; whereupon, a day or two after, he Excommunicated Mr. James Melville, who was Moderator at the Synod; and, in respect to his own Excommunication, appealed to the King and the States of the Kingdom. However, this did him little good, for the Mob being let loose upon him, he durst scarce appear in public in the City of St. Andrews. One Sunday he took refuge in the Belfry, until the Magistrates escorted him home.—Mr Patrick Adamson, Bishop of St. Andrews, was shot at by Patrick Learmonth, one of the Laird of Dairsie's sons, in the Links, when he should have been Preaching. [*Calderwood, vol. viii., p.* 224.]

At the next General Assembly, held at Edinburgh in the same year, a Paper containing the "Archbishop's" Submission, Dated May 20, 1586, was produced, whereupon they Absolved him from the Excommunication; and the King and Council directed that he should read a Divinity Lecture in S. Salvator's College at St. Andrews. In 1587, complaint was made to the General Assembly, that the "Bishop" had suffered himself to be denounced Rebel, and put to the Horn, that is, in plain English, *Outlawed*, because he could not pay his debts; but, upon the Motion of the King's Commissioners, all Proceedings were stayed. At the Assembly held this year, Adamson was compelled to give up the Registers and Books of Assembly which he had in keeping. Calderwood instances where they were "mutilated and torn by the sacrilegious hands of the Bishops of St. Andrews or Aberdeen." In 1588, the "Archbishop" was again cited before the General Assembly, for

Marrying the Earl of Huntly to his Countess without obliging the Earl to subscribe a Confession of his Faith; and he not appearing, a Commission was granted to try him for that and other crimes.

Adamson's "Recantation," as it is called, or Submission to the dominant party, was received by them as a triumph over the Titular Episcopacy. He was made to condemn the measures which he had some years before recommended to James in the production known as the *King's Declaration*, and to assert that "the establishment of Bishops had no warrant from the Word of God, but is grounded upon the policy and invention of man, whereupon the Primacy of the Pope or Antichrist has risen." Dr. Cook's remarks on this transaction, which, instead of being a triumphant testimony in favour of Presbytery, as Calderwood and James Melville consider it, was peculiarly disgraceful to their cause, are eloquent and just:—"Even upon the supposition that in all this the Archbishop acted a willing part, he should have been spared. He was so feeble that he was unable to write with his own hand, and the Ministers might have been sensible that any Declaration made by him, under the languor of approaching dissolution, could not be regarded by those who opposed their principles as of the slightest importance, while it subjected themselves to the imputation of having embittered, by cruel importunities, the last moments of a man who, from the calamities which had befallen him, and the melancholy reverse of fortune which he had experienced, was in a high degree entitled to sympathy, even by such as reprobated the insincere policy by which through life he had been directed."

If we are to credit James Melville, he was necessitated to apply to his relentless and inveterate enemy, Andrew Melville, for pecuniary relief. That person, probably feeling some compunction for his conduct, visited him, and now very generously supported him and his family for several months, until permanent assistance could be procured for him. Although labouring under severe bodily disease, his mind, agonized by the necessities of his family, surrounded by personal enemies, and abandoned by the King, for whose interests he had sacrificed his worldly comforts, his opponents, while thus humiliated as low as they could wish him to be, neither spoke nor wrote of him with compassion. The following observations of James Melville illustrate this Statement—"But he had feigned so often sickness, that none believed him till he was brought to such necessity that he was compelled to write to Mr. Andrew, my uncle, make confession of his offences against God and *him*, and crave his help, who readily visited him, and supported him, so that the space of divers months he lived on his purse. At last he besought him to get him some collection from the brethren in the town [St. Andrews], and, for their satisfaction, promised to present [himself in] the pulpit, and make further confession; but whether he feigned the excuses, or that it was so ordered that God would not permit him, I know not, but he had never that grace to [appear in] the pulpit again."

James Melville, in the condensed Report of the eccentric Sermon which he delivered in his own ludicrous Vernacular, at the Meeting of the General Assembly in the month of August, 1590, from 1st Thessalonians v. 12, 13, alleged that Patrick Adamson was then engaged in writing a Work entitled *Psyllus*, against the Presbyterian Discipline, and this fiery Pruner in the vineyard of the Genevan Polity thus edified the "haill brethren" present:—"We had lurking within our bowels a poisoned and venomous Psyllus—

a warlock, I warrant you, so poisoned by the venom of that old serpent, and so altered in his substance and nature, that the deadly poison of the viper is his familiar food and nurture, to wit, lies, falsehood, malice, and knavery, who has been long hatching a cockatrice egg, and so finely instructed to handle the whistle of that auld enchanter, that no Psyllus, Circe, Medea, or Pharmaceutrie could have done better. This is Patrick Adamson, false Bishop of St. Andrews, who, at this time, was in making of a book against our discipline, which he entitles *Psyllus*, and dedicates to the King, the epistle-dedicatory whereof is in my hand, wherein he shows his purpose to be to suck out the poison of the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, as the Psylli, a venomous people in Africa, suck out the venom of the wounds of such as are stung with serpents. But I trust in God (said I) he shall prove the fool as madly as did those silly Psyllis, of whom Herodotus in his Melpomene writes, that they perished altogether in this manner—When the south wind had dried up all their conservars and cisterns of water, they took counsel all in a mind to go against it in arms for avengement; but coming among the deserts and dry sands, the wind blew highly and overwhelmed them with sand, and destroyed them every man. Such, I doubt not, shall come of this obstinate, malicious fool [Adamson], while he intends not only to stop the breath of God's mouth, but also to be avenged upon it, because it has striken him so that he is blasted therewith, and dried up, and made void of heavenly life. But alas! my brethren, (said I,) if ye would do that which I think ye both might and should do at this time, to wit, to ratify and approve that sentence of excommunication most justly and orderly pronounced against that venomous enemy of Christ's Kingdom, as I am assured it is ratified in the heavens, as clearly may appear by the effects thereof, no less than in the days of Ambrose, when Satan sensibly possessed such as were delivered to him by excommunication, he [Adamson] would feel better his miserable folly, and be won again to Christ, *if he be of the number of the elect.* The which if ye do not, my brethren, by a sore experience not long since past before, I may foretell you a thing to come, if God in mercy, for Christ's sake, stay it not, that ye will find and feel yet more perniciously the reserved poison of that Psyllus in brangling [shaking or menacing] the discipline of the Kirk, and punishing our undutiful negligence." [*James Melville's Diary, Wodrow Society.*]

This Address, delivered by the rabid nephew of Andrew Melville, is a fair specimen of the mode of Preaching in which the Presbyterians indulged at the Period against their "Opponents," who, when the Scale turned, were equally Gifted.

Wodrow alludes to an old Scotch Poem, written by Robert Semple, entitled *The Legend of the Limmer's Life*, which he was not able to meet with; but he supplies this misfortune by giving an Abstract of it from Mr. Calderwood's History:—"The Bishop pretended he was going to the Well of Spaú, but his intent was no further than England. As he went by York, he caused John Harper, a Scottish Tailor, take off from the merchants *Doublet and Breeches of Turkish Taffety*,—promised payment when he returned back, alleging the Scottish merchants at London would give him as much money as he desired. But he returned another way, and so the Tailor lost about £7 Stg. He frequented the French Ambassador's house, where he got his fill of good French wine. He would have borrowed 100 pounds from the French Ambassador; but one of his servants told him, when Mr. Adamson

was at Paris he borrowed from the servant's mother 15 pounds, and from other Neighbours less or more, but never paid a Groat again. Yet the Ambassador gave him Ten Pounds Sterling, telling him he could spare no more at present. He borrowed likewise from Scots merchants at London, and consened them; especially from Gilbert Donaldson and Patrick White. He alleged he had sent some Letters of great importance with Patrick. The said Patrick gave oath he had no Letters from him; yet he was forced to leave the country; and thus the Bishop paid him 300 merks he borrowed from him. Another merchant gave him Ten pounds, Sterling, to Purchase him License to Transport 40 Last of *English Beer*. He went to Secretary Walsinghame, and got a License, alleging the Beer was for his own house at home; but he gave the License to another man, of whom he took 20 pound sterling for it. He Borrowed from the Bishop of London a Gown to teach in; he lent him a Gograne Silk Gown, well lined with costly furring, which he did not restore. He begged books, hackneys, &c., from Bishops, and paid them after the same manner."—His "Indecencies" in the Queen's Palace, for which the Porter beat him with a Baton, with some other things in Mr. Semple's Account of him, I pass.

No marvel if our sharp Tulchan was "put to the horn."

"This year, 1589, there follows ane unhappy Broyl in Saint Andrews, which the Bishop, not the Magistrates of the Town, his creatures, and favourers of the Popish party, improved, to bring much trouble to the honest men and sincere Protestants in Saint Andrews. I shall give this in Mr. James Melvill's words, in his own *Life*, that as we have seen now a good deal of trouble Bishop Adamson gave to the Church in the general, so we may have some view of the Bishop's practices in ye Town where he dwelt, and his narrower sphere.—'In the year 1589, their fell out a matter in Saint Andrews which wrought heavy and great trouble to the best and honestest men in all the Town, and which occupyed me meikle and sair, both in mind and body, many years after; the occasion whereof was this: The Bishop had lurked about a year, like a Todd in his hole, as his custom was, when things framed not with him. And indeed, by the Chancellour's moyen, after he was joyned with us, the King's opinion and liking was far diperted from him. The Bishop, in the meantime, devises a mischief, to be revenged on his mislikers, and stirrs up a Jackman of his own, called *Henry Hamilton*, to quarrell a Master of the University, Mr. *William Welwod*, Professor of the Laws, both in blood and affinity joyned near to the most honest men in all the Town, knowing well, that both such of the University and Town that liked him (the Bishop) not, would take part with the said Mr. *William*. *Hamilton* comes up the Hiegate, and meeting with Mr. *William* going to Mr. *Andrew Melvill's* Colledge Lessons, after some quarreling words, touks him, and struck him with the guards of his Sword. Mr. *William* complained to the Rector, who, calling the said Henry before him, after cognition, deprived him of the name of Master, for he had been Graduat, and ordains him to make a humble satisfaction to Mr. William, in the same place where he injured him. This he refusing to do, the Complainer meaned his cause to the Lords of Session, who gave out Compoulsators, upon the *Rector's* decreet; wherewith the said *Henry* being charged, first, by the moyen of certain wicked men, misguiders of the Town, favourers of the Bishop, and haters of all their honest and good neighbours, only for their virtue, he is received into the number of the Citizens, and made Burges. Then he comes

dissimulatlie to the Rector, desiring the execution of the charges to be superseded, and promises to make amends to Mr. *William*, on such a day, upon the street. By this, Mr. *William*, formerly upon his guard, is secure, and within a day or two addresses himself to his ordinary Lesson of Lawes in the old Colledge; and going from his House in the Town to the Colledge, in his Gown, with his Book in one hand and a Sand Glass in the other, meditating on his Lesson, *Henry Hamilton* rushes out of a House where he lay in wait for Blood, and besetting Mr. *William*, with the first stroak wounds him in the hand, and mutilats him, and had proceeded further, if, by some Gentlemen passing that way, he had not been stayed. Mr. *William* is led in to his Mother's House, cruelly wounded; the news runs among his Friends; they rise, and run together in Arms, to assist the Bailzies for gustice. But one of the Bailzies being upon the Conspiracy, and refusing his assistance, brought the Murderer, accompanyed with the Bishop's Good Brother, *James Arthur*, commonly called *Jacques*, and ane Officer or two, and no more; and in plain provocation, by the teeth of the other party, conveened before Mr. *William's* Mother's Stair Yatte, where he was lying with his wounds bleeding so, that it could not be stemmed. The whilk, his Brother and Brother-in-Law seeing, could not abide, but making a mint, made the Loun to flee, and stirred up a great tumult of all sorts, running together in Arms—University, City, and Gentlemen in Town for the time. In this Tumult, none is so bussy to show his manhood in fighting as *Jacques Arthur*, who, meeting with his marrow, with Rapper and Dagger, missing his ward, he gets a parley at the left pape, whereof he dyed. His corps is brought to the Chyrurgeon's Booth, and sighted there, and found by his friends, and a number in publick, to have only a point stroak of a Rapper Sword, by whom, no man could certainly know, some suspecting one, some another. Mr. *William's* Brother, *John*, pursues after *Hamilton*, who, crying for mercy and rendering himself, obtains mercy at the said *John's* hand, and by him is brought out, and delivered to the Bailzies again. The Tumult staying, the honest men go to their houses, ignorant altogether of any ill done, namely, of ye slaughter of the said *Jacques;* among the rest, one *James Smith*, a man of singular qualitys, greatly beloved of all godly and good men, for his virtue and good conditions, and as much envyed and hated by the wicked, is warned by severalls that loved him, that there was a man slain, and the matter was dangerous. They prayed him, therefore, to hold himself quiet and out of the way for a time. The whilk he refused, reposeing upon his innocence, saying, They had suffered wrong in the person of their Friend, but had done none. Incontinent, the Bailzies comes to the House of the said honest man, better accompanyed than when they conveyed *Hamiltoun* to the Tolbooth, and charges him in the King's name to go to ward with them. He willingly goes with them, and so does the rest, to the number of nyne or ten. Those simple fowls, thus fanged in the net of those craftie Hunters (wherein the parts of all I could point out particularly, if my purpose permitted), were brought from the Tolbooth to the Provost's House, who, with the *Bishop* and the rest of the Misrulers of the Town, were all under a Complott; resolving then to be revenged upon the honest men who, at the home coming of the Lords (1585) out of *England*, had sought redress of many great abuses and enormitys committed by the said Misrulers of *Saint Andrews*, looking that all things should have been sett in order and corrected. That evil communion glory now to repay well at *Pasch*, so they

are Summoned to a day of Law in *Edinr.*, where, understanding ye Law to be strait, and wanting the Prince's favour, which the other party had, and withall being craftily abused by their feigned friends, they were brought, in effect, to come in the will of the party, who Decern upon them Banishment furth of the Town, during their will; and upon two in speciall, James Smith and John Welwood, brother to the said Mr. *William*, Banishment out of the Country, upon great Soums in case of contravention, and sure Caution. Upon this malicious and crafty device were those good honest men this way most innocently and unjustly Banished out of the Realm, from their wives and children, six years, and at their returning worse handled. Mr. *Melvill* further observes, that as the Bishop and the rest of the Misrulers of the Town were the beginners, so Mr. *John Arthur*, because the Ministers favoured *James Smith*, affirmed against all truth that he was the slayer of his brother; whereas there never had happened any dissension betwixt them, and by many he was clearly seen and known to be a pair of Butts distant when he was slain; and it was evident he was slain by the prick of a Rapper, and every body saw *James Smith's* Sword to be a Broad one. But *James* was rich, honest, upright, virtuous in his calling; and the other poor, debauched, greedy, and needy, a Lawyer, attending on the Session, waiting on the Summs of Contravention, if they should return home.' This Mr. *Melvill* gives as the reason of the pains he was at to get help to *James Smith*, as, in part, is to be seen in Mr. *Melvill's* Life." [*Wodrow's MSS., vol. iv., pp.* 68-70, *Glasgow College Library.*]

In the beginning of 1590, our "Prelate" published *The Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah*, in Latin verse, which he Dedicated to the King, complaining of the hard usage he had met with. In the latter end of the same year, he published a *Translation of the Apocalypse*, in Latin verse, which he also Dedicated to the King; yet neither these, nor a moving Copy of Latin Verses, written to his Majesty in his deep distress, procured him any favour. On the contrary, the King, finding the "Archbishop" no longer of use to him, granted the Revenue of his See to the Duke of Lennox, whereby the unfortunate "Prelate," with his family, came, in a literal sense, to want bread. At this very time, the Assembly intercepted Letters from Dr. Bancroft, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to "Archbishop Adamson," certifying him of the great respect the English Clergy had for him, and blaming him for not taking sanctuary amongst his friends in that Country. These Letters never came to his hands, but the brethren taking advantage of the poor "Prelate's" miserable circumstances, and great weakness both in body and mind, procured his Signature to a most abject *Form of Subscription*, and that, by giving him a poor Collection for the immediate relief of his family's necessities. Thus he lingered out his uncomfortable life till Saturday, February 19, 1592, "about ten hours of night," dying with very different characters from his Countrymen.—He was Buried in the Public Cemetery, without any Monument, as was his Predecessor Douglas. [*Pringle's MS., p.* 253.]

We shall here set down three characters of him, the first by Calderwood, who tells us, that in April, 1591, he Subscribed a long Recantation, which he inserts in his History, and desired assistance for the support of his family. Afterwards he tells us, he sent to the Presbytery at St. Andrews, and desired to be Absolved from the Sentence of Excommunication. "The brethren doubting whether his desire proceeded from trouble of mind, or if

it was a shift only to get some support, directed Mr. James Melville and Mr. Andrew Moncrieff to try him. As soon as he saw Mr. James, he pulled off his cap, and cried, 'Forgive me, forgive me, for God's sake, good Mr. James, for I have many ways offended you.' Mr. James forgave him, and exhorted him to unfeigned repentance. When he was asked if he acknowleged the validity of the Sentence of Excommunication, he interrupted Mr. James, and cried pitifully and often, 'Loose me for Christ's sake.' 'Good Mr. James' says 'he plucked off the thing that was upon his head.' At their report, the brethren, with Prayer and Thanksgiving, Absolved him."

Archbishop Spottiswoode gives a somewhat different account of this Transaction, and a better character of our Author. His words are these: "In this Assembly certain Articles were presented, subscribed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, allowing the Presbyterial Discipline, and condemning the Government Episcopal, which were afterwards imprinted, under the Title of *Mr. Patrick Adamson's Recantation.* The Bishop lay bedfast at the time, and was fallen into great necessity by his own misgovernment, whereof his adversaries taking advantage, it was devised that he should be visited by some of the brethren, and desired to leave a Testimony under his own hand of his opinion of matters of Discipline. This being moved unto him, he said that he did not trouble himself with such thoughts at that time, and had never allowed of any other Bishop in the Church but S. Paul's Bishop, which he would willingly set his hand to. Upon this his answer were these Articles drawn up and subscribed by him. Whether he knew what was contained in them, or that he was induced thereto by a Poor Collection that they gave him in the time (for so the report went), or otherwise, it is uncertain; but when it was told him that such a Recantation was published in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and committing his cause to God, ended his days in the year 1591. A man he was of great learning, and a most persuasive Preacher, but an ill Administrator of the Church Patrimony, which brought him to the misery that is pitiful to think of. Diverse Works he left, of which some are extant, which show his learning; but his *Prelections upon the Epistle to Timothy,* which were most desired, falling into the hands of his adversaries, were suppressed."

Thos. Wilson, who published the Prelate's Works, talks of him quite in impeccable terms. "He was (says he) a Prelate endowed with such excellent qualifications, both as to mind and body, that he was a miracle of Nature, and rather seemed to be the immediate production of God Almighty than Born of a woman: being a profound Theologue, an incomparable Poet, an eloquent Orator, well seen in the Greek and Latin Languages; a Prelate of great prudence, experience, and wisdom in the management of affairs, skilful in the Civil and Canon Law; and of so happy a memory, that he did not know what it was to forget anything that he had either heard or read: so that the Death of such a person, who was the glory of his Country and of the Republic of Letters, can never be too much lamented."

The Bishop's son-in-law Printed what of his Papers he saw proper, with Prefaces and Interpolations, at London, in 1619, and Mr. Wilson's List of them follows, in his own words:—

1. Adversus Papismum in Crasseones ejusdem Abusus, ac de Superstitiosis Papicolarum Ineptics. Daty. St. Andreæ, 4to Kal. Sept. anno 1564.

2. Catechismus Latino Carmine Redditus, et in Quatuor Libros Digestus. 1577.

3. Serenissimi, Nobilissimi, Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Principis, Henrici Steuarti, Illustrissimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginæ Amplissimæ, Filii, Genathliacum. Parisiis Conscriptum, et ibidem Typis audacius commissum. 25 Junij, Sexto a partu Die, 1566.

4. Scripsit Biturgiby Gallorum, in ipso Bulli Civitis furore et Incendio Incænuculo (ut fert ipse) apud Hospitem Biturigensem Quotidiano Vitæ Periculo, Septem Menses Delitescens, Dum Martyrii Parisiensis Rabies Conflagraret, Jobi Illam Historiam Præclaram, Patientiæ et Constantiæ Orthotypum: cum Tragedia illius Herodis, qui ab Angelo Percussus Teterrime Expiravit. 1572.

5. Apocalypsis S. Joannis Theologi Latino Carmine Reddita. St. Andreæ, 1590.

6. Threnory sive F. Elciae libellus, Latino Carmine Redditus. Fano Andreæ, 1590.

7. Confessio Fidei et Doctrinæ, per Ecclesiam Reformatam Regni Scotiæ Receptæ, Exhibita Ordinibus Regni ejusdem, in Publicis Parliamenti (ut vocant) Commitijs, et eorum Communi Consensu Approbatæ, ut Certissimis Fundamentis, Verbi Dei Innixa et Consentanea. 1572.

8. Dilectis in Christo Fratribus Suis D.D. Roberto Pontano et Nicolao Daglisheo, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Pastoribus, et Ecclesiastico Commitiorum Publicorum Edicto, in Septentrionales Scotiæ Regni Partes Emissis, ad Papismi Facem Ibidem Restringendam, Prudentissimum et Saluberrimum Authoris Consilium, Complectens de Ecclesiæ ejusdem Politia et Moderatione. 1586.

9. Selectiora, ex aliis Permultis, Authoris Epigrammata.

The Bishop's Works not Printed, as Mr. Wilson gives them, are—

1. Sex Depolitia Mosaica Libros, cum Ecclesiæ Orthodoxæ Hierarchia Soluta Oratione, Disertæ Conscripsit.

2. Salomonis Ecclesiasticon, de Summo Hominis Bono Concionem Complectentem quæ de Vera Beatitudine, et Rectis Vitæ Officiis Præcepta Continet.

3. Vaticinia etiam Danielis, Joelis, Amosi, Abdiæ, Jonæ, Habbacuci, Haggei, Complura etiam Poemata Sacra, aliaq3 Fragmenta utroq3 Idiomate Conscripta.

4. De Politia, et Disciplina Ecclesiastica.

5. De Veneranda Antistitum Dignitate, et cum Beato Paulo, Orthodoxa Episcopali Authoritate.

6. De ejusdem B. Pauli Peregrinatione.

7. Prælectiones etiam Doctissimas, in Utramq3 ad Timotheum Theologicas, una cum Scrutationibus, in Reliquas omnes Paulinas.

8. Psyllum, sive Psilion, cum Animadversionibus in Sanctas Melvinianas.

9. Apologiam sive Libelly Apologeticum pro Augustissima Regia Majestate, 1584, Adversus Pertinacæ suæ Majestatis Obtrectatores, Mordacissimos, et Maleferiatos.

10. Apologia contra suos æmulos.

11. Orationes etiam Apologeticas, et Funebræs, Illustrissimæ Matris Mariæ Reginæ, et Insigniy Regni Procery.

12. Regni etiam Totius quo Brittanniæ Annales Candidæ Conscripsit, quos ad extremy non Produxit.

Lawrence Charter enumerates in his Catalogue of Writers the follow-

ing:—"Patricius Adamsonus Scripsit Catechismum, Carmine Latino, Lib. 4, Lond., 8vo., 1581; Edin., 1581. It., Jacobi 6ti Genethliacum, et Gratiary actionem Elizabethæ Reginæ, Carmine Elegiaco. It., Quædam Poemata Sacra. It., Parvum Catechismum, Carmine, 1573, Andreapoli. Item, Confessionem Fidei Latine, Andreapoli, 1572." [*Wodrow's MSS., vol. iv., pp.* 83, 84, *Glasgow College Library.*]

We are told by Calderwood, that Mr. David Black, a man mighty in Doctrine, and of singular fidelity and diligence in the calling of the Ministry, came to "Mr. Patrick" in February, the year following (1591), when he was drawing near his end, and found him, as he lived, senseless. The following Latin Verses, written a little while before he breathed his last, will show what frame of mind he was in, and what reasons Mr. David Black had for departing, as Mr. Calderwood says he did, with a heavy heart.

O Anima! assiduis vitæ jactata procellis,
Exilii pertæsa gravis; nunc lubrica, tempus
Regna tibi, et mundi invisas contemnere sordes.
Quippe parens rerum, cæco te corpore clemens
Evocat, et verbi crucifixi gratia, cœli
Pandit iter, patrioque beatam limine sistet:
Progenies Jovæ, quo te cœlestis origo
Invitat, fælix perge, æternumque quiesce.
Exuviæ carnis, cognato in pulvere vocem
Angelicam expectent, sonitu quo putre cadaver
Exiliet redivivum, et totum me tibi reddet.
Ecce beata dies! nos agni dextera ligno
Fulgentes crucis, et radiantes sanguine vivo
Excipiet. Quam firma illic quam certa capesses
Gaudia, felices inter novus incola cives?
Alme Deus, Deus alme, et non effabile numen,
Ad te unum et trinum, moribundo pectore anhelo.

TRANSLATION.

O Soul! long toss'd in waves of endless strife,
Worn with thy exile in this painful life,
Prepare to quit thy plagues, contemn the cares
Of this low world, and speed thee from its snares.
Lo! the great God, who every good bestows,
Bids thee forsake thy body and thy woes;
While the kind Author of our happier state,
His suffering Son, expands the heavenly gate.
O haste thee! haste thee! to thy native sky,
Leave here thy pains, to endless quiet fly.
This breathless trunk, this putrid fleshly case,
Though worms invade, and kindred clay embrace,
Shall hear the Angelic trump, again arise,
And, thou resuming, bear it to the skies.
See the bless'd day, see how the Lamb appears!
Hard by His Cross! O how His Bleeding cheers!
On these depending, speed thee in thy flight.
In thy new friends how much wilt thou delight!
Dear God, in Thee, in Thee, O God most dear,
Whose Name be mentioned still with Holy Fear,
My faith firm fixed for ever shall abide:
Living I trust, and dying I confide.

The Titular's Relatives are often mentioned in the Perth Registers. Violet Adamson, his sister, Married Mr. Andrew Simpson, Master of the Grammar School of Perth, who conformed to the Reformation, became Rector of the Grammar School of Dunbar, and Minister of that Town. Two sons of this Marriage were Mr. Patrick Simpson, Minister of Stirling, Born at Perth in 1556, and Mr. Archibald Simpson, Minister of Dalkeith. The Titular had a brother named James Adamson, Merchant, and Provost of Perth, who Married Margaret, daughter of Mr. Henry Anderson, a Poet of considerable talent, several of whose productions are inserted in the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*. Two sons of this Marriage were Mr. John Adamson, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Mr. Henry Adamson, Author of the well-known local Poem on the History of Perth, ludicrously entitled "Gall's Gabions." The Titular had another brother named Henry, who was Dean of Guild in Perth. He was Murdered at the Market Cross of that Town, on Good Friday, April 18, 1598, by a certain Thomas Peebles. This Henry Adamson had an intrigue with the wife of Mr. Oliver Peebles of Chapelhill, a citizen of Perth, but the relationship between him and Thomas Peebles is not stated. Peebles fled after the Murder; but he was apprehended, tried, and condemned by the Magistrates of Perth, and Executed on the 30th of May. He had been previously Excommunicated at the instance of Helen Orme, Henry Adamson's widow; and on the 22nd of that month Mr. William Cowpar, then one of the Ministers of Perth, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, gave him the "first Admonition or Summons from the Pulpit before Excommunication for the Murder." Little is known of the Titular's children. In 1594 an Act was passed by the Parliament, declaring that "the alienations, resignations, and other depositions, made by the wife or bairns of umquhile Mr. Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews," are pronounced to be "good, sufficient, lawful, and available," notwithstanding the "minority and lesser age of the bairns of the said umquhile Bishop." The Titular Married Elizabeth, daughter of William Arthur and his wife Margaret Martin, and three of his children are mentioned—James the eldest, and Patrick the second, and his daughter, who Married Mr. Thomas Wilson, an Advocate, the Editor of the Collection of the Titular's Works, with a Life, published in 1619.—J. P. Lawson thus *Titulars* the *Tulchan*, who says that he was a Descendant of a Dionysius Constantine or Constance, who was Town Clerk of Perth between 1491 and 1500. John Adamson, Professor of Theology, and Provincial Prior of the Predicant or Black Friars in Scotland, was a brother or near relation of the said Dionysius.

After sucking the "tit bits" from the *Biographia Britannica* about Patrick Adamson, Dr. Thomas M'Crie tells his Readers in his *Life of Andrew Melville, p.* 165, that the Life of Adamson in the *Biographia* is "extremely incorrect. In the Second Edition, the liberal ideas of the Editor, Dr. Kippins, joined to the old prejudices of the original Author, form a piece of literary patchwork, which is curious, but not singular in such compilations." Now, this mud ought to be flung back upon him who flings it. I have gone over very minutely the eventful Life of Adamson in the Original Edition of the *Britannica*, and embody it in this Work just because it is "a piece of literary patchwork" well compiled from Historians of the most opposite opinions. And every plain Reader of Dr. M'Crie's *Lives of Knox and Melville* must see that they are all "patchwork," and that the value of every History is in the arranging of what Shakespere calls "a thing of shreds and patches."

XLIX. George Gladstanes. A.D. 1610-15.

(*Tulchan from* 1606-10.)

He was the son of Halbert Gladstanes, Clerk in Dundee. He was probably Born between 1560 and 1565, and received the earlier part of his education at the School of Dundee, his native place. In 1576, he was incorporated a Student of S. Salvator's College, St. Andrews; and in 1580, he took the Degree of M.A.; on the last of which occasions he is mentioned in the Faculty Quæstor's Books as "pauper," that is, one who paid the lowest rate of fees. It is probable that he afterwards studied Divinity under Mr. Andrew Melville. After his Academical studies were over, he taught the Languages in Montrose; and very soon, while yet very young, he was Minister of St. Cyrus. He was Licensed as a Preacher about 1585, but no notice of his name has been discovered in the Record of the General Assembly till the year 1587. Owing to the small Stipend, he removed from St. Cyrus to Marykirk, and a few years after to St. Kenneth or Kinneff, and from that to the Church of Kellie or Arbirlot. At all these Parishes information has been sought respecting Gladstanes, but none has been got, as their Registers do not in general extend beyond the Revolution. He was Transported from Arbirlot to St. Andrews, 11th July, 1597, at "the bringing in of Episcopacy," in the place of Messrs. Black and Wallace. James Melville Preached at the reception of Gladstanes as Minister of St. Andrews, at the request of the King, but "sore against his own heart."

Respecting the appointment of Gladstanes as one of the Ministers of St. Andrews, and his subsequent Transactions there, the Records of the Presbytery and Kirk Session supply the following information :—

19 July 1597. *The first enteres of Mr. George Gledstanis, Minister.*—This is ye first day y^t^ Mr. George Gladstanes Minister enterit in ye Sessioun and maid prayer to God & procedit to ye office of ye ministerie and discipline conforme to ye order of ye sessioun. [*Kirk Session Record.*]

8 Sept. 1597. The samyn day the whole brethrein *sigillatim* declared thair gude mynd toward Mr. George Gladstanes, whom, according as they suld espy his fidelitie in his ministrie and the blessing of God thereupon, they wald comfort with all kynd of assistance, help and forderance in the samen. [*Presb. Record.*]

Ult. Maii 1598. *Anent the text for preacheing.*—The qlk day it is thocht gude be ye bretheren that Mr. George Gladstanes minister proceid in preaching of the secund book of Samuell and ye buikis of ye Kingis following upon ye Saboth day. [*Ibid.*]

Junii 22, 1598. Ordains Mr. George Gladstanes to give in his theses upon the 3 cap. of the 1 epistill of Paul to Timothie this day twentie dayis. [*Presb. Record.*]

21 July 1598. *Ordour for preparatioun of the Fast and Communioun.*—The quhilk day eftir incalling upon the name of God it wes concludit the preparatioun and ordour of fast and communioun service to be as follows, viz., Maister George Gladstanes to preache ye morn efter nwne for preparatioun and sall intimat ye fast & upon ye next Saboth ye morning preaching to begin at fyve houris and sic heiris that preaching sall then communicat only and to that effect the durris to be lockit at ye ending of ye psalme & ye secund sermon to begin at nyne houris & Mr. David Lindesay to teache in ye College Kirk before nune and eftir nune at thrie houris. [*Session Record.*]

Feb. 15, 1598[-9.] The qlk day after the incalling of the name of God, Mr. Andro Duncan who suld have maid the exerceis and Mr. William Murray who suld have added being absent be ressoune of the storme, thairfoir Mr. George Gladestanes, lest the place suld be destitute, occupyit the samyn whois doctrein wes censurit and allowit. [*Presb. Record.*]

May 6. 1602. The provest of the New College [Mr A. Melville] regratit to the presbyterie that he being haldin in his chalmer be the Lord's visitation Mr. George Gladstanis cryit out publictlie against the Universitie as sic quhilk wald exeme them self *de disciplina* he having no occasion except that laitlie befoir the Universitie maid intimatioun to the sessioun of their privilege. Mr. George answerit he was offendit at the said intimatioun and sett himself against it and if he haid not just cause referrit him to the judgment of the presb. Therfoir ordains the said intimatioun to be producit. [*Ibid.*]

October 5. 1603. Mr. George Gladstanis protestit agains the chosing of Mr. Robert Yuill moderator alledging he was nather pastor nor doctor and requyrit his protestatioun to be noted. [*Ibid.*]

May 24. 1604. Mr. George Gladstanis, being requyrit to give in his theses, cravit a supersedere because of his distractiounis: ordanit to give ane resolut answer the next day. [*Ibid.*]

Mr. George Glaidstanis cravit ane manss and gleib to be designit to him according to the ordinance of the last synod. The Presbyterie ordanis Mr. William Murra and W^m.^ Erskyne to designe the same. [*Ibid.*]

May last 1604. Mr. George Glaidstanis, requyrit of his theses, cravit that he quha followit suld be chargit becaus of his occupatiounis. Mr W^m.^

Marche is ordanit to haist it so sone as he may and Mr. George to occupie his roume in the exerceiss. [*Ibid.*]

Aug. 30. 1604. Mr. Robert Yuill cravit the presbyterie advyss and warrand tuiching ane requeist of Mr. George Glaidstanis to him to occupie his place upoun the saboth efter none and fryday. The Presbyterie gives their approbatioun and allowance thereto. [*Ibid.*]

Jan. 17. 1605. Mr. George Gladstanis, requyrit to handle the common heid quhilk had lyen sa lang on him, desyrit the Presbyterie to haif him excusit be reasoun of the plat quhere he behouvit be present. The Presbytrie, considering the said reesoun, ordains Mr. Patrick Melvill quha followis to prepair himself.

It appears from the Record of the Diocesan Synod of St. Andrews, that "Archbishop" Gladstanes, besides opening the ordinary Meetings by Sermon, was in the habit of Preaching at all the Visitations of Churches, which he appears to have performed with great diligence. The notices of him during this period of his life, in the Record of the General Assembly, are very numerous.

In October, 1600, Gladstanes was named in Parliament, with the approbation of the King and a "corrupt" Commission of Assembly, to be Bishop of Caithness. Accordingly, he sat in the next Parliament; and the Synod of Fife, which met at St. Andrews February 3, 1601, challenged him for so doing, when Calderwood says that he "answered with the name of *Bishop*, but against his will, because they would not name him otherwise." He remained still Minister of St. Andrews after he was Bishop of Caithness, that is, had an Assignation to the Rents, and Voted in Parliament. In August, 1604, he went up to Court to be Nominated Bishop of St. Andrews; but, before he went, the Presbytery ordered all their Members to subscribe the Confession of Fife, which he signed without the least scruple. He returned from England, Nominated by the King Bishop of St. Andrews, in the beginning of 1605. At the first Meeting of the Presbytery, he made the following Declaration:—

At St. Andrews, January 10, 1605. The which day Mr. George Gladstanes being returned from England, declared in the presence of the whole bretheren of the Presbitry that as he departed a brother so he returned, usurping no superiority over them, claiming only a single vote as the rest, promising to behave himself in alse great humility, and greater than ever before, and whereas he departed not advertising the Presbitry, he desired they should not be offended, because the commodity of his journey so

required that he could not advertise them; of which declaration and excuse the Presbitry accepted. Extracted by

Mr. Robert Rough, Clerk, at the command of the Presbitry.

Calderwood remarks (after giving these Extracts): "Mr. George Gladstanes, after he had changed four Flocks and two Bishoprics, and had sworn that he should never be Bishop of St. Andrews—because the Bishops of that See had so evil an end, and were so much hated—yet even at the same time he came home Bishop of St. Andrews. Some gentlemen, his favourers, and others who had hope of advancement by him, asked him how he could bear with the Presbytery: he answered, Hold your tongue, we shall steal them off their feet."

When the Parliament was approaching wherein the Bishops were to be restored to their dignities, in writing to the King, Gladstanes signs himself "Your Ma$^{ty's}$ most humble orator and obedient servitor, Sainct Androis," Dated Edinburgh 9, 1606. The great subject of the Bishop's Letters to his Majesty was recommendations of partizans and complaints against such as were opponents, such as Andrew Melville. It was by Letters sent to Court by the then Bishops that the General Assemblies, corrupt as they were, were from time to time delayed; and the very terms prescribed by the Bishops were kept exactly in all the Proclamations, Public Letters, and even Acts of Parliament, which came down as they went up without change. Before Parliament sat in Edinburgh, 1st August, 1607, Gladstanes interposed his advice and sentiments to the King in a Letter Dated from St. Andrews, July 20, 1607. In a P.S. he adds, "Please your Ma^{ty} to send precise direction anent the ranking of Archbishops with the Nobility, and of the Bishops, and to give order either in the old Scottish form or the English manner, as your Ma$^{ty's}$ incomparable wisdom shall command as fittest." The King's Commissioner, Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, propounded, when this Parliament met, that the two Archbishops shall have the first place, and "ride next the Honours." Bishop Gladstanes Preached before this Parliament from 2nd Chronicles xix. 4-8. At this Parliament an Act was made empowering the Bishop to name the Chapter of St. Andrews—"seven qualified persons at

the least, dwelling and having charge and administration within his diocie, to be the perpetual Convent, Counsel, and Chapter of the said Archbishopric in all time coming, . . . the common Seal of the said Chapter to be made of men."

The several Synods met after the Parliament was up. The following Account of the Synod of Fife, which met at Dysart, 18th August, 1607, is given by Calderwood, about receiving Bishop Gladstanes as Moderator:—

The Kings Commissioners to place Bishop Gladstanes Moderator wer, Lord Lindsay, Lord Hallyroodhouse, Lord Scoon, Lord Collector Mr. John Preston. The Lords and the Bishop had designed Mr. John Mitchelson, minister at Burntisland, to preach, but Mr. William Cranstoun, Minister at Kettle, Moderator to the last Synod, was ready, and when walking in the session house at his meditation, he found himself troubled with the closnes of the air; he went out of the session house to the pulpit, partly for more open air, and partly that his affections might be stirred up with singing the psalms, not knowing that any other was appointed by the Commissioners to preach. While he was sitting in the pulpit, a messenger was sent unto him with a letter: he received it and put it up in his pocket, not having laziour for other thoughts to read it. In a litle while another messenger is sent in the Lord Commissioners name to bid him come down. He answered him to that place, in the name of a greater Lord, whose message he had not yet discharged, and with that named a psalm to be sung, because he saw the people to be somwhat amazed. Then one of the bailays came and rounded in his ear that he was commanded by the Lords to desire him to come down. He answered, I command you in the name of the Lord to sit down in your own seat and hear what God will say to you by me. The bailay obeyed at last. When he was entering upon his prayer, the Conservator of the priviledges of the Merchants in the Low Countrys, being a Counsellor at that time, went to him, and rounded his ear, desiring him to desist, for the Lords had appointed another to preach. But Mr. William Cranstoun answered, The Lord and his Kirk hath appointed me, therefor bewar ye trouble this work. Neither the Bishop, nor any of the Commissioners, the Lord Lindsay only excepted, would come to hear him. The Bishop like a subtile serpent esheued charming. After the doctrine, the ministers sat down in the Assembly. Mr. John Coudon, minister at Kinrosher [?], occupyed the place of the last Moderator when the doctrine was censured. The Moderator said an Atheist could not have done more than he did. The grave Bishop thinking that he had directly called him an Atheist, turning him to Mr. John Coudan, said, Thou profane dog, if thou had not been an wild beast, thou would not have called me an Atheist; I am as honest in my calling and room as any minister here. The King's Commissioners wer forced to say he was unworthy to be in the number of ministers, let be to be Bishop or constant Moderator over them, seing he could not moderat his own passions. Mr. Coudan replied, Well, sir, your pride I hope shall get a fall; I saw the judgment of God on your predecessor, and I belive to see the like upon you if you amend not. The bretheren wer offended both with the

one and the other. Mr. William Cranstoun after his censure entereth into his own place again, and willed the names of the last leets to be read for the election of a new Moderator. The King's Commissioners showed they had commission to see the Archbishop of Saint Andrews placed Moderator in that Synod. The Moderator desired the Act to be produced; after it was read the bretheren answered that it was constantly affirmed by the bretheren that wer at that meeting in Linlithgow, that no such thing concerning the Moderator of Synods was propounded, reasoned, or concluded at that convention, and therfor they would not acknowledge that Act so long keeped close and coming to light but now of late, till all the Presbitrys of the province had first advised therewith severally, and conferred with other Synods, and for that they craved a copy to every one of their Presbitrys. The King's Commissioners said they trifled with the King; one of them called for the officer at arms, that was appointed to charge them with letters of horning, took the catalogue of names in his hand, and demanded of them severally whither they would accept the Bishop as constant Moderator or not. The officer was commanded to give every one who gave a negative voice a charge presently to accept, under the pain of rebellion and putting to the horn. The brethren answered severally they would rather abide horning and all that followes therupon, than loss the liberty of the Kirk.

Bishop Gladstanes, contrary to promise, informed the King, after his own way, of the Proceedings of the Synod, and a Charge came down for the confinement of Mr. Dykes, Scrimgeour, and Coudon, as may be seen in Mr. Scrimgeour's Life. Mr. Coudon was not constant, and fell with the Bishop. Mr. Cranstoun was more roughly handled, and put to the Horn. Calderwood tells us, "that he came to the Archbishop the day before he was put to the horn, and challanged him for violating his promise. The Bishop cursed himself if he knew any such thing, but Mr. William repeted what he had written to the King, and what he had written back to the Bishop, and said, I saw the judgment of God on your predecessor; woes me for that judgment of God that is coming on you. Suppose I be an aged man very unmeet to undergo trouble, yet I may yet live either to see you repent or Gods judgment to fall on you. To morrow after this Mr. Cranstoun was put to the horn."

From an early period, Gladstanes had taken an active part in the Visitations of the University.

MEMORIES TO HIS SACRED MAJESTY.

It will please your Ma^ty to direct the Council anent Captain Tyrie.
It will please your Ma^ty to remember the dedication of a Bibliotheck to

the University of Saint Andrews, w^t the advice of my Lord, now of Canterburry.

It wer expedient that the form and order of making Bachelours, Doctors of Divinity and of the Lawes, wer sent homeward to me that I might once creat one or two Doctors to incite others to the same honour, for we have appointed both a faculty of Theology and Dean therof, namely, Mr. Robert Howie, q^m we would wish to have *insignia doctoratûs*, and to encourage our ignorant Clergy to learning, that your Ma^ty should give me and all other Bishops in this Kingdom direction that in presentation to benefices those who are graduat or in the course of Divinity in this University, namely, actu[all] Regents and Masters be preferred to any others. And so your Ma^ty may purchas fame and honnour immortall, by the patrociny of this eldest mother of learning, within this your Majestys most ancient Kingdom.

Since in the Institution of the Colledge of Justice, one day in the week should be given to the Kirks actions, whilk was Saturnday, I would most humbly entreat your Ma^ty, that commandement be given to the Chancelour and President, that it may be some other day, because it is the day of our studies, and that day I may have liberty to come to y^e inner house, and that by my roll all the actions of the Clergy and Ministry may be called, for I ashame that q^n all the Ministers of the Kingdom depend on me, as their primat and patron, I have not that credit either to have my own or their actions called; so I humbly beseek your Ma^ty that, seing the whole Clergy depend on me, as upon their loving[?] in your Ma^tys absens, that I may have such credit as may vindicat me from contempt, and may further my estimation, for the good of your Majestys service, for albeit my Lord of Glasgow be well minded, yet the necessary bussiness of his own ecclesiasticall charge avocats him from onwaiting on our turns, and I am daily resident there in my own charge.

Saint Andros.

Another Letter from the Archbishop to the King next month I shall here also transcribe, since these original Letters both give us the native sentiments of the Bishop, and likewise several things which are not to be met with elsewhere. It runs:—

Most Graciouse Soveraigne,

May it please your Most Excellent Ma^ty as your Highnes directed me to assemble the Commissioners at needfull occasions, I convocat them lately to Falkland, and send to your Ma^ty in this present packet minutes of our procedure there, that your Ma^ty return your Highnes pleasure and directions, what of these things you will have to be prosecute. I am bold also to present certain other advices, whilk I beseek your Ma^ty to read, and direct w^t as much secrecy back as such services should be dispatched. Mr. Robert Howie has here entered to teach, in the new Colledge, and that with so much rare learning, and not only breeds great contentment to all the Clergy here, but also ravishes them with admiration; so that the absence of his antecessor (Mr. Andrew Melvil) is not missed, while they find, instead of superficiall feckles inventions, profitable and substantious Theology. What difficulty and pains I have had to setle him here, without help of any, either of Council or Clergy, God knoweth! and it was thought the great Mr.

Andrew Melvil's absence, should have furnished such matter of discontentment to the Kirk and Country as should have bred no small mutinie, and should have enforced your Highnes to send the prisoner back, *tanquam sine quo non*. Lastly, S^r^, your Ma^ty^, in your last missive directed to the Council, commanded them to direct some Counsellour to make open doors for Mr. Robert Howie to enter in Mr. Andrew Melvils lodgings and chambers, which was obeyed by directing me to execute the part of a secular sheriff. But whatsoever was the ground of their direction I will not say, to make me odious, and to eshew that dint themselves, I have taken the boldnes to be your Highnes sheriff in y^t^ part, and have made open doors and posessed the said Mr. Robert in all his houses. As to colloquies and conferences, S^r^, I offer my advice to your Highnes, that before an Assembly a colloque be, but not to devise midse, but to propound both the outmost of your Highnes intention, and defend it by reason, whilk will be easy to students, and then, I hope, they shall be fain to offer at least that which now is difficile to be obteaned. For outredding the remanent confusions of the new Colledge, and for sharpning some sluggards that before were friends, as also that ther is likely that great trouble and perturbation shall fall in this country, betwixt my Lord Tullibardin and his friends, and my Lord Oliphant and his adherents, by occasion of some teinds that are fallén to the old Colledge, I would humbly request your Ma^ty^, as having speciall care and interest, to see the peace of thir parts preserved, as I hope your Highnes expects, that it would please your Ma^ty^ to command the visitors directed by your Highnes of before to repair here again, and reiterat their commission, because of the decease of the Bishop of Dunkeld (Mr. Ja. Nicholson), in whose room the present interant would be placed, and throu the infirmitys of others some adjoyned. It will please your Majesty also, to receive the Bishop of Murray his missive and information to your Highnes, and also to give such direction theranent, as shall seem fittest. Thus I humbly recomend, with all my heart, your Highnes royal person and state to the grace of God, and rests

Your Ma^tys^ most humble
Servant and orator,
St. Andros, Oct. 28, 1607. Saint Andros.

What the Bishop asked was granted, and a new Visitation of the College of St. Andrews met, February, 1608. Calderwood tells us, at this Visitation Mr. George Gladstanes, Bishop [of St. Andrews], would have had one of the Professors of Theology, Mr. John Johnston, displaced, alleging he was unprofitable, pernicious, and his Chamber a receptacle of evil affected persons. But the University rejected the motion. Notwithstanding the high encomiums given by the Archbishop to Mr. Howie, the other side give us a quite different view of him. Calderwood adds, Mr. Howie took the defence of the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters, in the new College. His hearers declared plainly they were rather confirmed in their former opinion, than

any whit moved. He was sharply censured by the Presbytery of St. Andrews. Mr. David Dalgleish, then an Expectant, now Minister at Coupar, offered, both in private and in face of the Presbytery, to dispute publicly with him.

Bishops' Letter to the King, 1610.

Most Gracious and Sacred Sovaraigne,

We received your letter by the Lord Secretary, conteaning some directions for the better proceeding in your Highnes service committed unto us. In all the particulars we have agreed to conform ourselves and take such course as your Ma^ty^ shall have full contentment, and at last see the Government established, q^ch^ of your Highness has been long desired. And because his Löp was earnest that we should resolve according to your Ma^tys^ pleasure upon a present acceptance of the service upon us and make no longer delayes, wherunto he gave us many encouragements and very affecting persuasions, as we most confess we wer greatly affected thereby; so we advised to give all of us, under our hands, assurance to your Ma^ty^ of our resolution that way, and how we will be so far from detracting the service as we shall not cease till throu Gods help the same be brot to a good and happy end. Of the means how to bring this about are our present deliberations. We shall take by Gods help, the most safe and sure way, and what we undertake we shall be answerable to your Ma^ty^ for performance. We have all our ministers, even such as wer most refractory, at the point of tolleration. They will suffer things to proceed and be quiet, because they cannot longer strive. But when they shall espy the fruits of a better government, we do not doubt they will be better minded. Some particulars we have committed to the Secretarys remembrance and set down in a note besides, whereof we humbly entreat your Ma^tys^ answer by the first occasion, and now ceasing to be troublesome we beseech God Almighty to multiply your Ma^tys^ years with all increase of happiness.

Your Ma^tys^ most bounden and
ever devoted servants,

M. A. Brechin,
Jo. Lismorena,
Dumblane,
Ja. B. of Orcads.
Saint Androis,
Glasgow,
A. Caithnes,
Dunkeld,
B. of Galloway.

Memories to the King his Sacred Ma^ty^ about Vestments.

Since it hath pleased your Ma^ty^ to appoint not only for the Bishops, but also for the remanent Clergy, an habite distinguished from that of other estates; I am to regrate that your Ma^ty^ is not obeyed, and therefor to request your Ma^ty^ to grant me to take order theranent, both w^t^ Bishops, of whom some never took the habit but go on the very streets of Edin^r^ as laicks, and the rest of the ministers throu the kingdom, whose gowns should be like ours, except the stuff, face and tippet. So please your Ma^ty^ to be speciall, and I will be answerable for obedience of the same. . . .

Ther is no obedience concerning the ministers gouns and cassocks,

therefor it will please your Ma^ty^ to send doun a new direction to me theranent, commanding them to conform themselves to those which we Bishops have already received, for I take that those of the Bishops and the ministers are in form both one, and the difference should be in the stuff and facing of them. . . .

Sicklike it will please your Ma^ty^ to give direction as to the provest of this city his scarlet goun, w^t^ license to y^e^ Dean of Guild and Bailays to wear black gowns. I most humbly crave your Ma^tys^ pardon for impeshing your Ma^tys^ greater affairs so boldly, but I hope your Ma^tys^ graciouse inclination will not offend at a servant, who in fidelity and affection shall be inferior to none, albeit in gifts and merites most unworthy of your Ma^tys^ favour. I hope your Ma^ty^ will be so gracious as to command the Secretary to dispatch answer to these affairs w^t^ convenient diligence. Thus, I beseek God to bless your Ma^ty^ with all grace and prosperity. Ever I remain

Your Ma^tys^ most humble servant,
and devoted orator,
SAINT ANDROIS.

St, Androis, 18 of Aprile, 1610.

CALDERWOOD'S ACCOUNT OF THIS FIRST DIOCESAN SYNOD OF FIFE.

Upon the 9th of October, 1610, Mr. G. Gladstanes, Bishop of Saint Andrews, held a Diocesian Synod who wer conveened by the Bishops letters. The confyned wer absent, except Mr. John Coudan, who upon a particular letter from the Bishop compeared. The Bishop taught on 1 Cor. xv. 3, and inveighed against such as wer contentious in matters indifferent. After the doctrine, he desired the ministers to conveen in the isle of the Kirk. Formerly the Assemblys wer wont to be held in St. Leonards college. The seats wer covered with green cloath, and on the seat side was a table set, covered with green, and a great velvet cushean, [a chaire and a cusheoun] set beside the same, and a stool set for the clerk. After prayer Mr. John Mitchelson was chosen clerk; thereafter the Bishop craved a privy conference. At last Mr. John Malcome, minister at St. Johnstoun, spoke after this manner: Seeing we are here conveened, to see what shall be done to the glory of God, and well of this Kirk, we would know by what authority, and on what ground, the order of our Kirk established in so many famous Generall Assemblys before, and ratifyed by the Kings Acts, was altered; for we cannot see that order altered, but with the griefe of heart, seing we acknowledge it to be [the] only true form of Goverment of Christ's Kirk. The Bishop, in great anger, and with contempt, answered that he would not have thôt that such an aged man would have uttered such foolish talk, or could be ignorant of the Acts of the Generall Assembly at Glasgow; he added, he would be Moderator, according to that warrant, and he supposed that none was of that judgment but Mr. Malcome. Upon this, other bretheren began to speak to the same purpose; some of them styled him, my Lord, some, my Lord Moderator, Domine Moderator, and some spoke off hand without any title. Mr. William Erskine said, Domine, our Rnd. Brother and aged Father hath not spoken without a cause, for suppose we be come here thinking it is his Majesty's will, yet we are not minded, throu God's grace, to do anything, against any good order, or against our conscience, and therfor we would first see the warrand of your moderation, that if it be equitable we may proceed, otherwise, if ye will tyrannically do anything,

it wer better for us to be absent then present. The Bishop answered, who should inform you of the Acts of the Assembly? I will not satisfy any of your hearts that way. If you will go your way, upon your own peril be it; if ther wer but three or four, I shall do my duty and service to the Kings Majesty. Mr. John Kinneir said, Think ye that this can be a meeting to God's glory, or to do any good, quhen you will sit to do as you please, and will not with patience hear the bretheren; ye will find miscontentment in mo here conveened, if ye give us not some warrand. The Bishop became now calm and said, Its a strange matter, bretheren, that ye are so troubled about such indifferent matter; what matter who be Moderator, if nothing be done but to all your contentment? tary till you see somthing done; I shall promise, before God, that nothing shall be done, but with consent of the whole, or most part, of the Assembly. Mr. William Coupar said, My Lord, it wer well done to go to the matter and let the bretheren have contentment. The first thing proposed, was to chuse a privy conference; some bretheren said it was not usuall in the Assemblys of Fife before. Mr. William Buchanan said, it would be an ease to the Assembly, and it was ever a custome in Generall Assemblys; it was concluded by plurality of votes. The Bishop nominated Mr. William Coupar, the Assembly nominated Mr. John Malcomb; the Bishop nominat Mr. John Mitchelson, the Assembly nominat Mr. Edmund Myles; the Bishop nominat Mr. Andrew Forrester, the Assembly nominat Mr. David Spence; so twelve or fourteen bretheren were nominat this way. But when the conference was mett, the Bishop sent for Mr. Robert Howie, alledging that pastors should be joyned with pastors, in case any words were cast in. The manner of the tryall of bretheren was thus; Five or six bretheren wer removed, and it was asked what any man had to say against them, either in their life or in their office; when he had asked ten or twelve in the catalogue, then he asked in generall, if any man would speak, and therafter caused the beddell to cry at the Kirk dore, Is ther any man to object against the ministers of A, B, C, D, &c., their life and ministry, let them compear and speak. Thus wer the bretheren perfunctoriously and for the fashion tryed. When the Bishop would have hasted to the end of the Assembly, a brother said, the tryall of the books of the Presbitrys was forgot. Some answered that all the books of the Presbitrys wer not present; it was ordeaned that the books should be brôt as of before. Then the Bishop warned them, if any man speak [spake] against the laws of the Assembly, he should be deposed, and further punished according to his Majesty's pleasure. The Acts were read, the bretheren wer greatly moved. Mr. John Coudan, who had hitherto been silent, said, We must either tyne a good conscience, in holding back the truth, or endanger our ministry if we speak; if it fall out, that we must expound *Reges gentium dominantur &c.*, as the ancient fathers have done, and many recent writers, against the superiority of Bishops, what shall we do in this case? The Bishop answered, I told you, bretheren, I came not here to resolve questions, but I will get you fathers, and recent writers also, menteaning the authority of Bishops, out of the same place. Read Zanchius and Bucer, &c., will any man come to me, and I will let him see what I have for me, I will let him see warrands out of the word and fathers. Mr. David Merns said, Our Kirk found it all untruth in this point, while thir great livings came in; ye pretend the word, but let us see no warrand: we know nothing ye seek but gain and preferment in this course. The Bishop

in great rage, said, I beseech Jesus Christ, never let me see his glory, if I would do as I doe, for all the worlde, if I wer not perswaded I had the warrand of the word. I will say more, the Lord judge me, if I have gone so far in this course, as I think the word of God, and the practice of the primitive Kirk, gives me a warrand. Mr. William Coupar said, My Lord, hear me, and, bretheren in Christ, I beseech you, remember that thir things are not so essentiall points, as to rent the bowells of the Kirk for them. Are thir things such as to cast your ministry in hazard for them? what joy can you have for your suffering, when you suffer for a matter indifferent, as who shall be Moderator? who shall have the imposition of hands? wherfor serves it to fill the peoples ears with contentious doctrine, concerning the government of the Kirk? wer it not much better to preach sincerly, and to wait on and see what the Lord will work in thir matters? The Bishop applauded, and said no honest man would be of another opinion. Mr. David Spence said no honest man would dissemble his judgment in this matter; for a neutrall is not worthy to live in a common wealth, let be in the Kirk of God. Can we that have seen the discipline of the Kirk established by such worthy men of God, after long disputation by the space of twenty two years, sworn and subscribed to the same, call it a thing indifferent now? For my own part, added he, I stand still persuaded, till I see reason out of the word of God to the contrair. The Bishop said, Live ye upon your own opinion, and let every man be answerable what he is doing. I tell you the danger, if you or any man contraveen the Act. Mr. John Kinneir said, Ther needeth no reasoning, we must lay our account to abide the outmost extremity, if we break these acts, and yet they are such as we think, in our conscience, to be against equity and reason. No wonder, said Mr. David Spence, if I had the value of forty shilling to plead before a judge, will I make that man procurator for me, who I know will give my forty shilling to my party? we know that these men, for the most part, that wer nominat to that Assembly, wer of a contrary judgment to us, and therfor would give them no commission from our Presbitry. Finally, Mr. David Weemyse [Mearnes] said, We can do no less nor testify our miscontentment in thir things, and protest before God that in our hearts we are not satisfyed, and therfor wait till the Lord grant a better time. The Bishop said, Do so and let us end: now wher shall the next Assembly be? Mr. William Coupar stood up, and desired it might be in Perth. Wherupon the Bishop nominat Saint Andrews and Perth to be upon the lites, and by plurality of two or three votes, it was concluded to be at Saint Andrews.

Diocesan Synod at Haddington, Nov. 1, 1610.

Calderwood says:—"So ended the first Session, when the Bishop going home at the very entry of the Kirk dore had almost broken his leg, for a great stone, almost six quarters every way, sleeped down with him alone, and fell down in a trough, which was marvelouse, two or three hundred having gone out before him."

In October, 1610, Gladstanes sends up his son to the University of Cambridge, that he might have the benefit of an English education. The Bishop writes a Letter to the King,

with his son, when he comes up to the English University, which will give us a view of him in his family capacity.

Most Gracious Soveraigne,

May it please your most excellent Ma^{ty}, Whereas my son has been a studenty of Divinity at Cambridge this year; and by reason of the plague there has been debarred for a space therefra, I have taken the boldness to send him back, that if the sicknes continou in Cambridge he may go to Oxford. I hope your Ma^{ty} shall in a few years find him a well inclined and qualifyed servant to your Ma^{ty}. Wherfor, my dread Soveraigne, please your Ma^{ty} to honnour him w^{t} a kiss of your Ma^{tys} sacred hand, and receive from him some memoires q^{ch} I am bold to present to your Ma^{ty} touching your Ma^{tys} service. I hope your Ma^{ty} will peruse the same when your Ma^{ty} shall think fittest, and send back your Ma^{tys} good pleasure, as and when best shall please your Ma^{ty}; Thus I beseek God to bless your Ma^{ty} w^{t} all grace and prosperity for ever.

Your Ma^{tys} most humble servant,
and devoted orator,

St. And^{r}., 17 Oct., 1610. SANCT ANDROIS.

Under Bishop Spottiswoode's Life we shall have an Account of the Consecration of three Scottish Prelates at London. These three returned from Court in December, and, after all things for the Ceremony were ready, they met at St. Andrews, on Sunday, January 13, 1611, and Gladstanes was Consecrated Archbishop of St. Andrews, several others being Consecrated with him. The Bishops Ordained in England kept as near the manner taken with themselves there as they could. It was designed that all the Scottish Bishops should have been Ordained together, but several were absent. The stormy weather was given as the reason of it, but it was said that some of them hesitated a little at the Ceremonies that were to be used. However, they soon got over their difficulties, and such as were not Consecrated at St. Andrews were Ordained at Leith on the Lord's Day, 24th February, the same year.

DIOCESAN SYNOD AT EDINBURGH, MARCH 19, 1611.

Mr. Adam Bannatyne, minister at Falkirk, now Bishop of Dumblane, craved an helper and fellow-labourer to be granted him, upon his own charges, in respect of the far distance between his Kirk and the lands of Kilconquhar, which fell to him by the death of the Laird. But he was ordeaned either to transport himself, conform to the Act of transportation granted him at the last Synod, that the Kirk may be declared to vaik, or

else to demitt the said benefice, or else to serve in person, and make residence in his own person, to teach and minister the sacraments, all substitutes and fellow-labourers being secluded under pain of deposition, and, the premises failing, that he be deposed from all function in the ministry.

Now that the Archbishop had got his Synods modelled pretty much to his pleasure, very little further offers about him, till his Death, save two or three more Letters of his to the King, and a few more particulars. In a Letter Dated May 3, he gives an account of a Synod held in St. Andrews, and other things going on at this time. The Letter runs thus :—

'Most Gracious Soveraigne,

May it please your most excellent Ma^ty, According to your Ma^tys royall direction, I assembled the whole ministers of my diocy benorth Forth to Dee, in the city of St. Andrews, upon the first day of the seinzie, and continoued that work, according to the ancient custome, wher I found nothing but obedience and conformity in all, and did all things w^t great peace and contentment, w^t such vogue and authority in such confluence of ministers, as I think it was inferior to no Generall Assembly that has been in this kingdome, q^r your Ma^ty was not present, q^r S^r John Ogylby his absolution was concluded, because he had not only satisfyed by oath and subscription the ministry, but also your Ma^tys threasurer, and was relaxed from the horn after his payment of his composition. According wherunto I received him into y^e bosome of the Church, in the Kirk of Saint Andrews, the day of our communion; swa that therafter he communicat w^t us. Captain Tyrie his excommunication is ordered to be denounced of new, for that he deludes the Kirk, prorogates the time of his resolution, and is a scandall to the whole kingdom, who also think that his familiar usage w^t the Earle of Hume hinders his Lôps resolution. And I was desired to entreat your Ma^ty most humbly that your Ma^ty may give command to the councill, that either he may be dispatched the country, or conform himself to the true religion; wheranent I expect your royall direction. I have directed my son in law, the Rector of the University, to go forward in teaching the canon law, as the ready way to bring about the presbyterian discipline from the hearts of the young ones, and to acquaint even the eldest, w^t the ancient Church government, wherof they are ignorant, and the University has agreed therunto. This service is gratuitously done by the gentleman. When occasion serves, and after tryall of his valour, learning and wisdome, I hope your Ma^ty will have some regard of him, and the rather for my cause. As for the affairs southward, concerning my residence in Edin^r, which your Ma^ty commands, I have keeped the same precisely, and have resided there these two years passed, during the time of the sitting of the Session, to my great and exorbitant expenses. Alwise I shall never jacke to spend this body and the mean I have received of your Ma^ty, in your Ma^tys service. As concerning my preaching, and of others in the Kirk of Edin^r, I shall so do that your Ma^ty may gain your peoples hearts by my form of dealing therin. But, S^r, let me say, the Bishop of Orkney his ordinary preaching in Edin^r will seem to be a cloak for his nonresidence y^r, for it shall be meetest, that

he as others of our rank shall be imployed to teach their obiter, and I ordinarly, for as for me, *væ! mihi si non evangelizavero*, for that is my joy and crown. All the Bishops of my province are now consecrated, for after that I had performed y^t^ work so in Leith and Edin^r^, that the very precisians who had carryed prejudice about that purpose, wer fully satisfyed, being informed that those in the north, (who benorth my diocy are more unruly than any in the south,) spake calumniously both in publick and privat of that consecration, I thôt meet there also to practise that action, and therupon have consecrat the Bishops of Aberdeen and Caithness, in the Cathedrall Kirk of Brechin, being assisted w^t^ the Bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin, [in] the sight of such a multitude of people, as I never saw in such bounds. And so the whole north, as well as the south, is well resolved, in so much that I may compare w^t^ any prelate in the island of Brittain, in matter of obedience to God, to the King, and to me, the unworthy servant of you both. As concerning your Ma^tys^ direction as to the ministers of Fife, that admitted Mr. Robert Murray upon my Lord of Scoon his presentation, I have caused sumon them before the Lords of your Ma^tys^ high commission, and shall precisely follow your Ma^tys^ direction anent them, if they lay not over the same upon one another. Ther hath been a great jarr and sedition in Perth, by reason of an emulation betwixt Mr. William Coupar, and the clerk of the town, who had each one their own followers. Wherupon I have denouncit and finished a visitation of that Kirk, wherin I have settled matters in peace and love, and satisfaction of all partys. Mr. John Rutherford was placed by me in the Kirk of Darsie, very solemly before the receit of your M. letter. My advices are sent herewith to your Ma^ty^, whilk please read and direct according to your Ma^tys^ incomparable wisdom. Thus, I beseek God to bless your Ma^ty^ w^t^ all temporall and spirituall prosperity in Christ. I rest,

Your Ma^tys^ most humble
and obedient servitor,
SANCT ANDROIS.

Saint Andrews,
May 3, 1611.

After the ratification of the Acts of the Assembly at Glasgow by the Parliament, the Bishops had little more to ask, and we find the Primate dwelling much at St. Andrews, and, as far as we can learn, was not much abroad. He Presided in the High Commission, and some persecutions were raised against Papists, but the chief business of that Court came to be with Ministers and others who refused conformity to Prelacy. We have only a hint or two to give about him from Calderwood. In April, 1613, most of the Bishops met at St. Andrews, save Mr. William Couper and Mr. Andrew Lamb, who went to Court; the Bishop of Aberdeen was sick, and the Bishop of the Isles was superannuated. This was a very solemn Meeting, as Calderwood names it, but he does not tell us much that was done by them. He says, the Bishop of St. Andrews entertained them in the

Castle of St. Andrews, which he had repaired, and where he now dwelt. Before this he had a Lodging in the Town, and used to ride on a horse, with a large foot mantle, to the Kirk, when he Preached, and to Church Meetings.

In November, 1614, Mr. Alexander Gladstanes, the Bishop's son, apprehended one Moffat, a Mass Priest, at St. Andrews; he was presented before the Council, December 10, and warded in the Castle of Edinburgh. Something, says Calderwood, the Bishops behoved to do against Papists, for the sake of appearance, least they should seem to be Ordained only to persecute Ministers professing purity of discipline and of God's worship. Moffat was examined by the Bishop of St. Andrews and his associates. There was little done as to him. We shall hear of the process against Ogilby the Jesuit in Bishop Spottiswoode's Life. Moffat was not so violent and positive as he, and so escaped.

The Bishop did not live long after this. He seems to have brought on his Death by indulging his appetite. But we choose rather to give the account of his Death in the words of others. Calderwood tells us:—

> Mr. George Gladstanes departed this life in the castle of Saint Andrews, the 2d of May. Many times before, because his face was disfigured, he had his night bonnet drawn down to his nose. When the ministers of Saint Andrews inquired if they should pray for him publickly, he answered it was not yet time; so he was never prayed for publickly, but the same day he departed, and that was done without his knowledge. He was unwilling to die, or to suffer any honest man in the ministry to come near him, either to awaken his conscience or comfort him. At the desire of his wife and children, he subscribed a few lines wherin he approved the present course to procure the Kings favour to them. His flesh fell of him in lumps. Notwithstanding of the great rent of his Bishoprick, he dyed in the debt of twenty thousand pounds. He was both ambitious and covetous. Papists and hainouse offenders wer winked at for bribes given to his servants and dependars. He was buried upon the 7th of June, in Saint Andrews. A canoby of black velvet was carryed above the coffine by four men, and yet the corps was not in the coffine, but burried soon after his death. Mr. William Coupar made his funerall sermon full of vile flattery and lyes, and knowen to be so by the people, and therfor he was derided. It was reported that the King bestowed ten thousand merks on his buriall.

We have seen that he was Married, and had children. His son, Alexander, was Archdeacon of St. Andrews, but we learn no

further of him than what is above, and a hint we shall have about him in Bishop Spottiswoode's Life. His character must be gathered from what is above, and we may see a good deal of his temper and methods in his Letters. He does not seem to have been a person of such learning that we might look for any of his writings to be left behind him; his inclinations seem to have gone another way.

We shall end what we can collect about him and his character from Bishop Spottiswoode, Mr. Archibald Simson, and Mr. Row, all of whom knew him personally. If they differ in his character, we must allow his Successor to speak of him, with some art and reserve. The Bishop says:—

> In the spring, 1615, Mr. George Gladstanes, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, departed this life, a man of good learning, ready utterance, and great invention, but an easy nature, and induced by those he trusted to do many things hurtfull to the See, especially in leasing the tithes of his benefices, for many ages to come, esteeming (which is the error of many churchmen,) that by this means he might purchase the love and friendship of men; wheras ther is no friendship sure, but that which is joyned with respect, and to the preserving of this nothing conduceth more than a wise and prudent administration of the churches rents wherewith they are intrusted. He left behind him in writing a declaration of his judgment touching matters then contraverted in the Church; professing that he had accepted the episcopall function on good warrand, and that his conscience did never accuse him for anything done that way. This he did to obviat the rumors, which he forsaw would be dispersed after his death, either of his recantation, or of some trouble of spirit that he was cast into; for these are the usuall practises of the puritanicall sect, wheras he ended his dayes most piously, to the great comfort of all the beholders. His corps was interred in the south east isle of the parish Church, and the funerall preach[ed] by Mr. William Couper, minister of Galloway, who was lately before preferred, upon the decease of Mr. Gavin Hamiltoun, Bishop of that See; a man for courage, true kindness, and zeal to the Church, never enough commended.

Bishop Spottiswoode says nothing of his Predecessor's piety, save a word that he drops at his Death, and that is much otherwise represented, as we see by the Writers on the other side. We have seen how Calderwood narrates Bishop Gladstane's Declaration about Government and Discipline at his Death, and Bishop Spottiswoode says he gave it to prevent Puritanical misrepresentations. We find that this vile practice

of conning Recantations is chargeable upon the Prelatical side. Whoever takes this unworthy method, ought to be abhorred.

We shall next insert the character Mr. Archibald Simson gives of this Archbishop, in his Annals, under the year 1615:—

Georgius Gledstonus, Archiepiscopus Fani-Andreæ, patre natus, Albertô Gledstonô, scribâ curiæ Taodunensis. In litteris educatus, lauream adeptus, primum montis Rosciæ in Angusia (Latinæ Linguæ) professor, post pastoris munus juvenis aggreditur et Sancti Syrisii ecclesiæ præficitur; inde, propter tenuitatem fortunæ, Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesiam occupat, et illinc etiam, inter annos paucos, Kennethi Merniæ transmigrat, post in Kelliam transportandum se curat, amplioris lucri spe; deniqȝ, in tempestate nostræ ecclesiæ se in sedem Andreanam intrudit, [vivis] duobus ministris, viris doctis et probis, Davide Blackiô et Roberto Wallesiô, plebe invitâ, et pastoribꝫ presbiteriis nolentibus. Mox tanta erat viri ambitio, Cathenensem episcopatum ambit, et tandem ad fastigium perveniens, cathedram Andreapolitanam, metropolitanus Scotiæ et primas factus, obtinet. Stulte superbivit; ebrius suique immemor, ad honorum fastigia perveniens, de se jactare solebat, se nulli Scotiæ inter nobiles inferiorem, si hi dialecticâ Bezæ parem. Baccho et tobaccho ita noctes diesque indulgebat, ut suâ dexterâ se jugulaverit; tandem pinguetudine assumptus omnibusqȝ corporis partibꝫ misere consumptis, vermibus scatens, exhalavit mense Juliô (Maiô), cujus putredinem nec ipsius uxor aut liberi ferre poterant, sed eâ ipse nocte sepultus. Moriens dixit Davidi Barcleo, pastori Andreano, Utinam ego grammatices fuissem professor, et nunquam in hanc sedem pervenissem, quæ mihi jam morienti tantas tamqȝ graves molestias peperit. Exequiis dies dictus; ferretro arenâ pleno veloque byssino superlato in terram arenea imago portatur; Gulielmo Cupero, ejus laudum preconi, palamqȝ omnibus circumstantibus tubicen, qui sepulto præcinere solet, inquit, Tu nunquam in resurrectione resurges,—de arena loquens. De quo,

Gladstonus Andreæ fuit Archiepiscopus olim,
A milvo et saxo qui sibi nomen habet:
Saxa premunt, milvusqȝ vorat, pia pignora Christi;
Milvum ipsum tandem, se quoqȝ saxa premunt.

Joannes Spotswodius eum hoc honore insignivit, quod dignus esset cujus ossa suspenderentur, quod ecclesiæ suæ redditus dilapidâsset. In ejus sedem succedit Joannes Spotswodius, olim ecclesiæ Glasguensis, qui ab aulâ rediens, magnâ solemnitate, regiô more, Andreapolin petit, et a Gulielmô Cuperô, 6tô Augusti, Archiepiscopus declaratur.

We will add the character and account Mr. John Row gives of Bishop Gladstanes. Mr. Row was Minister near Mr Gladstanes, and no doubt had personal acquaintance of him, being nearly fifteen years in the same Synod with him. There is some acrimony in Mr. Row's expressions, for which, no doubt, he thought he had reason. We give his own words:—

In the moneth of May, 1615, Mr. George Gladstanes, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, departed this life; he lived a filthy belly god, he dyed of a filthy and loathsome desease—σκώληκοβρωτος. In the time of his sicknes, he desired not any to visit him, or to speak comfortably to him, neither that they should pray publickly for him, but he left a supplication behind him to the King, that he might be honourably buried, that his wife and bairns might be helped, because of his great poverty and debt at his death. Behold the curse of God on Bishops rents and revenues! all which was done. Albiet his filthy carrion behoved to be buried instantly after his death, by reason of the most loathsome case that it was in, yet the solemnity of the funeralls was made in the moneth of June following; the day of his funeral, being a windy and stormy day, blew away the pall that was caryed above his head, and marred all the honnours that was carryed about his coffine.

The epitaph of Mr. George Gladstanes, who took upon him first to be a Bishop in this their last rising, 1610:—

Here lies beneath thir laid-stanes,
The carcase of Master George Gladstanes,
Wherever be his other half,
Lo! here ye's have his epitaph.

Heavens abject; for he was an earthly beast,
Earths burden, for his belly was his god,
A Bacchus Bishop, for a fleshy feast,
And for religion, but a Romish rod.
As false in heart, as fiery in his face,
Of civil conversation the shame,
And lacked, what he loved, be styled Grace!
His life was still repugnant to that name.
As by his death his life ye may determine,
A lazie life drawes on a lousie death.
A fearfull thing, since vile Herodian vermine
Did stop that proud presumptuous prelates breath,
Yet worst of all in mind to be imprinted,
None loved his life, als few his death lamented.

Mr. Row adds, "That he was a wild filthy bellygod is noture to all who knew his evening prayer after supper. 'Lord, keep king James, who garrs Gladstanes wamb go farting full to the bed of it.' That perjured Apostates filthy memory stink rots and perishes."

Epitaphium.

Restis Hamiltonum necat, ensis ut ante Betonum,
Diraq3 Adamsonum sustulit ecce fames.
Quid tibi, Gladstoni, quarto tua fata relinquunt?
Heredem cum te tres statuere trium.
Dira fames, crux prisca, novum nova fata decebunt,
Flammæ animam comedant, pinguaq3 colla canes.

Englished Thus.

The bastard Bishop Hamiltoun was hanged,
And Cardinal Beaton stobbed;
Proud Adamson with famine much,
Of all comfort was robbed.
Gladstanes! thourt fourth; thy destiny
What has it left to thee?
For certainly wee'l serve the heir,
To all the former three.
Famine and gallows are not enough,
Some new wrath waits for thee.
By hellish flames thy soul, by dogs
Fat neck devoured be.

The Writer of the Collections from 1589-1641 gives this character of the Bishop, and some hints as to his Burial:—

Upon the 2d day of May, Mr. George Gladstanes, Bishop of Saint Andrews, departed this life. Before he was made Archbishop, he was minister of the town of Saint Andrews. He was a man of mean degree, a reasonable good scholar, but meikle given to great feeding and drinking. All the time he was Bishop he did no good to the Kirk; and sundry persons within his diocess, who had committed great crimes, baith of papistry and utherwise, wer overseen for geir-giving to sic as awaited and followed the Bishop, as his servants and dependars. He was eight or nine yeir Bishop; he had to spend in yearly rent and casualtys fifteen thousand merks Scots money, and yet when he dyed he was indebted twenty thousand pounds Scots money. Upon the 7th of June, by his son and friends he was solemly buryed with great pomp and state, with a canopy of black velvet born above the coffine, according to the buriall of a prince; and yet all that pomp was only done for a shew, for the corpse was not in the coffine being laid in the eird long before, only this form of the buriall was made for gloriosity and schaw.

His son, Doctor Alexander Gladstanes (and we hear of no others), continued Archdeacon of St. Andrews till the great turn of affairs, 1638, when the Presbytery of St. Andrews summoned him before them, and passed sentence of Deposition; upon which, the matter coming before the Assembly, they confirmed what the Presbytery had done. He declined their authority, and Protested.

We shall add here Mr. Martine's character of Bishop Gladstanes, in his *Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ*. This Writer is as friendly to the Bishop as he can, and yet he blames Bishop Gladstanes for Dilapidations in his 8 [9] Ch. S. 2:—

Archbishop Gladstanes wronged the See, and diminished the revenues therof very considerably. *Primo*, by feuing out to the Viscount of Dupline, or Earle of Kinnoul, then [therafter] Chancelour, twenty chalder of victuall in the few farmes of Kincaple, for a small reddendo, which the Chancelour sold afterwards to the Laird of Dairsy. 2*do*, by fewing out to the heritors of Kilrynnie or [and] Innergelly other five chalders of victuall of their few farm, and converted to money at . . . per boll, which [with] some others of his deeds, were extremely prejudiciall to the See; and his successor Bishop Spotswood taxes him for this.

Mr. Martine, in his List of the Archbishops, gives this further account of him:—

George Gladstanes, Bishop of Caithness, and minister of Saint Andrews, in An. 1606, was created Archbishop and translated to this See. This year passed the Act famouse for its title, Anent the restitution of Bishops, which is misconstrued by some, as if before that the estate of Bishops had been utterly overthrowen in Scotland. But that was never intended, sayes Spotswood, but only by this Act the temporality of Bishopricks, which by the Act of annexation, 1587, belonged to the crown, was restored; for its observable that the same Archbishop was before, while he was minister at Saint Andrews, Bishop of Caithness, yea and Archbishop at Saint Andrews before the Act, for he sat in the Parliament that made the Act as such, and therin consented to the dissolution of the castle of Saint Andrews, a part of the temporality of the Archbishoprick, from the Archbishoprick. After his translation to this See, followed the second conference at Hampton Court; the first was with the puritanicall ministers in England, this with the Scots. See Spotswood, p. 497. Archbishop Gladstanes dyed in the spring, 1615, and was burryed in the parish Church of Saint Andrews, in the common isle. He was a man learned, eloquent, and of great invention, but, as his successor hath it, of an easy nature and soon induced to do many things hurtfull to the See. He used alwise to preside not only at the ordinary meetings of the Presbitry, but also at the publick giving of degrees in the University of Saint Andrews, wherof *virtute officii* he was chancelour, if he was on the place. So great were his parts, learning and readynes, that in anno 1605, the plague breaking out in Saint Andrews, its reported that the rector and all the masters of the colledge in a morning about five of the clock, somwhat sooner than ordinary time of commencement, addressed him in his bed, for breaking up teaching and dissolving the scholars. He bade be ready at the ringing of the bell. Within two or three hours he appeared in publick, discoursed upon the Theme, *De Fœtu Abortivo*, conferred the degrees himself, and so broke up the University for that time and year. This Archbishop was called and brôt to Saint Andrews at first from being minister at Ardbirlot, of purpose to ballance and poize Mr. Andrew Melvil, and to guard the University and students against his principles, and to force them from being twanged [tinged] by his seditiouse and turbulent way, and many a hote bickering was betwixt them hereupon.

L. John Spottiswoode. A.D. 1615-39.

The following "Collections on the Life of Mr. John Spotswood, Archbishop first of Glasgow and next of Saint Andrews," were never before Printed, but are now given *verbatim et literatim* from the MS. Biographical Collections of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, Minister of Eastwood, in the Glasgow College Library, F. 5. 14.

Reasons of Writing this Life, with the Vouchers.

When I am giving the best views I can of the eminent and remarkable persons in the Church, at and after the Reformation, it would not be agreeable to the designe of a Biography to confyne myself to any one sort of persons. It is not sides, but facts that may be of use, and worth our knowing now, which I am concerned in: therefore, as I have given what I could collect as to Mr. Patrick Adamson, Mr. John Wynrame, and others, who fell in with Prelacy, in its *Tulchan* shape, so I come now to give what I have met with as to Bishop Spotswood, and some others his fellow Bishops, when Prelacy was set up in Scotland at its full growth and hight.

Bishop Spotswood was a person of very considerable learning, and great application to business; he was polite, and much shaped out for a Court; a man of management, and indeed had the chief conduct of Ecclesiasticall affairs, with no small influence upon those of a Civil nature, for 37 years, in Scotland. The various steps taken for bringing in of Prelacy, against the inclinations of the generality, both of Ministers and persons of Rank and Influence, till overswayed by the King's pleasure, and the artfull methods gradually and yet effectually to bring about so great a change in this Church, which were chiefly contrived and executed by Mr. Spotswood's means, shew him to have been a person of very great reach and comprehension, and remarkable diligence, application, and art.

I am sensible of the difficulty in my essaying any account of his Life, and how I may be in hazard of being suspected of partiality against a person whom I freely own I take to have been the great instrument of overturning the Reformation Con-

stitution of this Church, and from whom I differ so much in the accounts I give of ye affairs in this time. But I hope nothing shall ever prevail with me to write anything contrary to the rules of truth and fairness. To lye for God or the Truth, is vile and abominable; and I am sure the wrath of man never works the righteousness of God. Differences in opinion, and even the doing of things which I reckon very unjustifiable, shall never byass me (if I know myself) to conceal anything advantagious and praiseworthy, nor prevail with me to say anything no justifiable, or to the disadvantage of them that differ from me, but what appears to me to be fact. I may be out in my informations, but I shall still give my vouchers; I may be wrong in my inferences from facts, in which, especially as to persons who differ from me, I incline to be very sparing; but still, I stand willing and ready to be set right: and if the most part of the facts I am to relate be unfavourable to the Bishop, or others whose Lives I write, this is not from inclination, but because I find things thus in the Papers and Vouchers before me. These are generally write by persons who disliked the Bishop's procedure and way, but they were contemporary with him, and persons of veracity and probity; and if I had met with Papers upon the other side, I should have reckoned it justice to have insert[ed] both. I shall not overlook anything in his Life before his Printed History, which is favourably enough write, and the Publick Papers writt at that time, Calderwood, Row, and other Manuscripts,

which I shall cite as they come, are my vouchers for what I narrate. And it's very reasonable the Reader should consider us all as persons who differ from the Bishop in sentiments and practices, and leave room for what shall be advanced from others in his defence, which must be weighed just according to the proof and vouchers brought. This much I thought proper to say, once for all, upon the Lives of this kind which I am to give.

His Birth, 1565

Upon his father, the Superintendant's Life, I have given the account of the Family and Descent of the Bishop. The writter of the A'bishop's Life before his History, who is supposed to have been Duppa, first of Salisburry and last of Winchester, tells us—"He was Born in the year 1565, and no sooner was he brought into the world but a remarkable passage accompanied it, for among the rest that were present (not ordinary gossypers, but women of good note), there was one of them who, in a sober thô in a prophetick fitt, taking the child in her arms, called aloud to the rest in these or the like terms—*Ye may all well rejoice in the Birth of this child, for he will become the prop and pillar of this Church, and the main and chief instrument in the defending of it.* From what principle this Prediction came, or how she was thus Inspired, I will not search into; but that her words came really to pass, may really appear to him that reads this short story of his Life." No doubt Bishop Duppa, if he was the writter, had this Account from some of the family of Spotswood, as a Tradition; and I will not doubt of the fact. It would be a very naturall wish; and considering his worthy father's care about him, it might be asserted by the good woman, and predicted. But the Bishop and I will differ about the accomplishment, unless he had inserted the *Church of England* instead of *this Church*, or the Churches modelled according to what B. Duppa thought the best Constitution of a Church. I shall give things as I find them.

His Education at Glasgow, where he gets his Degrees, 1581.

The same Writer adds—"Being a child pregnant with great spirit and good memory, he was, by his parents' care, brought up in the University of Glasgow, where he came so early to perfection, that he received his Degrees in the 16 year of his age." B. Duppa adds a compliment to us in Scotland, that however

late our naturall productions be, yet Scotsmen are a better mold, and ripen as early as in more southern climates, of which there are many instances of excellent men of all sorts in Scotland. I only notice, that Mr. Spotswood, for some time, was under Mr. Andrew and James Melvills, as his Masters, at Glasgow, and for some time he seemed to follow that zealous and firm course they chose, but did not continue long treading their steps.

In the year 1583, at 18 years, he Preaches in ye Parish of Calder, and helps his father.

I go on with his Printed Life. "Mr. Spotswood having laid his foundation in Humane Arts and Sciences, did not make his period there, but used them as the roundles of a ladder, by which he might climb higher, to the knowledge of Divine things; to the practice of which, by way of Charge, he was sooner called than he expected; for his father being, by age and weakness of body, unable to appear in publick any more, none was thought fitter to succeed in the Personage of Calder than his son. Thô otherwise, in a well governed Church, his age (being then but eighteen) might, in ane ordinary course, have been a barre agst. him; but his early parts, and his conscientious diligence in attending this Cure, supplyed his defect of years; and the greenness of his youth was corrected and tempered by so sober a gravity, as no man could either despise his youth or think him unfitt for the imployment."

Ordained to a Parish in the Merse before 1586.

There is no more in the Bishop's Printed Life till the [year] 1601, and I'll supply this gap from some hints in Calderwood's Manuscript. I doubt a little if the Bishop was Ordained to his father's Charge during his father's life, and so early as the year 1583, as Bishop Duppa intimates. After his father's Death, he seems to have been Minister at Calder before he was Archbishop; but from Mr. Calderwood's MSS. it appears Mr. Spotswood was Minister somewhere in the Merse, and it's the more probable, because, as we have seen on his father's Life, his relations were there, and his father, tho' aged, was able to make some publick appearances in the year 1583. I reckon that at that time he helped his father by Preaching for him, till he was settled in Tiviotdale. What time he was Ordained there, I have not found, but it seems to have been before the [year] 1586.

Since I find Mr. Spotswood a member of the G. Assembly,

He is a Member of the Ass. 1586, where he dissents from the *midse* in favour of Mr. P. Adamson.

May, 1586, whereas we have seen, upon Bishop Adamson's Life, his affair came in, and a *midse* was gone into, by the Court's influence, which was very unsatisfying to a great many of the Ministry. From this conclusion, Mr. Calderwood names Mr. John Spotswood, with Mrs. Pont, Dalgleish, Johnstoun, Knox, McGie, Hume, Clappertoun, Durie, and others of the zealous sort of the Ministry, as a Dissenter from the *midse* gone into, when the Synod of Fife was removed by the Assembly; and we shall find Mr. Spotswood still upon that side, for near ii years, in Judicatorys; and about the [year] 1597 he seems to have struck in with the Court designes.

1586, he subscribes as a Member of ye Synod of Merse

This same year, I find Mr. Spotswood subscribing an Act of the Synod of Merse, Tiviotdale, and Tweddale, declaring their adherance to, and their sentiments about, ye Government and Discipline of the Kirk. The occasion of this was the different practices last year, when Mr. P. Adamson was at ye top of his grandeur, and violently urged ye Subscription of ye Acts of Parliament, 1584, which were flatly contrary to the principles and practices of this Church since the Reformation. The Act of this Synod I'le insert, with all the Ministers Subscribers, because I have not mett with [it] any where, save in Calderwood, thô I am ready to think this was the practice of other Synods at this time, for the preservation of purity and unity. The Synod met at Lauder, Oct. 12, 1586, and their Act runs as follows:—

Act of the Synod of Merse Oct. 12, 1586, for unity, and declaring their adherance to ye Discipline and Government of the Kirk, as before 1584.

Forasmuch as there is risen heavy and great sclander, not only throw many parts in Scotland, but also among diverse Reformed Kirks in forreign nations, that we who are of the Ministry of Scotland are divided in opinions touching the true policy and government of the House of God; which is spread and increased by Subscribing a Letter presented by the King's Ma^{ty} to a great many of us, and by mistaking the simple and sincere meaning of the Subscribers of the same. Therefore we, the whole Brethren Conveened at this present Synod, do manifest and publish to the whole world, that amongst us there is no disseverance or diversity of opinions touching ye policy and government of the House of God; but fully agree, that the same is the right government of his House, agreeing with the Blessed Institution of his Son, the only Head of the same, which hath been exercised in Scotland, by Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, particular Assemblys of Kirks, Presbitrys, Provinciall and Generall Assemblys in Scotland, as was before May, 1584. The true and plain meaning of us who Subscribed the Letter, was only an obligation of obedience to the King's Ma^{ty}, and so many of his Highnes' Laws as were agreeable to the Word of God allennarly; according

to his Majesty's own Declaration to us, by word and write (that his Highness would press us no further), before the said Subscription, no wise allowing of that tyrannical supremacy of Bishops and Archbishops over Ministers and their Lawes, which directly repugne to the Word of God, as namely the 2d, 4th, 5th, and twentieth Acts of Parliament holden at Edinr. the foresaid year; as also the Act annulling Mr. Robert Montgomery his Excommunication, or any other Act made to ye like effect. But that we that Subscribed, and they that did not Subscribe, they as we, and we as they, in unity of minds and opinions, declare our miscontentment and misliking of the said Act of Tyrannical Supremacy; and therefore wills that men charitably esteem and judge of us all, as united and faithfully knit together in carefull building of the House of God. And therefore this present Assembly ordaineth every Presbitry to take order for the publication of this Act as they shall think expedient, and as may serve to edification, and removing of the slander, where it is most spread. And further, that none inveigh against other, publickly, privately, in the pulpit or at table, directly or indirectly, touching the premisses; which if they do, the same being tryed by the Presbitry, the person found guilty, shall be suspended from all function of the Ministry, till further order be taken thereanent, by the Synod or General Assembly. Sic subscribitur—

Mr. John Knox, Moderator.
Mr. Andrew Clayhills, Minister of Jedburgh.
Mr. John Betoun, Minister at Roxburgh.
Mr. William Balfour, Minister at Kelso.
Mr. Thomas Story, Minister at Foulden.
Robert Hislop, Minister at Whitsome.
Mr. Robert Ker, Minister at Marbotle.
Mr. Archibald Douglas, Minister at Maner.
Matthew Riddell, Minister at St. Bothans.
Adam Dickson, Minister at Peebles.
William Sinclair, Minister at Preston.
William Carraill, Minister at Edrom.
David Hume, Minister at Coldinghame.
Duncan Walker, Minister at Bassendane.
Mr. William Methven, Minister at Langtoun.
Mr. James Daes, Minister at Wilton.
Mr. John Spotswood, Minister at
Alexander Lauder, Minister at Lauder.
Andrew Winchester, Minister at Hiltoun.
John Smith, Minister at Selcridge.
Mr. John Hume, Minister at
John Lightbody, Reader at
Thomas Duncanson, Minister at Boltoun.
George Johnstoun, Minister at Ancoum.
Robert Allan, Minister at Rewlands.
Mr. Archibald Douglas, Minister at Kirkurd.
Thomas Bisset, Minister at Drumallier.
Mr. William Auchimoutie, Minister at Hawick.
John Clapperton, Minister at Lennel.
James Mitchell, Minister at Stou.

1590, Mr. Spotswood, now Minister at Calder, a Member of the Committee of Assembly to try such as were concerned in ye *Bridge of Dee.*

I have observed no more about Mr. Spotswood till the year 1590, when, as I take it, he was Transported from the Merse and settled at Calder, in his father's Parish; at least, I find him and Mr. James Law named generally together with the Ministers in the Presbitry of Linlithgow. Thus in the G. Assembly which Conveened August 4, 1590, they are both named by the Generall Assembly in a Commission granted to Try and Censure the persons concerned in the *Bridge of Dee*, as it was termed. It was a gathering of the Earles of Huntley, Crawford, Erroll, and others, Papists and favourers of Popery, to have fought with the King at [and] his Forces, in Aprile, 1589. The Assembly, as I take it, at the King's desire, and with his concurrence, named a Committee of the Ministers in and about Edinr., to call all concerned in that Rising before them, and proceed against them as they find cause. The Act itself will give the best view of this, which I the rather insert, because it has not been published. In the Registers, *Sess.* 17, it runs thus :—

> Forasmuch as the dangerous Insurrection made at the Bridge of Dee being considered to have notoriously imported speciall prejudice to the True Religion, publickly professed and established, by the mercy of God, within this Realme; not the less, the speciall authors and interprizers of the same, remaining under the said slander, have never meaned to purge themselves thereof, by their confession of their offence and satisfying of the Kirk of God therefore. The Generall Assembly, for this cause presently Conveened, have given their full power and Commission to the Brethren of the Presbitry of Edinr., with concurrence of one of the King's Majesty's Ministers, and Mr. Robert Hepburn, Mr. William Sanderson, Mr. James Carmichael, Mr. Thomas McGee, Mr. George Ramsay, Mr. Adam Johnstoun, Mr. James Law, Mr. John Spotswood, to Summond before them in Edinr. the Lords, Earles, Barrons, and Free Holders that were at the said Insurrection, and speciall Traffickers and Counsellours to the said Noblemen, and to Charge them to acknowledge and confess the offence against the true Kirk of God and his Religion; and make satisfaction for the slander committed by them therethrough, under the pain of Excommunication; and that betwixt and the first of February next to come: Referring to their discretion the particular Diets and order of Proces to be keeped by them therein, providing alwise that this Commission be executed betwixt and the said day; requiring their Brother Mr. John Craige to remember the matter to the said Commissioners, as he would eschew the blame of the Brethren in case of negligence.

He appeareth in defence of Sr. James Sandilands, Jan., 1595.

When Mr. Spotswood was Minister at Calder, he was very well w^t^ that family, and he generally appeared in a quarrell between the Sandilands and the Grahams. The occasion of the

debate, I can give no account of, nor know I any more than Calderwood tells of him :—

> Upon the last of January, 1595, there was a great Combat between the Master of Grahame and Sr. James Sandilands, upon the High Street of Edinr., the King being in the Tolbooth. Some were slain on both sides, and Sr. James Sandilands himself hurt with two shotts. He had been killed, if George Lockhart of Air had not stood above him, and defended, till the Town of Edinr. came and sundered them. Mr. John Spotswood, afterward Bishop of Saint Andrews, played the part manfully that day in defence of Sr. James.

He acquaints the King with what passes among the Ministers, 1596

If Mr. Archibald Simson's accounts hold, Mr. Spotswood has been gained over to the Court measures next year, before the known 17 of December. He says, that whatever was agreed on in the most privat of the Meetings of the Ministry at Edinr., Mr. Spotswood secretly convoyed it to the King. His words are in his Annalls, this year. Speaking of the change at Court, by the Octavians prevailing there, he says—"Hinc factum est, ut Ministri, amultis regni partibus convenerant, ut Ecclesiæ laboscenti prospiciant; viri singulares, si unquam Scotia produxit, eruditione, zelo, prudentia, reliquisqȝ ornamentis. Hi consiliabulo regni habito Edinburgi, de Ecclesiæ soliciti, quidquid clanculum inter se meditati, per Joannem Spotswodium Calderi pastorem scriptum Regi delatum est." Mr. Simson either begins this turn too soon, or if so soon, Mr. Spotswood continoued to keep on a cover for some time further, and still to be on Mr. Bruce, and the Ministers who were most zealous, their side.

He appears keen for the Ministers after the Broil, Dec. 17, 1596.

Thus Mr. Calderwood observes, that after the 17 of December, Mr. Robert Bruce and the rest of the Ministers of Edinr. were obliged to rêtire from the King's rage for some time; and when they removed, Mr. Bruce left ane Apology, which is to be seen in his Life; and after Mr. Calderwood has inserted it in his MSS. History, he adds—"As their Apology came to severall hands, so among others into Mr. John Spotswood's, now B. of St. Andrews, and he appeared to be so frank in their cause, that he would needs give it a sharper edge."

1598, he deals in Mr. R. Bruce his affair.

Upon the great turn in the Church, which the King brought about, after the Broil last named, great interest was made to bring over Ministers to the King's side, as we will see in Mr. R.

Bruce and Mr. James Melvill's Life. But when Mr. Spotswood was gained, I cannot precisely determine. I do not find him named upon the Commission named by the Assembly, 1597 nor 1598, tho' B. Gladstanes, Bishop Lindsay, and some others favourable to Prelacy, were named. And yet I find him present with the Commissioners of the Assembly, 1598, but in what capacity I cannot tell, when they deal with Mr. Robert Bruce to accept of Ordination to a particular Charge, as stands in Mr. Bruce's Life.

Marryed to Mr. David Lindsay's daughter, and still appears to be on the strict side, June, 1599.

Next year I find him Marryed to Mr. David Lindsay, Minister at Leith, his daughter; and in a Meeting of the Ministers of the Synod of Lothian, he still appears to profess himself upon the side which the stricter sort of the Ministers were on. I have upon Mr. Robert Pont's Life given some account of that Meeting from Mr. Calderwood, and shall only resume it here in as far as it concerns Mr. Spotswood. The Ministers of Lothian now Conveened, at the King's desire, to delay a Fast that was not so agreeable to the King, June, 1599. The causes of the Fast, penned by Mr. Robert Pont, were read. The Ministers were generally for keeping the Fast, as appointed by the last Synod, and against a delay, till a Meeting of Ministers the King designed should meet in July. Mr. Pont was for continouing the Fast, were it but to pray for conduct to the Ministers who were to meet. Mr. John Davidson, in his zealous manner, said, He prayed God might disappoint them, who Conveened in the name of man and not in the name of God and his Kirk. Mr. David Lindsay, who was on the opposite side, said, The opposition of Ministers to the King had done much evil. Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. Duncanson answered, That it was not opposition but yielding had done much evill; and neither was the opposition or yielding so much to the King, as to some Ministers about the King, whom it became to be otherwise occupied. Mr. John Spotswood said, Let us not seek worldly ease, with the loss of the liberty of Christ's Kingdome; with which words, his father in law, Mr. David Lindsay, was much dashed, and the Brethren took a good conceit of Mr. Spotswood.

The first time I find him on the other side, is at the Assembly,

1600, when the reasoning was warm enough about Ministers' Vote in Parliament, of which there is ane account in Mr. James Melvill's Life. For shortening their Debates, it was moved, that four on each side should confer apart; and if they could agree, it was said, an universall agreement would follow. On the one side were chosen Mr. George Gladstanes, Mr. James Nicholson, Mr. Robert Hume, and Mr. Alexander Douglas, with Mr. John Spotswood for their Scribe; for the other, Mr. Patrick Sharp, Mr. Patrick Simson, Mr. James Melvill, and Mr. David Barclay, and one for their Scribe. It's probable, by the influence of his father in law, and the importunity of the Courtiers, with promises of a Bishoprick, he was now brought openly to appear on the Bishops' side; and in this Assembly, I find both him and Mr. James Law upon the Commission, after which they are still upon it till the Commission was swallowed up in their turning Bishops.

1600, he is for Ministers voting in Parliament.

Next year, Mr. Spotswood went over to France with the Duke of Lennox, whom the King sent Ambassador to Paris. He himself, in his History, tells us, that he went in quality of Chaplain, and designes himself then, Parson of Calder. He intimates a design that the King of France had upon the Succession to England, in the event of Queen Elizabeth's demise, which was expected about that time; so much, that the King of France went in a suddain, incognito, to Calis, to be in a readiness. But the Queen lived some time longer. The writter of his Life gives us this part of the Bishop's life thus: "Neither were his virtues buried and confyned within the boundaries of his Parish, for having formerly had a relation to the Noble Family of Lennox, he was looked upon as the fittest person of his quality to attend Lodovick, Duke of Lennox, as his Chaplain, in that honourable Embassy to Henry the 4th of France, for confirming the ancient amity between the two Nations; wherein he so discreetly carried himself, as added much to his reputation, and made it appear, that men bred up in the shade of Learning might possibly endure the sunshine; and when it came to their turns, might carry as handsomely abroad as those whose Education, being in a more pragmatick way, usually undervalue them. In the Retinue of this

July, 1601, he goes to France as Chaplain to the Duke of Lennox, Ambassadour.

Noble person he returned from France, thorow England, where Q. Elizabeth, being in her declining age, was saluted by Ambassadour; who, seeing her draw on so fast, might easily guess that his Master's rising in ye horizon was not then far off." Our Presbiterian writters blame him for complyances at the Popish Mass, which gave umbrage to the Protestant Ministers at Paris; and I guess, while at London, Mr. Spotswood made up some acquaintance with the English Bishops; and after he had been at Mass in France, he would like the usage in their Cathedrall Service better. Let me give Mr. Calderwood's and then Mr. A Simson's accounts of this step of his. "The Duke of Lennox, says Calderwood, was directed in Ambassage to France, and embarked at Leith, the 10th of July, 1601, with a Train of many Gentlemen. The points of his Commission were not known. Mr. John Spotswood, now Minister at Calder, went with him, to attend on him; and made no scruple to go in to see a Mass Celebrat, and to goe so near, that it behoved him to discover his head and kneel." Mr. A. Simson, in his Annalls, is some more particular. "Hoc anno, Ludovicum Ducem Leoiniæ, in Gallias Legatum misit, cui inservirit Joannes Spotisvidius, in rebus sacris ei ministraturus; hoc primum tempore, rebus politicis se implicans; quicum Regi Gallorum missæ interfuit Joannes Spotisvidius, magno cum Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ scandalo, quo viri optimi offendebantur; præsertim Dominus Maulinæus, qui in Scotiam literas misit, plurimum questus, Scottorum ministrum, abominabili illæ missæ interfuisse. Joannes Spotisvidius, a Gulielmo comite Myrtoniæ, in castro Dalkethensi, hujus sceleris incusatus, multis nobilibus tunc præsentibus, respondit vehementer ipsum pœnitore, promisitqȝ, et scriptis, et publico sermone in Ecclesia, et in omni colloquio, hoc in se, et in omnibus aliis damnaturum."

Nominat to be A.B. of Glasgow, Aprile, 1603.

Mr. Spotswood continoued Minister at Calder, and much about Court, till the King's accession to the Croun of England, when he went to England with him, and upon the road was named A.Bishop of Glasgow, in Bishop Beatoun's room, and was sent back to attend on the Queen in her journey to London. In April, 1603, the King took journey to London, and, as the Bishop tells us, when he was on his journey, at Burleigh House,

the King was advertised of A.Bishop Beaton's Death in Paris that month, and Mr. Spotswood was destinat to be his successor, and sent back to Scotland to attend the Queen in her journey to London, and serve her for Elemosinar. Churchmen are alwise luckie when imployed in affairs of a Civil nature. The English Historians represent the Bishop in such circumstances, as he had no orders to bring Prince Henry to England with the Queen, and her Ma^{ty} would not stirr without him. The Family of Marr, having no orders to part with the Prince, refused to part with him. The Queen took this so bitterly, that abortion followed. However, orders were soon sent down for the Prince's journey. The writer of the Bishop's Life gives us this account of his Nomination to the A.Bishoprick: "The King being to take possession of his hereditary Crown in England, chose out for his Attendants the most eminent persons of all kinds, and among his Clergy, Mr. Spotswood, being then no further advanced than to his Cure at Calder, was summoned to this service. This year, James Beaton, A.Bishop of Glasgow, dying, the King, who, being of excellent parts himself, could the better discover and value them in others, not only preferred him to that See, but further admitted him, for his prudence and dexterity in Civil things, to be one of his Privy Council in Scotland; and being graced with these Honours, he was sent back the same year to attend Queen Ann in her journey to London; who, knowing his integrity, made him her Almoner, for the better dispensing her charity, which could not confidently be credited but to clean hands and an uncorrupted heart, as his really was. B. Duppa further observes, that at his entry to the A.Bishoprick of Glasgow, he found the Revenues of it so dilapidat, that there was not a 100^{d} pound sterling of yearly Rent left, to tempt to a new sacriledge. But such was his care, and husbandry for his Successors, that he greatly improved it; and with so much content to his Docess, that generally both the Nobility and Gentry, and the whole City of Glasgow, were as unwilling to part with him as if he had been in place of a Tutelar Anyule to him [them]. But part with him they must; for after ii years' preceeding there, the See of Saint Andrews being vacant, King James, who, like another Constan-

tine, thought himself as much concerned in providing Successors for Churches as Heirs for his Crown, removed him from Glasgow, being then about 49 years of age, to be Primat and Metropolitan of all Scotland. He observes also, that in the [year] 1610 he Presided in the Assembly at Glasgow where the power of Bishops, ex jure postliminii, was restored; and that year, upon the King's command, he, with the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway, repaired to London, where he received the Solemnitys of Consecration from the Bishops of London, Eli, and Baths, in the Chappel of London House." I have put together all that I find in his Printed Life that concerns him, while A.B. of Glasgow. There are here some strains toward panegyrick, and I'le give a little more particular account of this period of the Bishop's Life, from the vouchers I have named, and severall Letters of the Bishop's in my hands, which have not yet been published.

Present at the Synod of Lothian, Aug. 15, 1604.

The Bishop, if I may term him so, before his Consecration, severall years after this (but so generally he tèrms himself), was much at Court till summer, 1604, when I find him in Scotland. Mr. Calderwood tells us, as more than once I have had occasion to notice upon other Lives, that "The Synod of Lothian held at Tranent, August 15, 1604. The two Archbishops (afterwards) Mr. John Spotswood and Mr. James Law, were at this Synod, where, being charged for their indirect dealing to overthrow the Discipline of the Kirk, they purged themselves in open Assembly, protesting that they had no such intention, but only to recover the Kirk Rents, and thereafter they should submitt ye same to the Assembly. The Brethren were jealous of them, notwithstanding this their protestation; and they were urged to Subscribe the Confession of Faith anew with the rest of their Brethren, like as they Subscribed the said Confession, printed at Edr., in Folio, by Henry Charters, in the year 1596." And their names stand in Calderwood, with the Ministers in the Presbitry of Linlithgow. Perhaps some of my more curious Readers will not grudge to have all the Subscriptions here, and they are as follow:—

Dumbar Presbitry.	*Edinburgh Presbitry.*
Mr. Edward Hepburn.	Mr. Walter Balcanquell.
Mr. John Forrest.	Mr. William Cranstoun.

Mr. Thomas Hepburn.
Mr. James Hume.
Mr. James Young.

Haddingtoun Presbitry.

Mr. Robert Wallace.
Mr. Archibald Oswald.
Mr. James Carmichael.
Mr. Andrew McGie.
Mr. Andrew Blackhall.
Mr. Walter Hay, Minister at Bathan.
Daniel Wallace.
Mr. Patrick Carkettill.
Mr. John Adamson.
Mr. George Greir.
Mr. David Ogill.
James Reid.

Dalkeith Presbitry.

Mr. Adam Colt.
Mr. George Ramsay.
Mr. Patrick Turnet.
Mr. William Knox.
Mr. Archibald Simson.
Nathaneel Harlau.
Mr. James Hastie.
Mr. William Penman.
Luke Sonsie.

Mr. William Arthour.
Mr. Henry Charters.
Mr. Charles Lumisdane.
Mr. Ritchard Thomson.
Mr. Henry Blyth.
Mr. James Thomson.
Mr. John Murray.
Mr. Peter Howat.
Mr. James Muirhead.
Mr. Ritchard Dickson.
William Aird.
Mr. James Bennet.

Linlithgow Presbitry.

Mr. John Spotswood.
Mr. James Law.
Mr. Alexr. Monipenny.
Mr. William . . .
Mr. Robert Cornwall.
Mr. Robert Pourie.

Peebles Presbitry.

Mr. Archibald Douglas.
Mr. James Logan.
Mr. David Nairn.
Mr. Archibald Rou.
Mr. Gavin McKall.
Mr. Robert Livingston.
John Ker, Minister at Lyn.

Meeting at Perth, Oct., 1604, where the methods B. Spotswood and the rest for introducing their projects appear in part.

Bishop Spotswood, as I have observed, notwithstanding of this Subscription, was the great manager of the present change introduced to the Government and Discipline of this Church. By far, he was the most polite and artfull actor, and bore a great share in all the public debates and struggles with the sincerer sort of ye Ministry. B. Gladstanes, and most of the rest, came not near him in parts and abilitys. Soon after this Synod there was a Convention of Ministers and the Commissrs., where the Bishops and Commissioners had no small reasoning; and therefore, tho' I observe little in speciall as to the Bishop, I'le bring in Mr. Calderwood's account of it here, because it lets us in to the methods how the change was carryed on. There was a Meeting of Commissioners from severall Synods together, at the Synod of Fife, in September this year, of which some account is given on Mr. James Melvill's Life. There, with Lauristoun the King's Commissioner's consent, it was agreed, that there should

be a Meeting of Ministers from Synods and Presbitrys, and likewise of the Commissioners of the Assembly, at Perth, in October this year, 1604. Accordingly, there Conveened great numbers of Ministers from all quarters. They mett by themselves; and Laurieston and the Commissioners of Assembly, or the Bishops and their supporters, mett by themselves. The Ministers, in their Meeting, uttered their grieves one to another, at some length, of which some notice has been taken in Mr. James Melvill's Life. They reduced their complaint to two branches, That the Commissioners of the Assembly, or a few of their number, arrogated to themselves the whole power of the Assembly and Government of the Kirk, and redacted the Kirk to an Oligarchy, notwithstanding their power was expired, in as far as the Dyet of another Assembly was elapsed. The other was, That the new named Bishops took on them ambitiously to reason and vote in Parliament, without any Commission from the Kirk, to the great shame of the Kirk and her hurt in her Patrimony. To this, the Bishops and Commissioners answered, that their Commission was not expired, because the Diet of the Assembly, thô named, yet was not keeped. They declared they were weary of their office, but the King would deal with no other than them, and the Ministers would find it so if they attempted any thing without them. To the other, they answered, that if the Bishops had done any thing contrary to their Cautions and the Ordination of the Generall Assembly, they should be the first to censure them. Mr. Patrick Galloway, Moderator of ye Meeting, all the Commissioners, and the Bishops themselves, strove who should exclaim most against the breakers of the Assembly's Cautions. Mr. Graham, Bishop of Dumblain, in particular, said he wished he were hanged above all thieves, that professed not to the uttermost to have these Cautions, established to keep out corruption and the tyrranny of Bishops, keeped. It was replyed, that not one jot of the Cautions were keeped, either in the entry or behaviour of the Bishops; that they deserted their flocks, posted to Court, and came home Lord-Bishops; and instanced in Mr. John Spotswood, Mr. Alexander Forbes, and others; and offered instantly to prove the breach of all the Cautions. The other

side desired these things to be referred to a Generall Assembly, at which, if they concurred not with them for preservation of the Cautions, they desired no longer to be looked on as Brethren. Meanwhile, it was observed that they themselves procured the delay of an Assembly, and driving of time, till custom had corroborat corruption, and a party were made for the Bishops in the Ministry. In short, the Meeting ended in a Petition to the King for a G. Assembly, against Papists, for favour to the persecuted Ministry in England, for Nonconformity, and platt for provision of Ministers. Lauristoun promised faithfully to represent all, but nothing was designed, but dilators. These were some of ye wayes taken by Bishop Spotswood, and the rest, to promote their designes.

Dec., 1604, the Bishop travels on the Sabbath

The Synod of Lothian, in October, Petitioned the King for an Assembly, and B. Spotswood undertook to present it. Mr. Calderwood sayes—"On the Lord's Day, Decr. 15, Mr. John Spotswood, A.B. of Glasgow, returning from Court, rode out of Haddingtoun, on the Lord's Day, when the people were resorting to hear the forenoon's Sermon." This gave great offence, and I find, by severall accounts, the Bishop made it his ordinary practice to break the Sabbath. The Bishop, in his youth, as is noticed in Mr. Davidson's Life, had got a Synodicall Rebuke for playing at foot-ball on ye Sabbath.

Further methods taken at this time in Bishop Spotswood's Letter to the King, Jan. 13, 1605.

It is but broken hints I can give of the procedure of the Bishops at this time, from the scattered Papers I meet with; yet nothing can sett their procedure in a better light than their Letters to the King and Courtiers; and severall of these being in my hands, I'le bring them in, according to their Dates. The Bishop's plight anchor, in carrying on the change intended, was the authority and support of the King; and we shall find they had their recourse to him upon every turn, and bore down all their opposition by engaging him in their affairs. When Bishop Spotswood returned from Court, in December, though he had promised to present the Synod's Address for an Assembly, yet it's plain he brought down instructions for pushing on the intended introduction of Bishops, which was now termed *the King's Service*, and that was chiefly upon his heart. In order to that,

the Ministers who were willing and capable to serve the Bishops were warmly recommended to favour at Court. This, and some other methods now taken, will appear from the following Letter, writt by Bishop Spotswood, soon after his return from Court, to the King, Dated Edinr., Jan. 13, 1605.

S^r^,—The saying proves true in me, *He who once passeth the bounds of modesty, is ever afterwards impudent.* Your Ma^ty's^ gracious acceptance of my former endeavours has made me so confident, that I spare not to say and write any thing that I judge for your Highnes' service. What course I have keeped, and what success I have found in my entry, will be declared by the bearer to your Ma^ty^, for he was an eye witness to all that was done. S^r^, I will rejoice in no earthly thing, save your favour. And yet I trust, that your Majesty will bear with me to say that whilk was. My coming brought such contentment to all sorts of people, that in the parts where my service lyes, nothing was heard but prayers for your Ma^ty^, and gratulations of the work intended. The Ministry, though earnestly solisted to make opposition, professed the would give obedience to your Ma^ty^, and conform themselves to the Ordinances of the Kirk, wherein every one of that number has merited his own commendation, but the Principall of the Colledge by the rest, who is the man who, in effect, has keeped all others fast and constant to your Ma^ty's^ purpose. [The Principall at this time was Mr. Henry Charters.] And yet, S^r^, lest I should want matter of exercise, they begin in this City, by privat counsells and publick speeches in the Pulpit, to do what they can for my disgrace ; and will needs, because I have topped this matter, for so they speak, bend all their forces against me. S^r^, I fear not y^t^ enemy in so good a cause, especially where your Ma^ty^ has authority and Royall power is assisting; but I write this to hold your Highnes in mind of the generall busines, which being perfyted, shall give an conclusion to thir, and such like broyles. [This I take to be the Restoring of Bishops at the next Parliament.] I have presumed to give the Bearer some instructions to be communicated to your Majesty, touching our matters, whilk I trust your Highnes shall favourably interpret; and if in your wisdom they shall be found meet, your Ma^ty^ will have care to see them prosecute. Meanwhile, S^r^, give me leave to remember Mr. John Hall his service, and faithfulness toward your Ma^ty^, who fights here with many discontentments offered to him, chiefly by his collegues. I have assured him many times of your favour in his particulars, whilk the Bearer is to suit. Your Highnes will be pleased to give him a Testimony of your goodwill. As to the Bearer himself I can add nothing to the Testimony your Ma^ty^ has often given him, but this only, that the other side are lamenting his defection. [Perhaps this may be Mr. James Nicholson.] And this I mention to give your Ma^ty^ some sport. Now, S^r^, craving humble pardon of your Ma^ty^ for this my presuming, I take my leave.

Your Ma^ty's^ humble and vowed servant to his Death,

GLASGOW.

Edinr., the 13 of Janry, 1605.

Another Letter of his to the King, Edinr., March 22, 1605.

Notwithstanding of the alledged harmony for the course of Prelacy now intending, the Bishop, in his next Letter, which I

have seen, is forced to change his voice, and complain of daily invectives against Pulpits. Mr. Bruce was by this time quite debarred from Preaching at Edinr., and there were some other vacancys in the Town. The King, at the desire of the Bishops, had laid it on the Commissioners of Assembly to take care that none should Preach in Edinr., but such as were favourable to the courses now carrying on. This was in so far complyed with by the Commissioners, that the supply was ordered to be by such persons as the Ministers of the Toun could be answerable for to them. However, in common course, it seems the Presbitry supplyed vacancies by their Members; and then the opposition to the Bishops, by the generality of the Ministry, appeared to that pitch, that B. Spotswood saw a necessity to apply to the King to send down orders to the Commissioners to put a stop to this free Preaching. And by this we may guess the conduct the Commissioners of Assembly were under. The Bishops wrote to Court what they judged proper for supporting themselves. That came down in Letters from the King to the Commissioners, cloathed with Royall authority. The Commissioners were willing enough to fall in with every thing the Bishops were for; but in the forsaid channell matters came with greater force, and the King's pleasure was pretended for all, and the Bishops and Commissioners, good men! behoved to obey the Royall pleasure. The Bishop's Letter, March 22, will sett things in their direct light:—

S^r^, Please your Ma^ty^,—I am forced to take the opportunity of this Bearer, and complain of the misorder that is in thir Pulpits of Edinr. Whereas your Ma^ty^ gave command, that till the vacand rooms were planted, supply should be made be such as the Commissioners should name; this has been cast off unadvisedly upon the Ministers themselves, and they injoyned to suffer none to enter their rooms, but such as they should answer for. Yet, S^r^, it's fallen out so, that by the Presbitrys appointing of their number to those places, we have here daily invectives made against Bishops, that State, and us directly who have interprized that service; and nothing is left undone that can work a disgrace or contempt to this work with the people. Neither Laws of Assembly, nor intimation of your Majesty's displeasure, nor our innocent and upright proceedings, can work us peace at their hand. Your Majesty herefore will be pleased to write to the Commissioners, and command them to take present order herewith; and failzieing their doing their duty to the Council, to see to it; for the example will do much hurt, if in the beginning things be not repressed. I have written to

the Laird of Laurieston to Conveen the Commissioners for this purpose, upon the 10th of Aprile next. It shall do much good to have your Ma$^{ty's}$ Letters against that Diet, and to cause my Lord President to present them, with a declaration of your Ma$^{ty's}$ will in these things. Thus far I am bold with your Ma^{ty}, out of that care that I have to advance your Highnes' service; and now, kissing your Majesty's hands, with all reverence, I take my leave.

Your Majesty's humble and vowed servant,
GLASGOW.

Edinr., March 22, 1605.

The Bishop's Letter to the King, Dec. 26, 1605.

I have no more about the Bishop this year, save another Letter to the King, Dec. 26. Our Printed Historys are full of the affair of Mrs. Forbes and Welsh, their Confynment and process before the Council, with their Declinature of their judging in their case. Upon Mr. Forbes' Life, somewhat has been noticed of Bishop Spotswood's activity in that affair, and his willingnes to lodge default upon the President. After this affair was over, it seems the Bishop was going to Court himself, to manage that and the Ministers' affair. He was prevented by the E. of Dumbar his coming down in December, and upon that event he wrote the following Letter to the King:—

Please your most Sacred Majesty,

I was in the way to your Highnes, when it was my good hap to meet with my Lord the Earle of Dumbar, who required me to stay a while, upon an opinion his Lôp has, that my staying here, at this time, may be stedable. I yielded willingly, as having no other desire but to do your Ma^{ty} service, whether at home or abroad. Amongst other things, I was to have meaned to your Hignes the great prejudice that is done to our Kirk affairs by this detaining of the Ministers in ward; the burden whereof being cast upon us, on purpose to make your Majesty's designe of erecting of Bishops the more hated; and other discontented spirits serving them with this as a ground to work some unquietnes in the State. This, S^{r}, I impute only to the neglect of your Majesty's directions given in that matter, whilst we were together at Court, the suspicion of whilk neglect I perceived your Majesty had seen at that time. But what has been your Highnes' good pleasure, since the using of their Declinature, I never understood, till my Lord his coming hither, save that a bruit went of calling them before the Justice; and none will deny that is sound minded, but that they have merited a more hard dealing. Yet as matters are now handled, and the people disposed, any man sees it shall not go for your Ma$^{ty's}$ honour and contentment. Therefore, S^{r}, out of a sincere affection to your Highnes, I am bold, in most earnestwise, to intreat your Majesty, that it may be your gracious pleasure to supersede that businesse, and renew only your first Commandments, that so many as stand obstinately to the defence of their proceedings, may, by sentence of Council, be exiled your Ma$^{ty's}$ Country; and others y^{t} will acknowledge their errors

may be confyned within their Parishes, during your Highnes' good pleasure. Whilk opinion, if it shall please your most excellent Ma^ty in your wisdom to approve, then, S^r, let me desire this further, that the same may be done during the Earle of Dumbar his residing here, or else I am of opinion your Ma^ty shall never see it concluded. This, and many other things, S^r, are done of mere policy, to disappoint your Ma^ty's affairs in the Parliament, that concerning our Estate (of Bishops). But if it please God, your Ma^ty shall have ere it be long a more particular narration of things, and assurance sufficient, I hope, for an happy success of that service (of the erection of Bishops) which is so much opposed unto. Meanwhile, S^r, I must also signify to your Ma^ty the inhability of the Renunciation made by the Duke of Lennox of the Bishoprick of Glasgow, that the samen be renewed; and to that effect, your Highnes will be pleased to continue that particular designation of Lands whilk his Lôp is setting presently, untill my coming up, that your Ma^ty may have the security that is required, seing his satisfaction is so great. As for some particular injuries offered me, which it hath pleased my Lord Dumbar to mention in his Letter to your Ma^ty, I will not repeat them; and I trust, by his Lôp's means, to be repaired. For this time, I cease, craving your Ma^ty's humble pardon for this my importunity, and praying God Almighty to bless your Highnes with a long and happy Reigne.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servitor,

GLASGOW.

Edinr., the 28 of December, 1605.

By this Letter, it is evident the Bishop was in earnest, that the Ministers should only be Bannished if they would not acknowledge their fault, in the Declinature, as I take the Bishop to mean. What lengths they came, even in this, appears in Mr. Forbes' Life. The Bishop very fairly ouns what they did deserved a higher censure, and so justifyes the greater lengths gone with the Ministers; and ouns his reason, because severer measures would marr the great matter in Parliament, the erection of Prelats. Had it not been his fears of souring people's spirits he had to deal with, he would have been easy under the hardest sentence. It seems the King did not hearken to the Bishop's moderat proposall. The Declinature had been magnifyed at first (tho' very groundlessly) as what touched his Royall prerogative, of which he was exceeding tender; and it seems preferred what he took to be necessary for securing that, even to the erection of Bishops. However, methods were taken to secure both, and so the Ministers were condemned to Die.

Remark upon it.

The Parliament met next year at Perth, and restored Bishops. Our Printed Historians are full of their procedure. Bishop Spotswood's share was very great in that Parliament, and he had a

The Bishop's Sermon at the Parliamt. at Perth, July, 1606.

flaming Sermon before them. Mr. Calderwood gives us this account of it, and adds some things about the Bishops at this time I find not elsewhere. He says—"Mr. John Spotswood, Bishop of Glasgow (against whom was produced his own father's testimony, that a Civil function was no wise compatible with the Office of the Ministry), made the Exhortation in the Parliament, before the Estates. He directed the greatest part of his Speeches against the Established Discipline. The Commissioners from Presbitrys, who came to Perth in very great numbers, accused him to the Commissioners of the Assembly for severall expressions in this Sermon; but they refused to judge or censure him."

He, with the rest of the Bishops, ride in great splendour at this Parliament.

In this Parliament, the two Archbishops, and the rest of the Bishops, rode in great pomp and splendour. I cannot tell how they came to ride, till once the Parliament passed their Act about them; but so it was, they did so. I'le give Mr. Calderwood's words here: "At this Parliament, the Earles and Lords were cloathed in red scarlet. It's constantly reported, that Dumbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, at the time of the Reformation from Popery, when he was turned off, said, that *the Red Parliament at St. Johnstoun should mend all again*. He was thought to be a Magician. His Speech is like to prove true, for since that time, defection has overgrown. Upon the first day of the Parliament, ten Bishops did ride betwixt the Earles and the Lords, two and two, cloathed with silk and velvet, with their Foot Mantles. The two Archbishops, Mr. George Gladstanes and Mr. John Spotswood; next to them, Mr. Peter Rollock, Bishop of Dunkelden, (a Bishop in respect of the Benefice, but never a Minister,) and Mr. Gavin Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway; next to them, Mr. David Lindsay, Bishop of Ross, and Mr. George Grahame, Bishop of Dumblane; next to them, Mr. Alexr. Douglas, Bishop of Murray, and Mr. Alexr. Forbes, Bishop of Caithnes; and last, Mr. James Law, Bishop of Orkney, and Mr. Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles. Mr. Peter Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen, thought it not beseeming the simplicity of a Minister to ride that way in pomp, and therefore he went on foot unto the Parliament House. Because he would not ride as the rest did, his Brethren, the Bishops, prevailed with the Chancellour to cause him to

remove out of the Parliament House. Mr. Arthur Futhie, a Minister in Angus, a man of big stature, walked along the street with his cap at his knee, at the great Metropolitan, Mr. George Gladstanes, his stirrup. But the last day of this Parliament, the Bishops would not ride, because they got not their own place, that is, before the Earles and next after the Marquises, but went quietly a-foot to the Parliament House. This made the Noblemen take up their presuming humors, and to mislike them as soon as they had sett them up, fearing they were sett up to cast them down."

His further steps to advance his designs, with the Message sent him by Mr. James Melvill, 1608.

Now that the Bishops were sett up by Parliament, they feared no more opposition; yet they were willing to bring about an Assembly, to give some kind of countenance to them from the Church; and as is frequently observed, got Meetings and Conferences, whereat they prevailed, as the best expedient, to bear down Popery, to get constant Moderators, and themselves made Visitors of Presbitrys, and to divide the Ministers who opposed them. This was their way till the [year] 1610, and during this period Bishop Spotswood was the chief manager of all Ecclesiasticall matters at Court, and, by the King's help, bore down all that opposed them. Upon Mr. James Melvill's Life, I have noticed what happened betwixt the Bishop and him. One of the first plotts laid by the Bishops, and even before the Parliament, was the calling up the 8 Ministers to London, that he might be rid of their opposition. What passed there, is at full length in Mr. Melvill's Life. Bishop Spotswood would most willingly have gained Mr. James Melvill, but he stood out against faunings and frouns. In June, 1608, the Bishop desired a Conference with him, confyned now to that Toun. Mr. Melvill declined it, and desired the person he sent to commend him to his old Schollar, and pray him to weigh that sentence of Bernard—Christus duos habet individuos comites, humilitatem et paupertatem, quos cum hujus temporis Episcopi penitus excludunt, non sponsi amicos, sed hostes se profitore.

His share in Secretary Elphingstoun's Process, 1608.

This year, Secretary Elphingstoun was attacked by the King, upon his draught of a Letter to the Pope, as hath been remarked already on this Biography, and the Secretary's oun account,

insert in the Appendix. The Secretary himself laid the blame of this prosecution chiefly at Bishop Spotswood's door. Whether the Bishop had any view at present to succeed the Secretary, as he did afterwards prevail to be Chancellour, I cannot say, neither do I find him charged with it. But the Secretary lodges, in his Paper, much of his trouble upon the Bishop. I'le only cite one passage, in the Secretary's own words: "The Bishop of Glasgow, I think, with the Counsell of the Earle of Wigtoun, despaired, before my coming to Court, that the Letter to the Pope should do me any harm, thinking either that I should denyed it, or that it should import no crime. They had invented against me some interrogatorys, whereupon the King should have examined me, anent the Pouder Treason, which were keeped close from me till immediately before my coming away. Then they were brought to me by my honest, trusty friend, S^{r} Alexander Hay never letting me know of them, albeit they were in his hands about 3 months before. They were also frivolous as false. The just Coppy, with my Answers, I have inclosed with this, that my friends may see what has been the malicious curiosity of mine enemies to my disgrace. I suspect the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Earle of Wigtoun, and S^{r} Alexander Hay; and whatsomever the Earle of Wigtoun knew, was not keeped from Kilsyth."

The Bishop's Letter to the King, on Pensions and the Exchequer, Dec., 1608.

The Bishop, it seems, hath had a good deal of trust committed to him in Civill affairs, that were altogether alien to his Episcopall function. But Politicians, in every station, will find work for themselves, and have it laid upon them; and Princes have been too ready to depend on Churchmen when they immersed themselves in Politicks, and went out of their line. It seems the Bishops got a command or allowance to look into the state of the Royal Revenues in Scotland, and from that he proceeded to pry into the affairs of the Exchequer. I shall give his own Letter to the King on this subject, which will give us the best view of the Bishop's labours this way.

S^{r}, Please your Ma^{ty},—In the pains which I have taken at your Ma$^{ty's}$ commandment, to gather a note of the Pensions disponed furth of your Highnes' Rents in this Kingdom, has bred in me a desire to proceed in the work of the Exchequer, and withall an hope of effecting some profitable service to your Ma^{ty}. For being stayed at Edinr. 3, or four, or 5 days past,

about the forsaid busines, I have turned over some Books of former Accounts, and find therein many things for time comeing most needfull to be reformed, of which certain most principall I have sent to my Lord the Earl of Dumbar, to be presented to your Majesty; that by your Highness' warrand, the Lords joyned in Commission may be urged with the prosecution thereof. Your Majesty's commandment in thir matters will purchase a greater regard to our proceeding, and likewise minish envy, q^ch^ can be no less against us than others who interprized the service before; but the perril, thanks be to God, is much less, by the present strength of your Ma^ty's^ arme, God having put the fear of your Majesty upon all men in thir parts. S^r^, it's not the least part of a Kingdom's happines to have the Prince rich and wealthy; it gives authority in peace, and makes him fearfull to his enemies in time of war. And what subjects had ever such cause to wish the wealth of their King as we, who have all of us, innumerable, in every state, proven your Highnes' liberality and princely munificence? or when shall it be, if not at this time, when God has blessed your Ma^ty^ with two most worthy Threasurers—Noblemen, wise, discreet, and, above all, faithfull? Neither is this your Majesty's Kingdom, how mean soever in comparison of that other, unfurnished of Revenues sufficient to maintain the Royalty thereof, so as the samine be rightly ordered. For my self, it was your Ma^ty's^ command that I entered into this service, and I shall be loath not to endeavour my uttermost for the advanceing of the same; at least, I shall be forward and faithfull, careing for this one thing, even to do what is pleasing and acceptable to your Ma^ty^. God Almighty preserve your Highness in long and happy life.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

GLASGOW.

Edinr., 29 of December, 1608.

In January, 1609, the Earle of Dumbar came down from Court to manage Secretary Elphingstoun's Tryall, and to hold a Convention of the Estates. The Bishop of Glasgow and Mr. William Cowpar had gone up to Court, to give the King an account of the Proceedings of the Assembly at Linlithgow, an account of which stands in our Printed Historians. Upon the 24 of January, 1609, the Earle of Dumbar Presided in the Convention of Estates. At that Meeting, as Mr. Calderwood tells us, "The Bishop of Glasgow rehearsed, at a great length, the King's Speeches, approving all that was done at the last Assembly, July, 1608, at Linlithgow. The King commended the same, so far as to say, that if he had been there in his own person, he would neither have done less nor more than they had done. As to what the Assembly had thought needfull with relation to Papists, he had granted lately, and sent the Earle of Dumbar, armed with all power, to do as they craved. And as for the Ministers who are under the King's displeasure, and are

Jan. 24, 1609, the Bishop's Speech in the Convention, with other things done in this Convention.

Banished, Imprisoned, and Confyned, that if they would make an humble supplication for their liberty, so gentle and clement was his Ma^ty, that he would be readier to grant than they to ask." Those things being reported at length, Mr. James Law, Moderator of the last Assembly, asked the Noblemen what they thought of the Report? They answered all with one voice, They thought well of it, and praised God from their hearts for giving them such a Religious and Gracious Prince, who had such a respect to the glory of God and well of his Kirk, and hated every thing that was prejudicial to the same. After this flattering answer, severall things were passed, to put respect on the Bishops, that they should be Examiners of Pedagogues that passed with Noblemen and Gentlemen's sons sent out of the Countrey. No man opened his mouth in the contrair, whether this power should be lodged with the Bishops or Presbitrys, save the Earle of Marr. Next, that no young Gentlemen suspected of Popery should be entered to their Lands, except they have the Bishop's recommendation to the inquest, and a Testificat of their soundness in Religion. The Bishops were fighting at this time for the Commissariot's Quotts of Testaments, and other Casualitys, which belonged of old to the Popish Bishops. In end, mention was made of the Conference betwixt the Bishops and Ministers. The Bishop of Glasgow inveighed against Papists and others who said that the offer of the Conference was but for the fashion; and therefore in the mean time there was a dealing with the Papists to put it off. He assured the Meeting their purpose was not to drift it; that the Earle of Dumbar and Commissioners for the Kirk had appointed a day for it in February, and all having interest should be advertised. Mr. Calderwood observes, that the Bishop would have all to believe that Papists were to be rigorously used, when, in truth, all done at this Meeting was but for the fashion, that they might have the greater advantage in the Conference, the King being well thought of for putting against Papists. This was also done to clear the King from dealing with the Pope, in former times.

Instructions and Memoriall to the King by

After the Convention, the Bishops Conveened and delayed the Conference till May, that they might the better wait on Secretary

Elphingstoun's Tryall, which was now coming on, and this was what Bishop Spotswood had particularly at heart. Meanwhile, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, was sent up by them to Court, to inform his Ma^ty in all things needfull for the furtherance of their course, and advancement. That Bishop's Papers fell into Mr. Calderwood's hands after his Death, and he gives us the Memoriall and Instructions formed by Bishop Spotswood, with the approbation of the rest of the Bishops, to Mr. Hamilton, under the Bishop of Glasgow's hand. It stands in the Printed Calderwood, but is proper to be insert here, with Mr. Calderwood's remarks, q^ch are but short, in the Printed Copy. They are as followes:—

the B. of Galloway, Jan., 1609, drawn by B. Spotswood.

MEMORIALLS TO BE PROPOUNDED TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

1. You shall relate the Proceedings of the late Convention, and what affection some that were present kythed therein; that his Ma^ty may be foreseen of men's disposition, for the better choice of those to whom the affairs shall be concredited. Convention.

2. You shall remember the care we have had in reclaiming the Marquise of Huntlie and Earle of Erroll from their errors, and the small profites we have seen thereof; and insist for his Ma^ty's favour to the petition of our Letter. Huntlie and Erroll.

3. Anent the Ministers that are Confyned, your Lôp shall excuse the request made by us in some of their favours, shewing how it proceeded; and further declare, how of late they have taken course to give in supplications to the Council for their enlargeing to a certain time, for doing their particular busines at Session and otherwise in the Country; and that some of them have purchased License, by the votes of the Council, albeit we opponed. Therefore beseech his Ma^ty to remember the Council, that the Confyning of these Ministers was for faults done by them to his Highnes himself, and that they should be acknowledged and confessed to his Majesty, and his pleasure therein understood, before the grant of any favour; otherwise they shall undoe all that has been hitherto followed for the peace of the Church. Confyned Ministers.

4. Touching the Erections, it's our humble desire to his Ma^ty, that the Noblemen in whose favours they have been passed may take order for the provision of their Kirks, according to the conditions made in Parliament; or then discharge their Erections, which seems best to be done, by ane Act in this ensuing Parliament, for which his Majesty's warrand would be had. And sicklyke some course also would be taken for the Prelacys Erected, which have past also the constant platt. That the presentation of Ministers to the modifyed Stipend, at the vacancy of the Church, should be in his Majesty's hand; whereunto, albeit his Majesty's expresse command was given of before, no heed was taken by such as had the charge of affairs. Erections of Noblemen, and Presentations.

5. Since this matter of the Commissariots importeth so much to the

Commissariots sought, and a place in Session.

Reformation of our Church Government, as this being restored, in a little tyme the rest may be supplyed that will be wanting; it shall be good to remember it by a serious Letter to the Earle of Dumbar, that we may know in due time what is to be expected. And since our greatest hinderance is found to be in the Session, of whom the most part are ever in heart opposite to us, and forbear not to kyth it when they have occasion, you shall humbly intreat his Ma^{ty} to remember our suit for the Kirkmen's place, according to the first institution, and that it may take at this time some beginning, since the place vacant (the President's) was even from the beginning in the hands of the Spirituall side, with some one Kirkman or other, till now; which might be obtained, as were most easy, by his Majesty's direction and commandment. There should be seen a sudden change of many humors in that State, and the Commonweell should find the profite thereof.

Conference.

6. Anent our Conference with the Ministry, your Lôp will declare the time that is appointed, and the reasons of the continouation of the same.

Bishops to Preach in Edinr. at the time of Parliament.

7. Because in the time of Parliament chiefly it should be expedient to have the Bishops teaching in the Pulpits of Edinr., his Ma^{y} would be pleased to commend this to the Lord of Dumbar by a particular Letter, and require also the Ministers of Edinr. to seek their help at that time, if it were for no other end but to testify their unity and consent of mind to ye Estates.

Kirk of Leith, and Mr. John Murray.

8. Because the Kirk of Leith lyeth destitute, in ą sort, by the Bishop of Ross his age, and the Imprisonment of Mr. John Murray, and that the said Mr. John is no way minded, as appeareth, to give his Ma^{ty} satisfaction; neither were it meet, in respect of his carriage, that he should return to that Ministry; and to insist on his Deprivation with the Commissioners, might perhaps breed us a new difficulty. If his Ma^{ty} shall be pleased, we hold it most convenient for this errand, that the said Mr. John be Conveened before the Council, by his Ma$^{ty's}$ command, and by them charged to ward in the Town of Newabbay, and some miles about, having liberty to Teach that people, amongst whom he shall find some other subject to work upon than the Estate of Bishops; and for the provision of Leith, that his Ma^{ty} will be pleased to command the Presbitry of Edinr., in regard of the Bishop of Rosse his age, and the said Mr. John's Transportation, by his Highnes's appointment, to have care that the said Kirk of Leith be planted with all convenient diligence by Mr. David Lindsay, sometimes Minister of Saint Andrews, for whom both the people is earnest and we have sufficient assurances to his Ma$^{tie's}$ service. And in case the said Presbitry prove wilfull, that another Letter to the same effect may be sent to the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly, who may take order to see that matter ended, if such shall be his Majesty's pleasure; and this would be done with all convenient diligence.

Carrying Guns and Pistolls to be Prohibited.

We cannot but remember also the misorder creeping in the Countrey, that once was happily repressed, wearing of Guns and Pistols; and humbly beseek his Majesty that some new courses may be established, by searchers of such persons, and delating them to the Council, that they may be punished; and that the Threasurer may have commandment to make choice, in every Country, of certain that shall be thought fittest to search, which shall be known only to his Lôp's self, and satisfy them for their pains; to the end, that such insolence may be restrained. Particularly, it would be forbidden in the granting of Commissions, that this liberty be not permitted; for this is one of the causes of their so open bearing, as said is.

These particulars your Lôp will have care to propound to his Majesty at some fitt time, and see the answers thereof dispatched accordingly. Your Lôp shall remember my Lord of Caithnes and his Pension. Caithnes Pension.

GLASGOW,

By warrand and at the desire of the rest of my Lords the Bishops.

My Lord, when your Lôp shall speak for the help of our Kirks, by the fall of those men that do possess our Livings, and justly incurr his Majesty's indignation by their heinous offences, be pleased to remember the case of Lanerk. The possessors of the Tyths be now Excommunicat, and at the Horn. Desire his Ma^ty's favour for the grant of them to Mr. William Birnie, Minister there, whose disposition your Lôp knows to his Ma^ty's service; and his Highnes' Letter to that effect to my Lord Threasurer, that he may be possessed in the same with all convenient diligence. Likewise remember the provision of Cranmond, and the Bishop of Dunkelden's interest to those Tythes. Lanerk, Mr. William Birney. Cranmond.

GLASGOW.

Had we a compleat sute of the Letters and Memorialls of the Bishops to the Court at this time, and compared them with the actings of the King, Council, and Commissioners of the Assembly, we would see the last to be just a transcript of the Bishop's motions. By the 5 Article here, it seems not improbable that B. Spotswood inclined to have himself, or some of his dependants, made President in Balmerrinoch's room; and if so, we may see the reason of his earnestness against that Statesman. I do not know why the Bishops insist with such keenness against the prohibition of carrying Guns and Pistols at this time, which seems intirely to lye out of their road, unless they were affrayed of bodily harm, knowing the generall dislike they lay under. Indeed, Politick Churchmen, going out of their sphere, have been generally observed to have been cowards, and much for arbitrary and tyrrannous steps against the liberty of ye subject. Reflexions on this Memoriall

But I'le rather give Mr. Calderwood's remarks upon this Memoriall than my own:— Mr. Calderwood's remarks on it.

By those Memorialls and Directions may be perceived the treachery of the aspiring Prelates. If any man had then asked at them, or will yet ask, wherefore they sent hard informations to the King, either prejudiciall to their Brethren of the Ministry or other subjects, high or low? they would have deeply protested, and have deeply protested diverse times, that they were innocent. And yet notwithstanding the shew of reconciliation made at Linlithgow last year, they regrate to the King the small favour that some of the Confyned Ministers had gott, and urge the Confynment of Mr. John Murray, albeit warded in the Castle of Edinr., in a barburous place of the

Country; and that his place be filled with another. They accused Counsellors, the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, the Lords of Erection; they recommend to the King such as furthered their course, that he might understand whom to make choice of as fitt instruments to advance their Estate. And whereas they have made and do make the world believe that they are innocent of the Directions that came from Court, and serve for the well of ye Estate, the Reader will here perceive, that howbeit the King was as earnestly bent to sett them up in their full Estate, which they denyed they were seeking, as they would wish; yet do they direct the King, and lay down overtures and means which may be stedable to that end; and they seek here that the Presentations of Ministers to Modifyed Stipends, at the Vacancy of the Kirk, should be in the King's hand, to the end that none should be presented but such as favoured their course, or, at least, would not oppose; as the event at this day doth prove. They seek to have place among the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, and a warrand to Preach in Edinr. in time of Parliament, and that the Ministers of Edinr. may be moved to seek their help; to the end, there might be a shew of unity betwixt them, as also to corrupt the auditors; and yet now when they have gotten that which they so long gaped for, how seldom doe they Teach in Edinr., even when they have stayed, five or six of them together, for a whole Session-time. We see how they spy out their own commodity in seeking the Commissariots, which they obtained soon after. But there is one thing which may make the Reader to muse, what should have moved the Bishops to seek the wearing of Guns and Pistolets to be suppressed. It appeareth their guilty consciences have made them to apprehend danger, and fear to be shott. If we had all the Memorialls and Directions which they have sent up to Court from time to time, we might have greater falsehood and knavery discovered nor is like to come to our knowledge, or likely to be found in men of any calling whatsomever.

His Letter, Aprile or May, 1609.

By these Instructions, we see how deeply concerned the Bishop of Glasgow was to have the Commissariots made over to him and his fellow Bishops; and I'le subjoyn a Letter, by the stile of it I take to be Bishop Spotswood's, without Date, but probably written in Aprile or May, before the Parliament in June this year, who by their 6th Act granted the Commissariots to the A.Bishops and Bishops. It is as follows:—

Most Gracious Soveraigne,

We trust that your Ma^{ty} will not offend, that we remember of new the matter of our Commissariots, considering first the importance of it to the effecting of your Ma$^{ty's}$ most Royall designs in the Reformation of our Church. Next, the opportunity of time, which would not be neglected, in which we have, Sir, some one respect or other, the countenance of most men with us, that sometimes have stood very opposit. And thirdly, the commodity of the Earle of Dumbar, your Ma$^{ty's}$ trusty Servant and Counsellour, his repair hither, whose care and fidelity, next to your Ma$^{ty's}$ favour, we only rest upon. And because in this busines we are not like to have any contradicent, save the Lords of the Session, for their privat interest, we

humbly entreat your Ma^ty that some good course may be taken for their satisfaction, and the trust thereof, and all our affairs, laid upon his Lordship; who will, we hope in God, give a good account of his service in that behalf, not pretending difficultys, and deferring the matter to some commodious time, as has been the custome, but by a faithfull performance and effectuating of that which your Majesty shall be pleased to enjoyn unto him. For all the which, what shall we offer, or what can we, whereunto we are not already bound? So it's little that we can do. Our outmost endeavours in every thing that your Majesty's pleasure shall be to command us, we promise, and shall, God willing, not be found altogether unprofitable. And now, with our most humble and hearty Prayers to God Almighty for your Majesty's long and prosperous Reigne, we rest your Ma^ty's most humble and obedient servants,

SAINT ANDREWS. GLASGOW. JAMES, B. OF ORCADS.

His Letter to the King about the Election of the Magistrates of Glasgow, November, 1609, probably.

This year, as I take it,—but the Letter wanting Date, I am not positive, only it seems to be before ane Assembly, probably that at Glasgow,—there came a Letter from the King, by the Bishop's procurement, no doubt, to the City of Glasgow, directing them in the choice of their Magistrates, which was very heavily taken by the Town. The Bishop, however, by his influence, keeped matters smooth under this step, scarce ever taken with Royall Burghs, but when arbitrary methods are carrying on, and to serve some particular purpose. Upon this, in November, the Bishop writes the following Letter to the King, giving the History of this matter, which I will not grudge to transcribe.

Most Gracious Soveraigne,

The Letter which it pleased your Majesty to send to the City of Glasgow, for Electing their Baillies this year, was by some of their number so misconstrued, as it bred no little busines; yet at last they are won to obedience, and have advised to pass from their new libertys, and betake themselves to the custome of former times; which as it is more ancient, so it will prove much better to their Estate than the new formes they desired. And if it may be your Ma^ty's good pleasure to hear a little of the course that has been keeped in thir matters: whereas at the receipt of your Highnes' Letter, which was upon the 3d of November, the Answer was delayed till the 11 of the same. All the mid time was spent in animating the Burgesses against the directions thereof, wherein some of the Factions so prevailed, that in the morning of that 11 day, it was noised that all the people of the City would meet at the Tolbooth, and oppose themselves, by taking Protestations in contrair of the Letter. Certain, also, were put out to warn me, that it was not expedient that I should come to the Council, because, in opposition, there might fall out some things that might not be so easily redressed. Suspecting the Counsel that was given me, I answered, that as I had delivered your Letter, so I would not cease to urge the obedience thereof; and if any man would be unruly, I should be patient: therefore I would keep the

place, to bear witnes of every man's doing. This heard, they resolved not to meet at all; and when I was come to the Tolbooth, abiding there from ten to twelve, none appeared. Certain of the Ministers of the Toun, the Principall of the Colledge, and some other Gentlemen, were with me, in whose presence I took Documents, in the hands of 3 Nottarrs, of this their refusall, witnessed by their wilfull absence, and Certifyed that I would advertise your Highnes. The conscience of their misbehaviour, and fear of complaining, drew them to intercede with me in the evening, by their Pastors, that I would not be hasty to advertise; promising, at my desire, to Conveen the next day, and give a reverend Answer, which they did, taking the course that your Ma^ty will perceive in their Act of Council, subscribed by the Clerk of the Toun, and three Ministers as Witnesses. The Crafts that had not place to meet with them in Council, Conveened apart also, professing their obedience, with an humble acknowledgment of your Ma^ty's favours unto those of their number that were detained in Ward, and desiring the Election of their Magistrates might be after the ancient Form simply, wherein they differed somewhat from the Council, as your Ma^ty will perceive by reading their different writes. After this appeared a wonderfull change in the people, all of them striving who should be first in obedience, and best reported of; so as now we only attend your Ma^ty's good pleasure to follow it, without any reasoning. And if I may be so bold, upon the knowledge of their present Estate, in all humblenes I present my opinion to your most Sacred Ma^ty, that it may be your Highnes' gracious pleasure to command them of new to Elect the Baillies that were Nominat by your Ma^ty in your first Letter, and to signify that it is your Highnes' mind that they have no Provost at this time; but in the mean time, to chuse a discreet Council, half of the Merchants, half of the Crafts, according to the Roll, whereunto, of both partys I have warrand, and yet cannot be well received of that multitude without your speciall direction. And as to the desire of the Councill of the Toun anent the Election of the Provost, please your Ma^ty to reserve it to your Highnes' good advice for a certain time. This, S^r, if it may please your Ma^ty to command, will be readily effected, and shall bring things to such quietnes here, as it shall not be remembered there was amongst them formerly any difference. Pardon me, S^r, that I have been so long upon this matter, for I desire the disposition of the people should be known to your Ma^ty, and my pains taken with them, sometimes threatening them, sometimes perswading, and warning them out of the Pulpit, to beware of such courses as had the Ministers taken in their Rebellion, who thought the liberty of the Kirk was hazarded in the obedience of your Highnes' commandments. But for those matters of the Ministers, please your Ma^ty, we are here quiet, and their absence will even breed a forgetfulnes. The Bishop of Saint Andrews has peace at will, whereby your Ma^ty can take up the instruments of this trouble. S^r, I have oft said, and I repeat it, with your Majesty's leave, faithfull and fracke servants in the Estate, that will seek your Majesty's honour, and urge obedience, not for the manner's sake, but in effect to see your Highnes' will performed, shall easily keep things in order here, both in Kirk and Policy. Now, S^r, that matters are brôt to a reasonable point in this place, where your Majesty was pleased to set me, and generally in the Kirk, as will appear, I trust, in the approaching Assembly, if I may without your Ma^ty's offence, I would humbly begg leave of Retiring, and yield my Bishoprick to one that can serve now, when things

are settled, better than my self. Sr, I desire the world should see that Ambition did not set me at work, but a desire to serve your Majesty in a good work that had many enemies; and indeed, Sr, I find my burdens insupportable; which if I may obtain at your Majesty's hands, I shall count my self happy; if otherwise, I shall bestow that whilk rests of my life to your gracious pleasure, whereunto I have only consecrated my self, with a neglect of all outward things whatsomever. Craving most humbly your Majesty's favour in this, and pardon for my longsome writing, I pray Almighty God to give your Majesty many good days for the well of his Kirk.

Your Majesty's humble servant, GLASGOW.

Pulpits of Edinr. to be patent to ye Bishops, Zuill Vacance, and Bishop Spotswood made an Extraordinary Lord of Session, Jan., 1610.

Mr. Calderwood sayes, that in Harvest this year, the Bishops of Saint Andrews and Glasgow and Orkney went to Court, and there contrived shreud matters; the Discharging of the Assembly appointed, the Indyting another after a Form of their own, and the High Commission. It seems the Bishop of Glasgow, if I be right in my conjecture as to the last Letter, hath returned in the beginning of November. This winter, many things were done in favour of the Bishops. A Letter was sent to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, from the King, ordering all their Pulpits to be patent to the Bishops in Toun, or desirous to Preach in them. Another Commission came down for keeping of Youl Vacance, and Discharging the Session to meet from Dec. 25 till the 8th of January, and Bishop Spotswood was made an Extraordinary Lord of the Session in January next. This last is what properly belongs to this place, and I give Mr. Calderwood's account of it:—

On the 20 of December, there came a Warrand from the King to Discharge the Extraordinary Lords of the Session upon the sight of the Letter, without any cause given, but his Majesty's pleasure, which was very strange. The Extraordinary Lords at this time were the Lord Elphingstoun, the Prior of Blantyre, and Mr. Peter Rollock, sometimes stiled Bishop of Dunkelden. But in the next moneth it was clearly seen what was meaned, for the Bishop of Glasgow, Mr. John Spotswood, was placed in Mr. P. Rollock's place, and the rest were restored to their own places. We may see by the Memorial sent up by the Bishop of Galloway, in February, that this was a device of the Bishops themselves, and their suit, to have place in Session; so that they made no conscience to meddle in Civil or Criminall matters. B. Spotswood, as he was the most ambitious among them, so he was the pertest, and the first that taketh the place upon him, directly contrary to an Act given in by his father to the G. Assembly, 1572, that the Preaching of the Word and administration of Civil Justice were incompatible in one man's person.

High Commission Erected, Feb. 15, 1610.

In February this year, the Signature was passed for setting up the High Commission, and the two Archbishops to hold two

Courts in their respective Provinces. This Court was one of the most illegall and oppressive steps of this period; but the generall dissatisfaction with the setting up of Prelacy, and the supporting of the Bishops, required such a Court; and the King was so bent on countenancing them, that he stuck at nothing which they desired. Indeed, this first shape of two distinct Courts, under the two Archbishops, did not answer so well, and therefore little was done till A.Bishop Gladstane's Death, when Bishop Spotswood came in his room, and got the Commission renewed, and altered a little in its form; and then, till the end of this Reigne, especially after the Articles of Perth, Ministers and others were fearfully harrassed before it. However, that the Reader may see this frightfull Court in all its shapes, I have insert the Form of this High Commission, App. N. (Copy Cald., v. 6, p. 228.) It is Dated Feb. 15, 1610.

Form of the High Commission, App. N.

The curious Reader will be satisfyed to have Mr. Calderwood's reflexions upon this unprecedented Court since the Reformation, and the rather because, as we shall see in his Life, he was among the first who were persecuted by it in its 2d Form. I'le therefore insert them from his MS.

Mr. Calderwood's Reflexions on this Court.

This Commission, and the execution thereof, as it exalted ye aspiring Bishops far above any Prelat that ever was in Scotland before, so it put the King in possession of that which he had long time hunted for, to wit, the Royall prerogative of absolute power, to use the bodies and goods of the subjects at pleasure, without form and proces of the Common Law, even at the time when the Lower House of Parliament in England was complaining of it there as an injury. So our Bishops were fitt instruments to overturn the libertys both of Kirk and Country. The pretence of this Commission was the Advocations to the Council, purchased by such as were erroneous in Religion and scandalous in life; but the true intent was, to exalt Bishops with an extraordinary power never known or practised within this Country; that it might make way for the ordinary Jurisdiction Episcopall, which they were long hunting for. And so the pretended Remedy was worse than the Disease; for there needed no further redress of such abuse than to discharge the Council and Session to acknowledge such Advocations, that the proceedings of the lawfull Judicatorys of the Kirk, established by Law, might have free course. Here we see, that one Archbishop, with any four in the Roll whom it shall please him to associat to himself, may make up a Judicatory; they may cite, at the first instance, any offender to compear before them; they have power to Advocate Causes from the ordinary Judicatorys, Presbytery, Synod, Session, yea Generall Assembly, upon the complaint of any person, either scandalous in life or erroneous in Religion. Is this to assist and aid, or rather is it not to weaken and destroy the ordinary Judi-

catorys of the Kirk? One Archbishop, with four Secular persons, may judge upon Heresy, may decern the Sentence of Excommunication, and may compell a Minister to pronounce it, howbeit he be not made acquaint with the formality of their process. One Archbishop, with four Secular persons, may suspend or deprive any Minister; albeit Bishops yet were but simple Ministers, without any Spirituall Jurisdiction, without consent of the Kirk. They may impose Fines without stint, and Ward without limitation of time. The Lords of Council are charged to prosecute the most strict order against such as will not compear or pay their fine, that is used to be put in execution against Rebells. They have power to exercise both the power of the Spiritual and Temporall Sword, by Commission from the Prince, without consent either of Generall Assembly or Estates of Parliament, yea without their knowledge. The Bishops of England maintain their Episcopall Jurisdiction, whereof they were in possession, by this extraordinary Jurisdiction, or power of a High Commission, from the Prince; our aspiring Bishops make it a forcible method to acquire, or rather to thraw from the Kirk, with the terror thereof, Episcopall Jurisdiction, whereof they never had possession. And this is the chief mean whereby they have maintained, and do still maintain, either extorted or usurped Jurisdiction, unto this day.

Upon the 14 of March, 1610, the A.B. wrote thus to the King:— Bishop's Letter to the King, March 14, 1610.

Please your Majesty,—I wrote by the Packett to my Lord Dumbar of the Resolution we had taken in your Highnes' affairs, and the hopes we conceived of a good success in the Assembly. The present disposition of our Ministry is such as made us earnest to have the Dyet prevented, and to desire the same might hold on the 8th of May; for your Ma^ty knows them a people subject to change, and carried easily with the wind of every report. They have at this time a strong apprehension of the Discharge of Presbitrys, and for the standing thereof in any tollerable sort, will refuse no conditions. So it were good to use the opportunity, and cut them short of their power, and leave them a bare name, which for the present may please, but in a little time shall vanish. As touching the Dyet, we expect to understand your Highnes' pleasure shortly; and whether your Ma^ty takes course to prevent or hold the first appointment, we shall not fail to use all diligence in preparing men for holding that Meeting. Now, S^r, I have been this day advertised of your Highnes' pleasure anent the Marquise of Huntley, and because I would be sorry to see any thing done that might breed impediment to your Ma^ty's affairs, I will crave your Highnes' pardon, to insist in the contrair of his enlargement at this time, suppose he has subscrived the Articles presented from your Ma^ty unto him. It's a thing not understood either in the Kirk or Countrey; and continouing Excommunicat, if he shall be permitted to go to his home, it will not fail to breed great offence. The Ministers of these parts, that have been best affected in your Ma^ty's service, shall be greatly disheartened, and others, our enemies, be glad of the occasion, to say, that nothing in effect has been meaned against the Papists. Besides, those North Countreys are so still inclined, as it's thôt, that his presence is enough to shake Religion there, unless his return be with good cautions, and the same knowen and understood by all. Therefore I do humbly entreat your Ma^ty, that for the regard of your Highnes' particular Marquise of Huntley.

service, to which it's reasonable any subject's particular ease or contentment should give place, and that we have not new difficultys bred us, when we are upon the point of finishing things, that it may please your Majesty to continow his enlargement untill the Assembly, in which he may be absolved from Excommunication, and order taken by your Highnes' commandment for the quietnes and peace of Ministers in those parts. This far I am bold, and now kissing your Majesty's hands, your Majesty's humble and obedient servitour, GLASGOW.

Glasgow, March 14, 1610.

Assembly at Glasgow, June 8th, 1610; Bishop Spotswood, Moderator, with his Sermon.

The General Assembly, made up of Ministers pitched upon by the Bishops, in a List sent to the King, met at Glasgow, June 8th, 1610, and Bishop Spotswood was chosen Moderator, in his own Toun. He Preached first in the morning, in his own Cathedrall, upon those words of Jeremiah, *I would have cured Babylon*, &c.; which, one would think, was a very odd Text to chuse for a Sermon where Prelacy was to be, in some measure, ouned by the Representatives of the Church, if they may be called so. His chief aim in his Discourse was to ayyrege the sin of Sacrilegious persons; and by the way he nipped, as Calderwood expresseth it, at the Laick Patrons. In end, he had this Speech: "Ye look that I should say somewhat of the purpose for which this Assembly is Conveened. I'le say no more but this, Religion must not be maintained after the manner it was brôt into the Land; it was brought in by confusion, it must be maintained by order; it was brôt in against authority, it must be maintained by authority." Whereas he ouns, on the matter, that our Presbyterian Constitution had been ever in the Church since the Reformation. So he spitts, in some measure, in his worthy father's face, and speaks with as much contempt of the Reformation from Popery as any of the virulent Jesuitical Popish Writers.

Hints as to this Assembly.

We have a very full account of the procedure of this Assembly under the A.Bishop's Moderation, in the Printed Calderwood, and I observe no great difference betwixt the Print and MS. on this year, and therefore I shall not enter into any detail. It was certainly a picked Meeting of such of the Ministry as were brôt in favour of Episcopacy; and so weel chosen, that there was very little opposition made to the Bishops' projects. So that it's a wonder so little hurt was done. It's but too notour, that there

were scandalous Bribes given to the Members, to secure their Votes for the King's Service, as it was called. Bishop Spotswood was sensible this was generally believed, that many of the Members had got money distributed among them, and slurrs it over with this pretence, that the Moderators of Presbytries had not got their 100^{d} Lib. Scots a-year payed to them, and at this time had it from the Treasury. But besides that, even this, suppose true, when timed at this juncture, was a plain Bribing of Members. But there were many got money who were not Moderators, and when the Accounts of the money the E. of Dumbar bestowed at this Assembly come to be Published from the Copyes of them yet remaining, they will far transcend the trifle of the 100^{d} Pound said to be due to the constant Moderators. But I leave the History of this Assembly to such as shall write of Church History in this period. Only, because I am willing to preserve every thing that may give light to our History, I shall cast in to the Collection of Papers a Paper in my hands, entitled "A Brief and Plain Narration of the Proceedings at an Assembly at Glasgow, June 8, 1610, anent the Innovation of the Kirk Government; with a Narration of some strange Episcopall Accidents, lately hayned in Scotland, worthy Consideration, which the wise in heart will understand. Psal. 2, 6; Prov. 21, 30; Luke 19, 37. Anno 1610." I have it in MS., in an old hand. Whether it be a Copy of a Pamphlet Printed at that time, since in the Preface the Writer sayes his Collection, taken from severall Intelligences he had, is thôt fitt to be Published, and that it was accordingly Printed, I know not; but I thought it worth preserving. App. N. (Copy MS., 4to, 29, N. 5.)

Plain Narration of their Proceedings.

App. N.

In October this same year, Bishop Spotswood was Consecrat at London, without Reordination. I shall give the Account of this Ceremony, first from the Bishop's own History, and then subjoyn Calderwood's Account of this. The Bishop tells us in his History—

Oct. 14, 1610, B. Spotswood is Consecrat at London. His own Account of this.

> Soon after the Assembly at Glasgow, the Archbishop thereof was called to Court, and commanded to bring with him two others, such as he thôt fitt. The A.Bishop, taking with him the Bishops of Brichen and Galloway, came to Court in the midst of September. At their first audience, the King declared what the Business was for which he had called them, speaking to this

purpose, "That he had, to his great charge, recovered the Bishopricks furth of the hands of those that possessed them, and bestowed them upon such as he hoped should prove worthy of their places; but since he could not make them Bishops, nor could they assume that Honour to themselves, and that in Scotland there was not a sufficient number to enter Charge by Consecration, he had called them to England, that being Consecrat themselves, they might, on their return, give Ordination to those at home; and so the adversarys' mouths be stopped, who said, that he did take upon him to creat Bishops, and bestow Spirituall Offices, which he never did, nor would presume to do; acknowledging that Authority to belong to Christ alone, and those he had authorized with his power." The A.Bishop answered, in the name of the rest, that they were willing to obey his Majesty's desire, and only feared that the Church of Scotland, because of old usurpations, might take this for a subjection to the Church of England. The King said he had provided sufficiently against that, for neither should the A.Bishop of Canterburry or York, who were the only pretenders, have hand in the busines; but Consecration should be used by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath. The Scots Bishops thanked the King for the care he had of their Church, and professing their willingnes to obey what he would command. So the 21 of October was appointed to be the time, and the Chappell of London House to be the place of their Consecration. Question was moved in the mean time by Doctor Andrews, Bishop of Ely, touching the Consecration of the Scottish Bishops, who, as he said, must first be Ordained Presbyters, as having received no Ordination from a Bishop. The A.Bishop of Canterburry, Doctor Bancroft, who was by, maintained that thereof there was no necessity, seing, where Bishops could not be had, the Ordination given by Presbiters must be esteemed lawfull; otherwise, it might be doubted if there were any lawfull vocation in most of the Reformed Churches. This applauded to by the other Bishops, Ely acquiesced; and at the day, and in the place appointed, the three Scottish Bishops were Consecrated.

Mr. Calderwood's.

Mr. Calderwood gives the following Account of, and Reflexions on, this Consecration:—

The Bishops of Glasgow and Brichen take journey to Court, some time after the G. Assembly at Glasgow, to make Report to the King of the Proceedings of that Assembly, and to get thanks. The Bishop of Galloway, Mr. Gavin Hamiltoun, soon followed them. They were all three very solemnly Consecrat by Bishop Abbot of London, after the English Form. The Bishops of Scotland were not content to be Consecrat by the English Bishops, no, not in time of Popery. The King triumphed; a Banquet was made; Gifts were bestowed; and Gloves were distribute in token of the Solemnization of the Marriage betwixt the Bishops and their Kirks. There was no mention made in the Assembly of their Consecration, far less any warrand given them to take on them the Office of a Bishop, distinct from the Office of a Presbiter. They did only tye Ordination, Jurisdiction, and Plantation to them, as conjunct necessarly w^{t} the Presbitrys; I mean, to such as were stiled Bishops, by reason of their Benefices and Titles thereunto. But they took upon them Consecration to an Office, and when they returned home, they Consecrated the rest of their fellows. All of them deserted their flocks, and usurped their after Jurisdiction over the Ministers

and people of their Dioceses by virtue of their Consecration to an Office, and not by any Delegat power from an Assembly, which might have been taken away again from them by another Assembly; or they did fall from it, in case they had been any wise deprived of the Title to their Benefice or Vote in Parliament. These 3, Mr. John Spotswood, B. of Glasgow, Mr. Andrew Lamb, B. of Brichen, Mr. Gavin Hamiltoun, Bishop of Galloway, were the 3 that broke first off, and boldly accepted Consecration, without any warrand, yea, without the knowledge and consent of the Kirk of Scotland.

Mr. A. Melvil's Verses on this Consecration stand in his Life.

Doctor Heylen's.

This being a pretty peculiar case, and Reordination insisted on after the Restoration, in the next instance of this nature, as I have elsewhere publickly noticed, I'le add two of the English Writters their Account of this Consecration. Doctor Heylen, in his *History of the Presbyterians*, tells us, that the above-named Bishops (thô he does not seem to have known that Brechin was an Episcopall See, such strangers are the English Writters to our affairs) "had been before authorized to Vote in Parliament, commended by the King to their Sees, made Perpetuall Moderators of Presbitrys [this is another blunder of the Doctor's] and Diocesian Synods; and by the conclusions of Glasgow, they were restored to all considerable acts of their Jurisdiction. [They never had Episcopall Jurisdiction, and so he is again out, in saying they were restored to it.] The Character was only wanting, to compleat the work, which could not be imprinted [this is a stile very acceptable to the Romish Principles] but by Consecration according to the Rules and Canons of the Primitive times. And that this Character might be indelibly on them, his Ma^{ty} issues a Commission, under the Great Seal of England, to the Bishops of London, Ely, Wells, and Rochester, whereby they were impowered to proceed according to the Rules of the English Ordination, q^{ch} was by them performed with all due solemnity, in the Chappell of the Bishop of London's House, near St. Paul's, Oct. 21, 1610. But first a scruple had been moved by the Bishop of Ely, concerning the capacity of the persons Nominat for receiving the Episcopall Consecration, in regard none of them had been Formally Ordained Priests. Which scruple was removed by A.Bishop Bancroft alledging, that there was no such necessity of receiving ye Order of Priesthood, but that Episcopall Ordina-

tion might be given without it; as might have been exemplified in the cases of Ambrose and Nectarius, of which the first was
Archbishop. made A.Bishop of Millan, the other Patriarch of Constantinople, without receiving of any intermediat Orders, whether of Priest, Deacon, or any other, if there were any other at that time in the Church. He adds, that Bancroft very chearfully consented to be out of the number of the Consecraters, thô he had chiefly laid the plot, and brôt on the plot, not careing who participat in the honour of it, as long as the Churches of both Kingdoms might receive the benefite."

Mr. Collier. Mr. Collier, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, *v.* 2, *p.* 702, gives us Spotswood's Account of this Consecration, but appears dissatisfyed with Bancroft's reason, as Spotswood gives it, that if the necessity of Episcopall Ordination were insisted on, the calling and character of the Reformed Churches might be questioned. He observes, that Luther, Calvine, Beza, or Zwinglius are not standarts of Government and Discipline; and when Moderns refine on the Primitive plan, and desert the Government of the Church settled for 15 hundred years, they are to be pityed and prayed for, but not imitated; and he is for leaving the Reformed Churches, save England, to further reflexion, or as other Writters of his kidney, to God's uncovenanted mercy. He insists on what Bancroft alledges, as Heylen reports it, and gives instances to support the practice of Ordaining at the right to be Bishops, without being Ordained before, or being never Laymen. But I see none of his instances come up to the case of our Scots Bishops, who at least professed they were in Orders before, and would not nullify what they had done by submitting to Reordination, as their Successors, Bishop Sharp, &c., did. Mr. Collier gives us from the Registers of the Bishop of London the Distinctions and Titles of the Scots Bishops Consecrat. "Mr. John Spotswood, Minister and Concionator, as the King's Mandat speaks, was Consecrat A.Bishop of Glasgow; Mr. G. Hamiltoun, Minister and Concionator, and Mr. A. Lamb, Minister and Concionator to Galloway and Brechin, were Consecrated by George, Bishop of London, Lancelot, B. of Eli, Richard, B. of Rochester, and Henry, Bishop of Worcester; and cites Abbot's Register,

Fol. 414." Either Collier or Spotswood must be out, since our Bishop hath the B. of Bath, and not the 2 last; and yet one would think he knew his Consecrators. But enough of this.

B. Spotswood's Letter to Beltreas, Oct. 12, 1611.

I have before me an Originall Letter of B. Spotswood to his friend Sir James Semple of Beltreas, Dated Oct., 1611. It's very much worn, and hard to read; but as far as I can master it, it deserves a room here, and is as followes:—

Since your departure, I was in Irwine, at our Synod. The Burgesses of Air mett me some seven miles from the Toun, and attended me while I remained in that Countrey. I was greatly importuned by their confessions of misbehaviour, and requests to intercede with his Majesty and his Council for their Minister and themselves. I answered, that as to any thing that concerned my self, I was most ready to forgive it, and should never remember the same; but for his Majesty's interest, for the better Government of their Toun, and the punishment of the Minister, was a point that I believed the Lords of Privy Council would not, and I my self durst not medle in. They entreated earnestly ane delay of matters, till his Majesty should be advertised of new, of their disposition to amend all things that are passed. But I said, his Majesty would expect to hear of us, of our proceeding in those affairs; and no continowation could be had of the Dyet, fearing his Majesty's offence. So they resolved to keep the Council day, and to present their Supplications, which was this Friday next. The Ministers were all present, save one Mr. James Inglish, who made a Sermon of Conscience. Because those men do brayy much of it, and because I hear it was of no great consequence, some of them were instant with me for allowing him a Conference, I yeilded (if I mistake not ye word). We passed our affairs quietly enough, and so parted. The Lord Loudoun met me on the morrow after, and sett me on my way to Glasgow, beseeching me not to think that he forwarded the follies of any foolish people; which I said I never suspected. From Glasgow I came the day afterward to Edinburgh, in company with the Lord Abercorn, who is returned, thanks to God, safe and in good health. By the way, I had large discourse with his Lôp, and his Irish voyage, the nature of that Land and People, and learned many things that I do think would please his Majesty wonderfully to hear. For the Plantation, I need not say to you, what you know your self, of that Nobleman and his affection to his Majesty's service; only this, I know not his like. If his Highnes should think meet that he journeyed thither, he would be glade on your advertisement, or rather his auin desire; and he sayes, in making account of his service, he could give his Majesty a sure and full information of the state of things there, and make his Highnes intelligence of diverse things that tend to the furtherance of his Ma$^{ty's}$ weel and profit, as the weel and quiet of that Kingdom. Besides, I know that his Lôp will take it as a gracing of his service, if his Majesty takes this nottice of him; and that the samine will animat his Lôp much in his proceeding. And when he comes, you know he is not as other Noblemen, faschious with suits, nor will importune his Majesty with any thing such like. Therefore, ye may do as ye find his Majesty's inclination. This day we had at the Council the Minister of Air, who, being charged for Praying publickly for the distressed Brethren, would have

Air.

Mr. James Inglish.

Abercorn, Irish Plantation of Scots.

Mr. Dumbar, Minr. at Air, before the Council, charged with Praying for the Bannished Brethren.

shuffled the matter, with his generality in Prayer, saying, that he only Prayed for the afflicted members of Christ's body; and that for his thôts he was not answerable to any man; that for his words and actions he would give account. I charged him, that he Prayed for the Bannished Bretheren. He said, there were Bannished Bretheren in France, Italy, and Spain, and of them his Prayers might be meaned. Yet the Witnesses being examined, and he afterwards pressed with their Depositions, and to show his own mind, could not clear himself, and so was found Guilty; whereupon he was commanded to Ward in Dumbartane Toun. I will not write any thing of the negligent handling of matters, or how I was compelled, being at Irwine, to summond Witnesses upon my own warrand; for those are things that will mend; the Burgesses of Air having Elected Magistrates before the Charge was given, as I shewed you at parting, upon Charge Electing new such as his Majesty had appointed, under protestation that they left to the judgment of the Lords of Councill of their first, whether it was lawfully done, and should stand or not. Their supplication tended this day to shew what obedience they had given, and to beseek the Lords for their liberties, as the samine should not be impaired, and their own Election might stand. They meaned themselves chiefly in this, that an Craftsman was chosen to be a Baillie, whilk never was there permitted. The Council, after advising, finding a great fault to have been done in the execution of the Charge, by him that was appointed to be Messenger, took order to discharge all former Elections, and command them to chuse John Osburn Provost, and James Houston Bailay, two that were Nominat by his Majesty, and one James Blair, a Merchant who has promised great Reformation of matters there. Thus matters, I think, are quieted there. I am only solicitous for a Minister to the Toun; for thô I have great solicitations to receive his satisfaction for things past, and suretys for his good behaviour in time to come, I hold it no way sure to committ that Flock to that Sheepherd that has teached them so far to stray. Men are here very hard to be found that have courage and witt to carry themselves with such an affected people; and I would gladly have some English man to reside there for a season, be his Highnes' direction. If his Majesty think otherwise, I shall do my best. I am desired to obtain this warrand, q^{ch} hereby I send, for the Lord of Loudoun, and his aunt, the Lady Eglingtoun. Ye will carry it so that no man may understand, for the matter is reasonable in itself to be granted; and he would have it so carryed, as none may know that it's sent, lest another warrand should be granted without their motion; for you know who has interest with those folks, and this will assure them to me in his Majesty's service. For which effect, ye will please humbly to desire his Majesty's hand to be put to it, and leave the same undated, and send it to me by the first occasion. The other Letter is a request for Mr. Patrick Melvil to the A.Bishop of Saint Andrews, which his Majesty having signed, you will cause James Douglas . . . Being this day in composition, the Chancellour in the beginning declared there were some who made information to his Majesty of the Thesaury Accounts, the shortnes of some, and the controlling of other particulars; and made an open offer there to any that would advise him. When every man had answered, I keeped silence, and said nothing. He said, this is our old Gaddes, ever to be making complaints here. Hendry Wardlaw declared, that it was his Majesty's pleasure he should have some money payed here by their Lôp's labours. The President answered, he wished there were money, but it must not go to Ireland. . . .

Election of Magistrates of Air.

Another Minister to Air, in Mr. Dumbar's place.

Loudon.

There are 2 or 3 lines so razed, at the close, that I cannot make it out; but there seems nothing materiall in it, only a desire to have an answer, and ye King's mind in what is above; and the Bishop signes—

Your assured friend and servant,

Glasgow, 12 of October, 1611. GLASGOW.

P.S.—The haste of the Pacquet has made me stay to write Mr. Patrick Melvill's Letter. It's only to request the Bishop, in regard of his good affection to his Majesty's service, to see that he be restored to his first Stipend, and gratifyed in any thing where there shall be occasion to do him pleasure. James Douglass will draw it upon your desire. The other warrand inclosed, ye will let no body see or hear of.

King's Letter to A.B. Spotswood to place Mr. Birney Minister in Air, Aprile 10, 1612.

Severall passages in this Letter stand in need of a better explication than I can give them. It's a pretty singular proposall, that when Mr. Dumbar was thus summarly turned out from the Ministry of the Toun of Air, which used to have two Ministers, and Confyned to Dumbartane, for Praying in very Christian terms for Distressed Bannished Bretheren (and Mr. Welsh, Minister there, was one of them), that the Bishop should move for sending down an English Divine to supply Air. But it seems the King went not into such a wild proposall, if I may use the word; and Mr. Birney, Minister at Lanerk, was fixed on, and the King's Letter to the Archbishop sent down, Aprile next year, requiring him to place Mr. Birney there. This I find joyned with the former Letter, among Beltrea's Papers, communicat by the favour of Mr. Semple of Beltrees, Esqr. And so I'le give a Copy of it:—

Right R^nd Father in God, right Trusty and well Beloved Counsellour,—We greet you heartily well, out of consideration of the perseverance of Mr. G. Dumbar, late Minister at Air, in his enormities, and how unfitt such a Head would prove to such a Body; and yet unwilling that the people of that our Toun, which you report so well of, should be unprovided of sufficient Pastors, we have thôt it good to command you, in our name and authority, to call unto you Mr. William Birney, of whom we have heard often well; and direct him so speedily as you can, to take a charge of the Toun of Air, and supply Dumbar's place. And also that ye take some course with the Church at which he now serveth, lest it be disappointed. The particular carriage, we must remitt to your own discretion; only let this be a sufficient warrand for you, the Toun of Air and Mr. Birney to go on as shall be expedient. And as ye shall Certify us, or require further strength, for removing either of impediments or acknowledging the duty of such as obediently

acknowledge our will, intending ever their own weel, that shall be speedily satisfyed. Further, we having of long time to restore the ancient dignity of our Chappell Royall in that Kingdom, and considering that Air is a Church thereupon depending, we have made choice of Mr. Birney to serve there, the rather because we have a mind to preferr him to be Dean of the said Chappell. As for Mr. William Livingstoun, news of that nature are ever acceptable to us; but we wish they were certain, and not untruth. Therefore we will, that ye out of your knowledge, and as one at whose hands we will crave an account of his behaviour, so proceed in releasing him out of his Confynement, as ye know he merites. And so far by those Presents we give this for your warrand. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Whitehall, 10 day of Aprile, 1612.

Mr. And. Boyd's Letter to B. Spotswood, Feb. 22, 1612.

The Archbishop of Glasgow seems to me, even during B. Gladstane's life, to have had the great share in the publick management; and I find it was by his recommendation that Bishops were preferred to Vacant Sees. In winter, 1611, he goes up to Court; and once a year, or oftener, he is, for some years, at Court. At this time, I find he procures the Bishoprick of Argyle to Mr. A. Boyd, upon the Death of Mr. Neil Campbell, I suppose. I have a Copy of Mr. Boyd's Letter to him on this subject, which I'le not grudge to transcribe.

My very honourable and good Lord,

I have seen your Lôp's Letter, bearing your Motion to his Majesty, anent that Vacant Room of Argyle in my favours, and his Majesty's good and gracious mind towards me. What am I, or what is in me, to procure such royal favour? the report whereof not only animates me to suscept that state I never wished nor thôt of, but after most humble thanks to his Maty, to multiply my former supplications for length of dayes, and indurance of his Majesty's Throne for ever; as also in that service to be carefull of the House of God, and obedience to all imployments of my most gracious Prince, in all affairs concerning the Spirituall or Civill Reipublick.

But leaving this to the presedency of the Most High, I call your Lôp to mind of my last Letter, eiking this much thereunto, that you never faint in the good cause, but now most couragiously setting your self against Papists and Sacrilegious persons, the eyes of all men being upon your Lôp at this time, and saying, *aut nunc aut nunquam*, and so say I. If your Lôp return with success, a certain discouragement comes to all enemies here to God and our King; if not, I look for nothing but increase of idolatry, or occasions of devilish machinations against his Majesty, with contempt of the Spirituall Estate in all ranks. Do ye fear any man, being in favour with your Prince? I have showed your Lôp many a time, by word and write, how I have wished thir matters to come about. You know what I mean. I cease with this Memoriall.

If by this time Consternatus chance not upon the Breast of Gold, Sigismundus shall yet be liberalis, albeit Consternatus be yet unfortunatus. But what the matter of your Lôp's infortune, in the volubrie thereof, were not a

great ultura (or ventura) which I pray God, that his Majesty, qui solus potest, et primus periclitatur, may attend unto.

Your Lôp's, with service,

22 Feb., 1612. A. Boyd.

Difference between the M. of Hamiltoun and the A. Bishop, who is made Abbot of New Abbay, Feb., 1612.

I will not pretend to explain the Riddle in the end of Mr. Boyd's Letter to the Bishop of Glasgow. Whether the following passage in Calderwood's History may be applyed to clear it, I do not know; but I insert it as I find it: "Mr. John Spotswood, Bishop of Glasgow, returned from Court in the Moneth of February, 1612. He had complained to the King upon the Marquise of Hamiltoun, who had buffetted him for some proud Speeches. The King gave the Bishop the Abbacy of New Abbay, to appease him, and, as was reported, a warrand to hold a Court of Conscience, whereunto any man finding himself oppressed or wronged by the ordinary Judges might appeal. But we saw no execution."

Rules and Orders for Discipline by the Bishop, and Signed, Ap. 8, 1612.

The Bishop returned from Court in time enough to hold, in Aprile this year, his Provincial Synod at Glasgow, then, it seems, termed The Synod of Clydsdale; and there the following Act was made, no doubt of the Bishop's framing, concerning the Order in Discipline within that Synod. I have seen many Copys of those Orders and Constitutions for Discipline, but I meet with 3 attested Originall Copyes of them, all agreeing together, and no doubt insert by the Bishop and Synod's order in the Session Register of Air; in the Session Register of the Parish of Monktoun, near Air; and in the Session Register of the Parish of Inshanan, in the Presbytery of Paisley. The last two Registers were kindly communicat to me by the Rnd. Mr. Patrick Maxwell, Minister of the last named Congregation; and in Inshanan Register, which begins 1596, I meet with the underwritten Title of the Act. I did not observe any Titles, but Orders for Discipline, that I remember of, in the two other Registers. Those Orders, probably agreed in a Meeting of the Bishops in generall, were left to every particular Bishop to pass in an Act in his Synod. They are as followes:—

Apud Glasgou, the 8th of Aprile, 1612, Sess. 3d.

Act for Observing ane Conform Order in Discipline within the Synod of Cliddsdaill.

It is Statuted and Ordained, that the Rules following be precisely keeped by

all Ministers within their Sessions, and be the Moderators of the Presbytrys within their Meetings, against every Delinquent or Sclandrous Offender, in the Act subsequent, viz.:—

Whosoever being lawfully charged to give Confession of his Faith, Swear and Subscribe to the same, and shall refuse to give obedience, shall be Excommunicat, and cut off from the Society of the Kirk, after due admonitions and uniform prescribed.

Gif any shall Blaspheme the Name of God by common Swearing, being convict thereof, shall make their Repentance in their Parish Kirk, in the Public Place, two Sabbaths, and in penalty shall pay . . . .

Whosoever shall Perjure himself, and be declared such by the ordinary Judge, shall make his Repentance in Sackcloath 3 Sabbaths, and be punished otherwise, as the Session of the Kirk shall think good.

Gif any have Tryed an Charmer, they shall make their Repentance in Sackcloath 4 Sabbaths, and shall be punished otherwise, as the Session of the Kirk shall think good.

Whosoever Profaneth the Sabbath by Labouring therein, shall make their Repentance in Linning Cloaths, and pay in penalty 20 shilling. Or if they Profane it by Drinking in time of Sermon, they shall ane Sabbath in their own Apparrell, and pay in penalty 40 shilling. If they Profane it by Fighting in any place, they shall make their Repentance in Sackcloath 3 Sabbaths, and pay in penalty 5 pounds.

Gif any Prophane the Sabbath by Fighting in Kirk or Kirkyard, they shall make their Repentance six Sabbaths, and pay in penalty 20 pounds.

Gif any shall wilfully absent themselves from the Kirk, they shall make their Repentance ane day, and pay in penalty 20 shilling.

Or if any shall be found to Sell Drink in ye time forsaid, they shall satisfy conform.

Gif any shall Upbraid the Minister while he is in Pulpit, or Interrupt him in his Sermon, or other Services, they shall make their Repentance in Sackcloath 4 Sabbaths, and in penalty pay 6 pound.

Whosoever absents themselves from the Examinations that are used before the Communion, the day appointed unto them, shall pay six shilling.

Gif any shall wilfully absent themselves from the Communion, they shall make their Repentance two Sabbaths in their Linning Cloaths, and their penalty shall be 20 merks.

Whosoever refuses Reconciliation, and is therefor debarred from the Communion, shall be under the same paine.

Gif any shall Intrude themselves to the Communion without being Examined first, shall make their Repentance ane Sabbath, and pay in penalty 40 shilling.

Whosoever Injures his Parents by word or deed, shall stand 6 Sabbaths in Sackcloath, and pay in penalty 10 pounds. Or if they be not sponsible, to be punished in their bodies, at the sight of the Minister and Elders of the Kirk.

Whosoever shall committ wilfull Murder, shall, after anes Citation, if they compear not, be Excommunicat; and if they compear, shall make their Repentance for the space of 6 moneths, and incurr the penalty of 40 pounds.

Notorious Adulterers, being convict thereof, shall make their Repentance 6 Sabbaths, and pay in penalty 40 pounds; or if they be not responsable,

they shall be keeped in Prison with bread and watter, and stand in the Joggs ane Sabbath.

Gif any shall fall in the filthy crime of Incest, they shall satisfy conform.

Whosoever committs Fornication, if they be in the rank of Servants, shall make their Repentance two Sabbaths, bare headed, without ruff or ourlayer, in their own Apparrell. The man in penalty shall pay 4 pounds, the woman 4 merks. And being Relapses, shall make their Repentance 4 Sabbaths, and in penalty pay, the man 6 pounds, the woman six merks. And being Trelapses, shall satisfy in Repentance as an Adulterer, and in penalty pay, the man 9 pound, and the woman 9 merks. Gif they be in the rank of Gentlemen or Honest Freeholders, they shall satisfy in Repentance conform to the other, and in penalty pay 20 pounds.

Fornicators under the promise of Marriage, shall make their Repentance one Sabbath in the Publick Place, the day before their Marriage, in their own Habit, as an single Fornicator.

Offences and Slanders shall be Tryed by Witnesses, and if the Slander be vehement, where Witnesses cannot be had, the party shall be compelled to give Public Purgation.

For completing of Marriage, and keeping of good order, the sum consigned shall be six pounds.

The Lawings, so commonly called, of Brydalls, shall not exceed six shilling 8 pennies each person, and the number on baith partys shall not exceed 32.

Gif any shall pursue an other in Session for Slander, both the pursuer and defender shall consign 26 shilling 8 pennies. If the accuser fail in the accusation, he shall lose his moneys, and make his Repentance ane Sabbath in the Public Place.

That nane have the benefit of Marriage, nor be admitted to the Communion, that is Slanderous in life, unless they have satisfyed the Kirk.

Common Drunkards, being convict thereof, for the first fault, shall make their Repentance ane Sabbath, and pay 20 shilling; for the 2d fault, the Repentance and Pain be double; and for the 3d fault, let them be Excommunicated.

Gif any shall disobey the admonitions of the Kirk, they shall pay for contempt of every admonition 6 shilling eight pennies, and for Repentance, stand as many days as they have contemned admonitions.

Gif any disobey the Publick Citations of the Kirk, before they be heard they shall pay 6 shilling 8 pennies.

No Minister may appoint a Fast in his Congregation without the advice of the Presbytery.

No Minister shall give their Benefices of the Kirk to any person or persons without the Congregation, except he have the Testimonial of the Minister, and know the Testimoniall to be true, under the pain of Suspension from his Office.

In every Session there shall be ane Box, with two keys, which shall be given to two severall Elders; and what penaltys are received, shall be put presently into the Box, and the Box to be in keeping of one of the speciall Elders nearest the Kirk; and whatsoever shall be taken out of the Box shall be by the Minister and Elders, and imployed in the fabrick of the Kirk, and uphold thereof; and that the Minister make both the account of the receipt and disbursements of the penalties, to the effect the account thereof may be clear.

The Session of the Kirk shall do their diligence to try Night Walkers,

and such as keep suspicious times; and who shall be convict thereof, shall stand in the Publick Place, and in penalty pay 40 shilling.

Gif any shall Overlay their Infants, by Negligence or Drunkenness, being convict thereof, shall make their Publick Repentance during the space of ane year, and shall be suspended from the Communion.

Whosoever haunts places suspect, which the Kirk declares to be ail places, but Kirk and Market, after Interdiction lauchfully given unto them, the fault shall be tane as confessed, and they punished accordingly.

His and the rest of ye Bishops' carriage at the Parliament, Oct. 16, 1612.

The Bishops at this time were willing to be rid of the Chancellour; and our Historians observe, that some of them would willingly have had his Office; and none of them stood fairer for it than B. Spotswood. The Secretary was now their favourite, as we shall find in a Letter of B. Gladstanes, August this year, upon his Life. This summer they were bussy in preparing matters for the Parliament, which was to meet in October this year; and in Parliament, pretty generally, they were on a party distinct from the Nobility, and gave in to whatever they thôt would be pleasing to the King, however uneasy it was to the Countrey and many of the Nobility. Mr. Calderwood observes, "That the Parliament met at Edinburgh, Oct. 16, and it was thot that the Bishops procured the Chancellour to be constitute the King's Commissioner, that he might be shifted from his Office, whereat some of them aimed. In his harrangue before the Parliament, he checked them. At this Parliament, the Bishops would have had 800,000^{d} pounds of Taxation to the King, because now he had need of it, when his daughter was to be Married upon the Palatine. They drew on some of the Burghs to consent to the half of it, upon hope of some things to be granted them; but the greater part of the Burrowes, Noblemen, and Barrons opposed; and so no more was granted but 300^{d} and 3 score thousand merks. The Acts of the G. Assembly at Glasgow were ratifyed; and, under collour of explanation, enlarged and altered, so that in effect they were new Acts." They stand in our Acts of Parliament, and the Alterations from the conclusions at Glasgow are in the Printed Calderwood. I observe those things that concern the Bishops in generall, on Spotswood's Life, because I reckon him the most active and the great spring of every thing done by them at this time. The E. of Dumfermline was at this time Chancelour, and the Lord Binning Secretary.

Prince Henry's Death fell in in November, and the Council thôt fit to send up some of their number to condole the King on this heavy loss, and the Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancelour were named in speciall. When they were on their way at Morpeth, the King sent a servant to discharge the Chancelour from coming to his presence. Bishop Spotswood sayes the King had been informed of his carriage in Parliament, and that hardly. And perhaps the information came from the Bishops. I shall give Mr. Calderwood's Account of Prince Henry's Death, and this Message from the Council.

He goes up to Court on Prince Henry's Death, Nov., 1612.

About the beginning of November, the King's eldest son, Prince Henry, took sicknes, and departed this life on the 7th day of November, not without suspicion of poison. It was reported that he was poisoned by certain grapes presented to him by a Fool, immediately after he came home hot from his pastime in Catchpile. This Prince was of great expectation, and dearly beloved by all the sincere professors of the true and pure Religion, and therefore his Death was most dolorous to them, but not very grievous to the Papists and Formalists. In December, sundry Epitaphs were made in praise of the Prince, and not without reason, for he was both wise and valourous. He had great intelligence with Princes, Noblemen, and great men, professing the truth every where, and Copyed their Letters with his own hand, and left out their names, so that when he was dead, the Writers of the Letters could not be knowen. He had bought 3000^{d} Stand of Arms, and laid aside every year 8 or 10 thousand pound, no doubt for some great interprise. He was Buryed upon Munday, the 7th of December, with great pomp and solemnity. The Chancelour and the Bishop of Glasgow were sent to condole the King; but before they came to Newcastle, they were commanded to return, by a Letter from the King, at which many wondered. It was alledged that the King had begun to relent his grief, and that the sight of his Scots subjects would but augment his grief. Some thought it was done to disgrace the Chancellour, and was procured by the B. of Glasgow, who was in his company. The Bishop returned to Edinburgh for obedience, but after he had stayed ten or twelve days, he went up to Court.

Act proposed by the Bishop for Communicating at Easter, 1614.

Sir James Balfour, in his Memoirs, MS., tells us, "That the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council passed an Act, March 3d, 1614, upon a motion made by Mr. John Spotswood, A.Bishop of Saint Andrews, who affirmed his Majesty's command and warrand for that effect, which he should produce, Ordaining a Generall Celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper universally throu the whole Kingdom of Scotland, and that upon one day, being Aprile 24 next to come. The absents are ordained to be notted, and thereafter to be pursued according to the fault."

The Bishop's Letter to Mr. Murray, July 11, 1614.

In the Collection of Ecclesiasticall Papers in the Advocats' Library, I find the following Letter from the A.Bishop, Dated July 14 this year. The person to whom it's writt, is ommitted in my transcript; but I suppose it's to Mr. Murray, of the Bed Chamber, now the Bishop's Agent at Court, as we have seen on B. Gladstane's Life, in room, I suppose, of Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, to whom we see the Bishop formerly used to write his Letters concerning the state of things in Scotland, to be communicat, as occasion offered, to the King. The Letter runs thus:

Hereditary Offices.

Sir,—I came to Edinburgh the 2d of July. There I had occasion to meet with the Earle of Cassills, who stands to the offer he made to me of his Dimission of the Bailziarick of Carrict, and has ratifyed the same to my Lord Secretary and Sir Gideon Murray. He is minded to be at the Bath this season, and in his return will dimitt it in his Majesty's hands, without seeking any satisfaction therefor, save his Majesty's favour. I gave the Secretary and S^{r} Gideon his Majesty's Letter anent that business, and communicat with them the Instructions I received. We concluded to deal with the Heretable Sheriffs as we should have occasion severally, each of us misknowing others, for the more secrecy. The E. of Hume has two Offices, the Stewartry of the Earldome of March, and Sheriffship of Berwick. This last, by the forfaultry of the Earle of Bothwell, is that which he would alienate; but the other, which they say is greater Jurisdiction, he means to retain. It were not meet he should receive satisfaction for the one, and not for the other also. Wherefore the Secretary would be minded in ending with him, if they agree to do it, for both. For the Lord Gray, he sayes, he promised only to make him receiue contentation for his Office, whilk any man might have promised and performed. The E. of Argyle is said to be on his journey to Court, and to come by the west, that I think we shall not now have occasion to see him.

Marquise of Huntley.

The Marquise of Huntley returned last Friday. We hear nothing of his Reconciliation to the Church, nor that any thing has been propounded touching his offices. This makes many think it's our suggestion to his Majesty, and not his own purpose, that makes those things to be urged, and so our envy is the greater, and the work more difficile. For his Religion, the King in his suspense does no little harm. His Minister tells, that whereas before the Suspending of his Excommunication he had only in his Parish 3 Recusants, he hath this year threescore thirteen. Surely his Majesty knowes not the worst; and for the respect his Majesty bears to him, we are compelled to forbear, and the Church in the mean while receives great harm. The Earle of Sutherland should have entered his ward in Saint Andrews, has left the Countrey, and, as we hear, is come there to obtain a dispensation. Geight, they say, is come to Court, to obtain his Liberty also to remain at home. I doubt not but his Ma^{ty} will consider these things rightly.

Sir Alexr. Seaton Marryed to the Heiress of

I have spoken with the Chancellour, and his nephew, Sir Alexander Seaton. The Chancellour sayes, that in his life, never any thing troubled him more than his Majesty's offence at that bussines of Eglingtoun; and

that both he and Sir Alexander, with many words and oaths, protest that they are so far from standing in termes with his Majesty, that to give his Highnes contentment, they will not fear to submitt their Lives, Honnours, Land, and all; only Sr Alexander, being provided to the succession of that Living, and coming in against the liking of many of the friends of that House, feared, as he sayes, to do any thing that might bring in question the honour and rank they had formerly keeped amongst the Nobility. For if he should have taken his Honour by a new creation, the old would have been forgotten, and his enemies ascribed this to his weaknes. Otherwise that he can enjoy no Honnour or Living but as from his Majesty, and by his Highnes' favour and benefit. As he were foolish to think it, so does he take no pleasure to enjoy any of them without his Majesty's good pleasure; and if he may be so happy as to obtain his Highnes' favour, it shall be all his study to do in his place the best service he can possibly, such as I shew his Majesty. The young man is of good expectation, and one who, I hope, shall prove worthy of his Majesty's favour. And so if it please his Majesty to provide, that in Honnour and place due to the House of Eglingtoun he be not prejudged, his Highnes may command him in what sort he pleases, and prescribe any thing for it, and he shall be obeyed. You would therefor be pleased to intreat his Majesty, that in such manner as his Majesty shall think convenient for his Honnour, this bussines may find a setling, which, I trust in God, his Maty shall never repent; and if his Highnes may be pleased to admitt him to presence, and accept him in place, ye may advise the Chancellour of the time and manner. Alwise it shall be fitt in the end of the errand to remember the Bailziary of Cunningham, and advertise the Chancellour thereof, when you write of the rest, that all may be prepared, and those things done together. For I have craved nothing thereof, nor can well doe, because I have been thôt by the Chancellour and others to be the only instigator of those matters against the Heretable Sherriffs; and it will be meetest that ye signify the same to him upon his Majesty's command. Eglingtoun, called Graysteil.

I have conferred with Drumlanrig, whom I find altered somewhat since our last communing. He sayes he never thôt an agreement could well be made amongst you, unless the turn on Clincluden were settled to both your contentments; that his Majesty might command the agreement, and it would come most for his credit that way; but he knew what course should be taken in the errand it self, and what satisfaction he might look for. I told him I wondered to see himself forget himself so far, and his own words; for, said I, when I signifyed to you that it were good a submission were made to friends of your right and kindness, you answered, that it could be no way to your credit if it came not by command, and at his Majesty's desire you had Honnour to quitt it. And then I answered, your purpose is not to quitt it without recompense; and since you will have none by the Gentleman himself, but expects it at his Majesty's hands, shew me what is the particular you would sute, and before hand I'le try if it may be effected. Ye said you knew of none, nor had any particular in head; only you understood, that having his Majesty's favour, many occasions might fall wherein you would be weel enough recompensed, and ye would trust to that. He could not deny his own words, but made such Commentary upon them as did not agree with the Text. We left our Conference, not weel pleased, but on a promise to meet again. He is in a bussiness of buying the Lands of Glencairn, and is crossed by the Lord Sanquhair, who, I hope, shall have them, and for Drumlanrig and Clincluden.

whom they are fitter. "Yesterday Mr. Patrick Galloway Preached in the Little Kirk, &c." [This passage I have placed in Mr. Galloway's Life, and repeat it not here. And then adds]—Your Lady has been in Alloway still since my return: I sent your Letter to her. And for this time having no further to write, I take my leave, resting

Yours alwise to command,

Edinr., 11 of Julie, 1614. GLASGOW.

His Letter to the King, Aug. 3, 1614.

Upon the 3d of August following, the Bishop writes to ye King thus:—

Most Sacred and Gracious Majesty,

The Agreement for the Abbay of Kilwinning is made between the Lord Burly and me. In like sort are the Conditions perfected between Sr Alexr. Seaton and me, anent the Tythes of the Cunningham, where they have any within the Churches allotted to him; for the speciall Churches where the Earle of Glencairn and his Friendship have their Lands fall in that portion which, by your Majesty's favour, is assigned to me. I trust the Lord Chancellour has testifyed so much by his Letter to your Majesty. And now, because of the Harvest season, wherein Inhibitions would be served upon the Tyths, I have sent the Signature of the Abbacy, to which I most humbly intreat your Majesty's hand. If it please the Lord I live a little while, the posterity shall find a princely work done by your Majesty's liberality to our Colledge, and your Highnes' favour shall be seen to be well bestowed. Neither have any of the Cunninghames cause to complain, being better provided for in the surety of their Tythes than themselves could have done, at least in this, that they fell not into the competitor's hands. Nor are they to do them any reverence in yt behalf. Humbly intreating your Majesty's favour for Signing the gift, I pray God Almighty to bless your Highnes with long and happy dayes.

Your Matys most humble and obedient servant,

Edinr., August 3, 1614. GLASGOW.

His Letter, with the rest of the Bishops, to Mr. Murray, probably July 29, 1614.

I find in the same Collection a Letter from the A.Bishop, of the same Date, to Mr. Murray of the Bed Chamber, with a Letter of the whole Meeting of Bishops, without day; and another Letter from the B. of Glasgow, of the 29 of July, which might have stood before the former; but I shall give them as they stand. The Letter from the Bishops, without Date, but probably July 29, to Mr. Murray, runs thus:—

Right Assured Friend,

In the Letter we wrote to his Majesty, we referred two particulars to be by you communicat to his Highnes. The first is anent the offer ane Gentleman has made for apprehending some Jesuits and Massing Priests, and presenting them to the Council. The offer was made of four, but now one of them is deceased; took sicknes in the Laird of Geight's house, and was carryed first to one of his Tennants, and Burryed secretly; and the rest

live quietly in the Countrey, and were never more bussy than at this present. The Gentleman is ready to undertake the Apprehension, upon security of Reward; but without this, he will not hazard for any promise that can be given him. The A.B. of Glasgow told us from his Majesty, that the man should be surely rewarded, according as his service should be found worthy; but to indent for every man upon an particular sum beforehand, could not be expedient, and turn to the prejudice of him that serveth, seing he might fall upon one that is worth 10,000^{d} pound. But nothing moves him. We have asked, we mean such of us as he travells with in this affair, what the men are, alledging they might be such vile bodyes, as it might fall his Majesty might not account them worth 5 shillings. His answer is, that they are men of as good account as any of the Sect; and sayes, that when he has apprehended them, he will furnish probation of their receipt and entertainment in Noblemen and Gentlemen's houses, who by the Law will be punishable, and will be glad to Compound for their Remissions for a far greater sum than he demands. For which, that so good an occasion may not be let slip, whereof we do not understand what may be the event, and that his Majesty may not be put to greater charges nor is needfull, we have thought it good that his Majesty command the Thesaurer Deput to conferr with the Gentleman, and give him security of that which he craves; the service being done, and he making good the resett, which he offers to qualify; for this way the Penaltys of the Entertainers will refound all, and make much more than is craved. The other particular concerns the Bishop of Orkney: in what uncertainty that Benefice lyes, his Majesty knowes sufficiently. The last Parliament dissolved the Bishoprick, and extinguished all Mortifications of Lands and Livings appertaining thereunto; upon promise a new Fundation should be made by some of our sights; and a Commission was granted to that effect. Yet since that time, it's two years now expired, nothing has proceeded, but from day to day has been delayed, whiles upon one protest, whiles upon another. The Bishop is undone very near by his pursuing of the bussines, and Church in end like to receive an incurable prejudice; for by delays it may come that in end an Erection may be never made of a Benefice there. And be it not done in his Majesty's time, which God Almighty long continue. What we may promise to our selves in such a suit, you may easily judge. The stay that last the bussines received, was an alledgeance that the Lands agreed to be given to the Bishops did exceed the soum condescended on, and this was qualifyed in the Entress that uses to be given, every 5 years, which was thôt at that time to exceed the soum allotted to him in 500 Lib. Scotts yearly. New Tryall being taken in the Country of the worth of those Lands, they are found to be within the soum and Entress; and all profites reckoned, the Bishop shall not have, if his payment were never so good, 300^{d} pound above. But the state of that Countrey is such, and the poverty of the Tennants knowen, as no man can expect a full and complete payment of the Duty, the Lands being racked to the highest Rent by the Earle. And for a matter of so slight importance, to make delays and questions, we are assured is against his Majesty's knowledge and pleasure, thô the Entress were of greater importance. Is there any Superiour will count of his Entress so as to make it any part of his Rent, the same being subject to so many uncertaintys? Or is there any Bishop in the Country that wants those casualitys, and many moe, of the Lands they possess. It were a pity a Bishoprick of his Majesty's foundation,

Mr. J. Law, B. of Orkney, with ye state of the Benefice.

for so it will be called hereafter, should be so strictly looked to, as not a 15 pound sterling might pass unreckoned. Besides all this, his Majesty has Fermed the Lands to Sr James Stewart, we mean the Lands and Living of Orkney, for 40 thousand merks yearly, wherein thir of the Bishops are not comprehended. Neither will the passing of his gift diminish any part of his Majesty's Rent. Add unto this the present Bishop's service done in the Church, and particularly in quieting those parts, and bringing them to their present obedience, which should be remembred, and we hope shall be, rather for the present state of the Country, which we are to leave to others to advertise. Only we suppose, that it's not likely inconvenients had arisen, as now appears, if the overlooking of the Estate of the Country had continoued in his person. In consideration of all, we most humbly entreat his Majesty may send directions, that the Signatures which are in the Thesaurer's hands may come down, and being Signed by his Majesty and the Duke of Summersett, the same may go throu the Seals, for the assuring the present Bishop and his Successors in all times after. Thir things we remitt to your good occasions to remember, entreating we may receive for both, which, if his Majesty please, may be sent down in our Letter to Sr Gideon. And we think our privat to you by his command will suffice in both the errands; for the one is to send the Signatures for the Bishop of Orkney, and the other to make surety for a Gentleman that shall be brôt to him for undertaking such a bussines. We must be alwise troublesome to you; but if we can do no more, we shall ever pray God to bless you, and all those that love the peace and prosperity of his Church.

Your most assured at our power,

Saint Androis. Caithnes. Murray.
Glasgow. P.B. of Ross. Dublanen.

B. Spotswood's Letter to Mr. Murray, July 29, 1614.

With this, I suppose, the Bishop of Glasgow sends up his own Letter to Mr. Murray, of the same Date, as follows:—

Sr,—You have inclosed in this Packet a Letter from the Bishops to his Majesty, and another from the Council in favour of the B. of Orkney, desiring an end should be put to his bussines, the lingering whereof has been a great cause of breaking that Countrey. Whereas neither he, nor any other of account, was there to resist the interprizes of such as have attempted there. And it's come to that state, that now, without some charges to his Majesty, and Levying of Souldiers, to recover the Castle they have surprized, the Countrey cannot be quiet. I know they to whom the care belongs will not fail to advertise of the state of things there, and I meddle not with it; only the longer the remedy be in applying, the cure will be the more difficile. I pray you have a care of the Bishop of Orkney's affair, that we may have answer thereof, and directions for ending it with diligence. I wrote before touching matters committed to me anent the Sherriffs and the Earle of Eglingtoun, whereof I have expected your Answer, which is not yet come. In the mean time we have ended with Burly anent his right to Kilwinning, and contracted with him for 10 thousand pound, whereof I take upon me the half payment. He is to come himself with the Securitys and Gift of the Abbacy in my person, whereof if you hear any thing, I pray you give it the furtherance that you may. If he take another advise to stay, and not to

come hastily, I will send in the same Gift to be Signed, and his Letter testifying his consent, which, because of the season, must be furthered, that I may have upon the Gift Inhibitions to be raised in time upon the Kirks. For Sanquhar's affair with Drumlanrig, we expected some advertisement from Court that should have helped us with counsell. Since his Committing, there has been great travell taken for his Liberty; and every day the Council sat, such dealings, as it was not without some great difficulty putt off to yesterday, the matter ever passing by votes, whereof we that stood for his retaining were 11, and they that laboured his freedom 10. Yesterday, by the presence of some moe than were before, they pressed the conclusion of the bussines, and we seeing no way to evite it, advised my Lord Sanquhair to reconcile with him, which was done by the authority of the Council, he having first acknowledged his fault, and offered satisfaction. His friends also urged his Fyning also to be ended, before warrand came from Court. The Thesaurer opposed it; but being overset with voices, we handled it so, as he is Fyned in 3000^{d} merks, and commanded to keep within Edinburgh till he pay the summ. I can not tell you how far they offended at this conclusion, they especially in the Council that stood for him, such as the President, Saint Andrews, and Roxburgh. But the Secretary, Sir Gideon, Clerk of the Register, Advocat, and others we could make sure, think that the Gentleman has been so usit, that he will not kythe such wantones shortly hereafter. Since the matter is ended, it were not amiss his Majesty should shew to the Council, by a Letter, his contentment with the proceedings, which they think rigorous; and twitch them a little, that they, being Counselours, should be procurators for such insolent dealing, and the oversight thereof, this being the very cause of all trouble, that they are not repressed which committ such Ryots. This morning news are come from Orkney, that the Earle's base son is Besieging the Castle and the Bishop's House of Kirkwall, and has possessed himself of the Garnell House. S^{r} James Stewart has undertaken, by the Council's direction, to levie some Souldiers, and, with the Forces he can get, to go to the Country, and repress that Rebellion. Looking shortly to hear from you, I take my leave, and rests

Your own to be commanded,

Edinr., 29 of July, 1614. GLASGOW.

Upon the 3d of August, he writes again to the same person, thus:— Letter to the same, August 3d, 1614.

S^{r},—This Pacquett has the Signature for Kilwinning, for which we have agreed to pay to him 10,000^{d} pounds, at Martinmas, and have made him Security. I have also passed our Contract in the manner I have shewed his Majesty and you, whereby I have him bound to sett all the Cunningham's Teinds to themselves. I wrote to you before anent his answer to me, about the Submission of himself. In the matter of the Earldome to the K. thereanent I expect to hear from you. And praying God to give you a happy progress, I rest yours ever to command,

Edinr., August 3, 1614. GLASGOW.

P.S.—S^{r}, the Signature would be hasted, because of the season, that I may in time have Inhibitions served; therefore, I pray you, send it to me by the first occasion. The Chancelour has testifyed our ageeement by his Letter, and mine to his Majesty is only for that purpose.

His Letter to the same person, Nov. 12, 1614.

The next Letter I find in this Collection I am taking these from, is the Archbishop's to the same Mr. Murray, of the Date Nov. 12, this same year, and it runs—

S^r^,—I received your Letter for the Jesuit's Tryall to the Council, and since that, one from your self, touching the Bishop of Gallowaye's affairs with Garlies. When this comes to be treated, I shall have a care that the Nobleman may be satisfyed in reason, and every man have his own Tythes. Being at Sanquhair, William Crighton of the Hill came to me from young Drumlanrig, with commendations, saying he was very sorry that I should speak of him as one that had not stood to the promise made to me for ending your and his affairs, for he counted much of his word, &c. I answered, that I never spoke of that affair to any but my servant, Andrew Hay; but since he had broken it now, I would speak the truth, that he had given no warrand that it should be agreed, so as I would move his Majesty to require him to do the same; and when I had done that, I found him make shifts, and sett other face upon his speech than the words could bear. Alwise I shewed him, that for the good will I bear unto the Laird, I would advise him, as before, to himself in the King's favour, and with his Neighbours; and that, in my opinion, he could not begin better than with you, because your friendship and credite, by reason of your service, could not but be very serviceable to him; and that for my self, if he would end with you in love, I would ommitt nothing that might do him pleasure, and lay in me to do. Otherwise, so long as he and you were at variance, he should not expect any thing at my hands for his tricks. The Gentlman returned to me next day, and told me the Laird would be in Edinburgh soon after the Term, and would follow my advice. This is all of that bussines. Now I must acquaint you with our state here, that at the first occasion you may acquaint his Majesty therewith. Whereas his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept of my advice anent the proceedings with the Jesuit and the Masse holders, and to give direction that the Tryall might be made at Glasgow; some here have made it their bussines to bring ye Tryall to Edinburgh; which I understanding, came to the Council, and not without difficulty, by the assistance of the Secretary, Sir Gideon, and Clerk of Register, obtained the Dyet should be keeped at Glasgow, the 6th of December. The Clerk of Register is put in Commission for the Advocat, who could not be spared from the Council and Session. The course of Papistry has gone on so far here, by the negligence of our Ministers, and the foolishnes of some of our selves, whom his Majesty has placed to hold them to their duty, and the favour born to them by some of the principall of our State, that I assure you, nothing keeps Religion here but his Majesty's countenance and favour to it. And the boldnes of the enemy, and their preparation, appears such, as I am out of doubt that at this time they expected some mischief to have been wrôt there against his Majesty's life, whom God preserve. I had some information, that in this Kingdom, 27 Jesuits, two deputed for every Diocy, and one Father Bell, the Pope's Legat, who directs them, and takes account Quarterly of their success, and how they speed. The Apprehension of this other called Moffat, lately come from Rome, at Saint Andrews, serves to their bussines. When this fellow that I have shall be examined, and put to the Torture, for otherwise he will answer nothing, and boasts much of his confidence and courage

The Tryall of the Jesuit, Dec., at Glasgow, with the state and numbers of Jesuites at this time in Scotland.

against all Torture, I hope somewhat of moment shall be found out. Alwise seing the care lyes upon me chiefly, I mean twitching this fellow that I have, and his associats, I will humbly entreat his Majesty's favour in the prosecution of their Tryall, and his Highnes' direction by Letters, in such a manner as I have sett down and inclosed herewith, which I hope his Majesty will approve, as being the same in effect that was directed of before, but altered in some circumstances for the greater terror of the enemies, and the affraying of others to fall in the like offence. Our Synod, which mett lately at Glasgow, has penned a Supplication for Suppressing Papists, which, because of my hasty coming from Glasgow, I could not have to send with this. I am not able to express to you our danger, nor would you believe it. But for their lives dare they not appear, while his Majesty lives to protect us; therefore we cannot but continually pray for his Highnes' safety, and beseech you and others who have the honnour to attend his Majesty's sacred person, to be carefull and observant of all such as haunt Court, or come towards his Highnes, that his life, in whom consists all our lives, and the life of Religion it self, be not in hazard throu their treacherous desperat attempts. I will expect the answer of those before the 4th of December, or sooner as ye may. I have sent back your Letters, as ye desired. God Almighty watch over his Majesty to his preservation, and be with you for ever.

Yours ever to command,

Edinr., Novr. 12, 1614. GLASGOU.

Upon the 30th of January, next year, the Bishop writes again to Mr. Murray, as followes:— His Letter to him, Jan. 30, 1615.

Sr,—I came to Edinburgh, where I found my Lord of Saint Andrews sick. At first, none looked for his life, but now he seems to recover. We could not have any Speech with him as yet. This day afternoon, the Bishops are all to meet in his house, who are here in good number. Being together, and conferring, among other purposes, of the oversight committed towards your self, the whole think themselves ill used in it, and are minded to understand from him the reasons of his proceeding, and thereafter take such course as they shall see fittest for signifying their constancy in keeping the intelligence they formerly keeped with you. I will thereupon take occasion of writing at greater length, and send the Letter ye desired. Only because the Bearer was on his journey, I would give him thir few lines. We have sent an Testimony of the Person of Dysart's good behaviour, against the informations made of him. Saint Andrews gives out secretly (Mr. Peter Howat is my Author), that there is ane course to shift Mr. Thomas Murray from the Prince, and that his Majesty should mislike him, as an ill affected to the Estate of the Kirk. He sayes, the Parson is quarrelled for his cause only. If he be the Forger of those things, or a worker in them, or if there be any such thing in head, I know not; but in my opinion, they neither love Kirk nor Countrey who would wish the of so wise, pious, and learned a man as I account Mr. Thomas to be. If I shall learn further, you shall have all after this Meeting. The Bishop of Galloway is at Perth, and excuses himself by sicknes to us. What that was ye are informed he heard by Saint Andrews, I cannot learn till meeting with him. Now I take my leave, and rests Yours to be commanded,

Edinr., Jan. 30, 1615. GLASGOU.

His next, Feb. 6, 1615.

As the Bishop promises in the former, so he writes his next Feb. 6, which runs—

Sr,—I wrote to you with a Gentleman, David Murray, that we were to meet together at my Lord Saint Andrews' house that night he came away. In that Meeting I musit two things, one concerning your self, another concerning the Parson of Dysart. I said, I understood by the Report of the Bishop of Caithnes, that ye had taken offence at some mint we had made to alter our Intelligences with you, and desired to know if it was so. My Lord of Saint Andrews answered, that he had received an angry Letter from you, but he would obey, as he had already begun, what he was enjoyned; and calling his son, made him repeat the Commandment given him, which he did somewhat more sparingly than at the first time; for then he said, my Lord of Summersett had commanded him in his Majesty's presence; and now, he said, my Lord himself only required it; and added, that command was given to him for his father only, and not to me, or any of the rest. The whole said, since they had no warrand nor command to any other, they would not change, and shewed themselves offended with this inconstant doing. Once it was deliberat to write a Common Letter to his Majesty, with a Testimony of your fidelity and diligence in their bussiness, and desiring to know his Majesty's will. But Saint Andrews urging that the Letter might be sent to Sr William Alexander, because he would write to no other; we, supposing such an Answer might be returned to us as we liked not, did cast off that purpose, concluding that we would keep the course that we held, till the contrair should be commanded. For the Parson of Dysart, when we asked him what he could say had offended him? the Bishop answered, the Parson had refused to be a Moderator at his desire, and that this the Parson had excused by his sicknes. Finding there was no reason to have informed so hardly of him, we said we could not refuse to give him a Testimoniall of his good behaviour. At this he was very offended, and some of us would have been at recalling our Testimony, but it was past recalling. Bearing off so well as I could, we learned of him, that the Quarrell was at the Parson for his brother Mr. Thomas, who had set him on, as he sayes, to inform his Majesty hardly of my Lord St. Androis; and he fell out in this, that the course went higher than we supposed; and Mr. Thomas would find it. We craved to be informed if Mr. Thomas or any were ill affected to the Kirk, that we might know it, and joyn with him in so good a cause; and if not, wished him to be wise, and not to serve with his credit other folk's malice. He answered, that he would, but that by a Letter under his Majesty's own hand, somewhat was imparted to him which he durst not reveal. So we left off enquiring; thô that he made a secret of it to us, he made none to others, that his Majesty should be discontent with Mr. Thomas, and would have him from his son. This Mr. Peter Howatt told me he heard him say he had under his Majesty's own hand. Sir, you are wise to use those things so as to doe your friend good; neither would I have him not to know them, nor to think much of them; for such intentions, if any be, when they are foreseen, may be prevented best. And this I thôt surer for me to write to your self, than to him, to whom I have not been accustomed to write, suppose I love him intirely, and has thôt it a great happines to us all, his company with that young Prince, as I would take it sorrowfull for my part to have him charged with any other. I have written this Letter to his Majesty,

which, if ye think good to deliver it, you may close it, and deliver to Mr. Patrick Halden, with this other that I have written for this same effect. I earnestly expect from you some answer for our Jesuit, according to my last Letters. Taking my leave, and wishing you all prosperity, I rest

Your assured ever to his power,

Edinr., Feb. 6, 1615. GLASGOW.

P.S.—Sir, you will be so good as to give thir Letters to James Douglas, and desire him to send them to Paris with the first occasion. At the closing of those, the Bishop of Isles' son came to me, being lately returned from Court, and shewes there is some bussines among you there, as he heard, for the displacing of some of his Majestie's servants in both the Chambers, by them intended that rules all. It troubled me somewhat, while I hear from you. You are wise. Whatsoever it be, let patience, I pray you, on your part, overcome their malice, and for no occasion let his Majesty be offended by you. This my love has constrained me to write, thô it needs not.

1614 and 1615, the Bishop taken up in the Proces against Ogylvy the Jesuite. Account of this from Calderwood.

In the end of the year 1614, and beginning of the [year] 1615, the A.Bishop was taken up in the Proces and Tryall of Ogilby the Jesuit at Glasgow. Mr. Calderwood observes, that this Jesuite was one of the Ogilbys of Dunmuir; that he was Sentenced upon his Declinature of the King and those appointed by him as his Judges; that he Dyed with small courage, heartless and comfortless; that he had perverted severall young men of some note, and said Mass publickly. He adds, "Some interpreted his Execution to have proceeded rather of a designe to blesse the King's Government, than of any sincere hatred of the Popish Religion. Others deemed that it was done to be a terror to the sincerer sort of the Ministry, not to decline the King's Authority, upon any cause whatsomever. He was the first Priest or Jesuite Executed since the bastard Bishop of Saint Andrews, Mr. John Hamiltoun, was Hanged."

From Bish. Spotswood himself.

It's needless to enquire into the motives in this Proces: there might be more than one in the A.Bishop's view. It was a right thing in the generall, to execute the Laws against obstinate Papists, openly avowing a power of loosing subjects from their subjection to their Soveraigne, and his zeal in this matter deserves to be recorded and imitat. I shall insert the Bishop's own Account of this Tryall from his History, because he was fully acquainted with all the steps of it, and it's a pretty singular case, branch of our Ecclesiasticall History. About the end of the year, sayes the year [Bishop?], John Ogilvy, a Jesuite, was

apprehended at Glasgow. He was lately come from Gratz, where the Jesuites have a Colledge, by the command, as he said, of his Superiors, to do some service in those parts. There were found with him 3 little Books, containing Directions for Receiving of Confessions; a Warrand to them who possessed any Church Livings, conceived in this form—Quoad dispensationem de bonis Ecclesiasticis, poteris dispensare, ut retineant quæ possident, dummodo in usus pios aliquod impendant, pro judicio confessarij dispensantis; with some Relicts, and a Tuft of Saint Ignatius' Hair, the Founder of the Order, which he seemed to have in great regard. Upon advertisement given to his Majesty, a Commission was sent to the Secretary, the Lord Kilsyth, the Thesaurer, and Advocat, for his Examination and Tryall. Being presented before them, and enquired "When he came to Scotland, what his bussines was, and where he had resorted? to the first he answered, he came in June; to the second, that his errand was to save souls; but to the third, he denyed to give any answer at all, saying he would not utter any thing that would work prejudice to others; nor could he be induced, either by persuasion or threatening, to detect the persons with whom he had resorted." The Commissioners offending at this obstinacy, and meaning to extort a Confession from him, advised to keep him some nights from sleep. This indeed wrought somewhat with him, and he began to discover certain particulars; but how soon he was permitted to take any rest, he denyed all, and was as obstinat in denying as at first. His Majesty being certifyed, that without Torture nothing could be drawn from him, made answer, "That he would not have these formes used with men of his profession; and that if nothing could be found but that he was a Jesuite, and had said Mass, they should Bannish him the Countrey, and Inhibite him to return, without Licence, under pain of Death. But if it should appear that he had been a practiser for stirring up of subjects to Rebellion, or did maintain the Pope's transcendant power over Kings, and refuse to take the Oath of Alledgeance, they should leave him to the course of Law and Justice. Mean while, his pleasure was, that the Questions following should be moved to him, and his Answers thereunto required.

"1. Whether the Pope be Judge, and hath power *in spiritualibus* over his Majesty; and whether that power will reach over his Majesty *in temporalibus*, if it be *in ordine ad spiritualia*, as Bellarmine affirmeth. The King's Questions to Ogilby.

"2. Whether the Pope hath power to Excommunicat Kings, especially such as are not of his Church, as his Majesty.

"3. Whether the Pope hath power to Depose Kings, by him Excommunicated; and in particular, whether he hath power to Depose his Majesty.

"4. Whether it be no Murder to slay his Majesty, being so Excommunicated and Deposed by the Pope.

"5. Whether the Pope hath power to Assoilzie subjects from the Oath of their born and native Alledgeance to his Majesty."

These Questions were sent in a Letter to the Bishop of Glasgow, who, assuming to himself the Principall (Mr. Robert Boyd of Prochorege) and one of the Ministers, and Provost of the City, as Witnesses, did in their hearing read the Questions and receive his Answer, which he gave under his hand, as followeth:—

"I acknowledge the Pope of Rome is to be Judge to his Majesty, and to have power over him *in spiritualibus*, and over all Christian Kings; but where it's asked, whether that power will reach over him *in temporalibus*, I am not oblidged to declare my opinion therein, except to him that is Judge in Contraversys of Religion, to wit, the Pope, or one having Authority from him. The Jesuite's Answers.

"For the 2d point, I think the Pope has power to Excommunicat the King; and where it's said that the King is not of the Pope's Church, I answer, that all who are Baptised are under the Pope's power.

"To the 3d, where it's asked if the Pope has power to Depose ye King when Excommunicat, I say, that I am not tyed to declare my mind, except to him that is Judge in Contraversys of Religion.

To the 4th and 5th, I answer *ut supra*."

Being reasoned with a long time, and the danger exponed wherein he did cast himself, by maintaining such Treasonable opinions, he answered, "That he would not change his mind for any danger that could befall him; and speaking of the Oath of

Alledgeance, said, that it was a Damnable Oath, and Treason against God to Swear it." Some dayes being allowed him to bethink himself better in those points, when as no advice could prevail, the Answers were sent to his Majesty himself, Subscribed by Mr. Ogilby, and Testifyed by such as were present at giving thereof. Hereupon the Council was commanded to pass a Commission to the Provost and Baillies of Glasgow, for putting him to a Tryall. There were assisting James, Marquise of Hamiltoun; Robert, Earle of Lothian; William, Lord Sanquhair; John, Lord Fleeming; and Robert, Lord Boyd. Some dayes before he was brôt to the Barr, it was told him "That he was not to be charged with saying of Mass, nor any thing that regarded his profession, but only with the Answers made to the Questions propounded; which if he should recall, there being yet place to Repentance, the Tryall should be suspended, till his Majesty were of new advertised." His reply was, "That he did so little mind to recall any thing he had spoken, as when he should be brôt to his answer, he should put a Bonnet on it." And this indeed he performed; for when he was placed in the Pannell, and the Indytment read, which was all grounded on the Acts of Parliament against those who declined his Majesty's Authority, or maintained any other Jurisdiction within the Realm; and upon answer made to the above written demands, Subscribed with his hand, he brake out in these Speeches:—

His Speech at the Bar.

"Under protestation that I do no way acknowledge this Judgment, nor receive you that are named in that Commission as my Judges, I deny any point laid against me to be Treason; for if it were Treason, it would be such in all places and in all Kingdomes, which you know not to be so. As to your Acts of Parliament, they are made by a number of partiall men, and of matters not subject to their Forum or Judicatory, for which I will not give a rotten fig. And when I am said to be an enemie to the King's Authority, I know not what Authority he hath, but what he received from his Predecessors, who acknowledged the Pope of Rome his Jurisdiction. If the King will be to me as his Predecessors were to mine, I will obey and acknowledge him for my King; but if he do otherwise, and play the Runnagate from

God, as he and you all do, I will not acknowledge him more than this old hat." At these words, being interrupted and commanded to speak more reverendly of his Majesty, he said "he would take with the advertisement, and not offend; but the Judgement he would not acknowledge; and for the reverence I do you to stand uncovered, I let you know, it's *ad redemptionem vexationis*, not *ad agnitionem judicii*."

His words to the Assize.

The persons cited upon the Jury being then called, and he desired to shew if he would except against them, answered, "He had but one exception against them all, which was, either that they were enemies to his cause or friends: if enemies, they could not sitt upon his Tryall; if friends, they ought to assist him at the Bar. Only he could wish the Gentlemen to consider well what they did, and that he could not be Judged by them; that whatsoever he suffered was by way of Injury, and not of Judgement; that he was accused of Treason, but had not committed any offence; nor could he beg mercy." And proceeding in this strain, he said, "I am a Subject as free as the King is a King; I came by the commandment of my Superior unto this Kingdom, and if I were even now furth of it, I should return. Neither do I repent any thing, but that I have not been so bussy as I should have been, in what you call perverting the subjects. I am accused of declining the King's Authority, and will do it still in matters of Religion, for with such matters he hath nothing to do. And this which I say, the best of your Ministers do maintain, and if they be wise, will continue in the same mind. Some questions were moved to me, which I refused to answer, because the proferrers were not Judges in Contraversy in Religion, and therefore I trust you cannot inferr any thing against me." "But I hope (said the Archbishop) you will not make this a Contraversy of Religion, whether Kings Deposed by the Pope may be lawfully Killed." To this he replyed, "It's a question among the Doctors of the Church. Many hold the affirmative, not improbably; but as that point is not yet determined, so if it shall be concluded, I will give my life in defence of it; and to call it unlawfull, I will not, thô I should save my life by saying it."

His Speeches, the more liberty given him, growing the more

Sentence Execution, with the Bishop's Remarks.

intollerable, the Jurors were willed to go apart, who, quickly returning, declared by their mouth, Sr George Elphingstoun, that they found him Guilty of all the Treasonable crimes contained in the Indytment; whereupon Doom was pronounced, and in the same day he was Hanged in the publick Street of Glasgow. He was, it seems, well instructed in the Jesuitical Doctrine of Deposing and Dethroning of Kings, and like enough to have turned another Ravilluch, if he had not been intercepted; which was the rather believed, that lamenting his mishap to one whom he esteemed his friend, he did say, "That nothing grieved him so much as that he should be apprehended in that time; for if he had lived untill Whitsunday at liberty, he should have done that whilk all the Bishops and Ministers of Scotland and England should never have helped; and to have done it, he would have willingly been drawn in pieces with horses, and not cared what torments he had endured." But this did not burst forth till after his Death. The Bishop further adds, that Mr. James Moffatt, of the same Society (of whom on Mr. Gladstanes' Life), took a safer course, and condemned Ogilby's Propositions, and was suffered to depart off the Countrey: the King alwise professing he would never Hang a Priest for his Religion.

Printed Account, 4to, Edinr., 1615.

There was an Account of this Tryall Printed, and I doubt not Revised by A.Bishop Spotswood, in a few weeks of this Jesuite's Execution, which lyes before me, intituled "A True Relation of the Proceedings against John Ogilvie, a Jesuite, Execute at Glasgow, the last of February, Anno 1615; containing sundry Speeches uttered by him at his Arraignment, and others that assisted the Commissioners deputed for his Tryall. 4to. Edinr. Printed by Andro Hart. 1615." This Relation is not very long, and now turning scarce, and being a Tryall in which the Archbishop had a speciall share, I think the curious Reader will not grudge to find it in the Appendix N. (Copy Pamphl., 4to, v. 7, N. 2), since the subject is rare and curious.

App. N.

Bishop Spotswood Translated to the See of St. Andrews, 1615.

No more offers to me, as to the Bishop's Life, while in the See of Glasgow. May, this year, while B. Spotswood was at Court, the A.Bishop of Saint Andrews Dyed; and as the Bishop of Glasgow was certainly the fittest to succeed him, so I do not

find there was any struggle about it, but the King streight named him to the See of Saint Andrews. The MS. Calderwood hath a good deal of the Primate's severity and hardships to the Ministers before the High Commission Court, especially about the Articles of Perth, down till King James his Death, and these make up the bulk of what I have on this period.

Bishop Duppa's Generall Account of him while at St. Andrews.

That I may ommitt nothing I have met with to his advantage, while in Saint Andrews, I shall begin with Bishop Duppa's character of him as Primat:—

Being invested, by the King's favour, in the Primacy, he made so much further use of it, as he procured 300[d] pounds sterling of yearly Rent (being by the Sacriledge of former times swallowed up in the Croun Revenues) to be restored to his See. Nor did he find any difficult bussiness of it; for certainly those latter ages have not produced in any Nation a Christian Prince that understood better than he the horror of Sacriledge, and the concernments of Religion, which never suffers more than when the professors thereof are exposed to scorn and poverty. For however this was the portion of the best and primitive times, when the Christian faith had no publick Civil Authority to oun it, yet after it had pleased God to make Kings the nursing fathers, and Churches were endued by pious men, their Revenues were ever held sacred; till the covetousness of some, and the profaneness of others, had consulted with that subtile Oracle which delivers it *tanquam ex tripode*, that there can be no such sin as Sacriledge; for as nothing can be given to God, so nothing can be taken from him. All King James his time, the Bishop lived in great favour with him, and was the prime instrument used by him in severall Assemblys for restoring the ancient Discipline, and bringing that Church to some degrees of conformity with her sister Church of England, which, had we been on both sides worthy of, might have proved a wall of brass to both nations. Nor was his industry less for the recovery of some remnants and parcells of the Churche's Patrimony, which, thô they were but as few crumbs in comparison of that which, at a full meal, Sacriledge had swallowed, he found to be a hard province; yet, by his zeal and diligence, he overcame many difficultys, and so little regarded his own ease, that for the effecting of this, and what else conduced to the recovery of that Church, in Patrimony and Discipline, they who knew the passages of his life have computed that he made no less than 50 journeys from Scotland to London. He adds, that as he enriched his See of Glasgow, so did he the like for Saint Andrews, procuring the Revenues of the Priory, being then in Lay hands, to be added to his Church. But having compassed that, to shew that it was done rather for the Churche's interest than his own, he dealt by way of humble Petition with the King, that his large Diocess of Saint Andrews, so much as was on the South side of the River Forth, might be dismembered, for the Erecting of a new Bishoprick; which accordingly was done, and being amply endued, was seated in their prime City of Edinburgh.

Let me now come to his Instalment into this See of Saint Andrews, and give some particular branches of his deportment

when directly at the head of this Prelaticall Church. Mr. Calderwood tells us, Bishop Gladstanes Dyed upon the 2d of May, a moneth fatall to severall of the Bishops of that See. "Mr. John Spotswood returned from Court, June 10th, 1615, and went to Glasgow, seeming altogether ignorant who had got the gift of the Bishoprick of Saint Andrews, waiting in Edinburgh upon the King's Patent sent to him, to come in all haste to Edinburgh. When he came, he seemed miscontent, as desirous still to remain at Glasgow. Mean while, his gift passeth the Seals." And I shall insert a Copy of it, from an old Transcript in my hands. (Copy MS. F., v. 43, N. 74. Compare with Crawford's Lives.) It's Dated Greenwitch, May 30, 1615. It stands Append. N.

App. N.

Inaugurat Bishop, Sunday, August 6.

Mr. Calderwood adds, "Upon the 3d of August, Mr. Spotswood made his progress to Saint Andrews. Many Noblemen and Gentlemen mett him, and accompanyed him. He Preached on the 5th of August, in the forenoon; the afternoon was spent with fires of joy, and other pastimes. The day following, upon the Lord's Day, Mr. Cooper, Bishop of Galloway, Preached, and Mr. Spotswood was Inaugurat Bishop of Saint Andrews. Many Bishops, especially Suffragans, were present." Upon Teusday, August 8th, the Primat began his Office with a Meeting of the High Commission Court, at which Mr. John Malcomb, Minister at Perth, was Prosecute, to strick a terror in other Ministers, and make them obsequious. An Account of it stands in Mr. Malcomb's Life. Mr. James Law, his old companion at foot-ball and Compresbiter, was, by his influence, admitted his Successor at Glasgow, in September.

He does his Homage as Archbishop, Nov. 26.

And to give the whole of the Ceremoniall together: "Upon the 26th of November, the Archbishops of Saint Andrews and Glasgow, after Sermon made by Mr. William Couper, in the Royall Chapell of Hallyroodhouse, gave their Oaths of Alledgeance, as subjects, renouncing all Forraigne Authority, Temporall and Ecclesiastick. They made their Oath of Homage for their A.Bishopricks upon their knees, holding up their hands to the Lord Chancelour, who was then Commissioner for the King, and sate under a Cannobie of Velvet. This was done in presence of ye Secretary, Advocat, many Lords of the Council and Session,

sundry other Noblemen, and people that were present." This was a new sight in Scotland, and the Ceremony was gone about with a great deal of pomp and splendour.

Perhaps the curious Reader will desire to see a Copy of the Oath that the two Bishops Sware at this Solemnity, and I give it from the Ecclesiasticall Collections in the Lawyers' Library, so often referred to. It runs thus :— Copy of the Oath which they Swore.

I do sincerely confess and acknowledge, that King James is, by the Divine will and providence, lawfully, and by right of succession, the rightfull King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in these his Dominions he has the Supreme Royall Jurisdiction; and that, *jure divino et naturali*, I am his Subject and Vassal; and therefore I do owe unto his Majesty all faithfull and true Alledgeance, humble obedience, and willingness to serve his Majesty in war or in peace, so far as any true Christian Subject by the Lawes of God and Nature are bound, and do owe to their proper and lawfull Prince. And if I should upon any occasion perceive and know any Conspiracys of Treason, either against his Majesty's person or State, I would not only do my best to reveal it, but would endeavour to resist, hinder, and frustrat it to the outmost of my power. And that if any person or persons, publick or private, Spirituall or Temporall, domestick or forraigne, should, upon any titles or pretences whatsomever, by open or privat force or practices, attempt the disturbance or eversion of his Majesty's person or estate, I would to the outtermost of my ability aid and defend his Majesty; and so long as vitall spirits shall give power and strength to my armes to bear a sword, I will strike in his Majesty's safe guard, and to the overthrow of his enemies. And notwithstanding any censures, authoritys, titles, or pretences whatsomever, of Excommunications, or Deprivations, or Usurpations, &c., I will ever bear true Faith and loyall Alledgeance to his Majesty, and as is before said, will resist his adversary's unjust invasions, and defend his person and estate to the uttermost of my ability. And if there be any thing else that is to be required, which a true Christian Catholick Subject ought and should do for the declaring of his Duty and Alledgeance to his lawfull and rightfull King, which doth not at this instant recurr to my remembrance, the same I do acknowledge on my behalf to be due on my behalf to his Majesty. Besides, as I have the honnour to be a sworn servant to his Majesty, I do acknowledge my self bound to all that in my said Oath I am Sworn to, and whatever else may be justly required of a true Christian and faithfull servant to his Soveraigne Lord and Master.

This Form of Oath is annexed to a Letter of Bishop Cowper's, who Preached when the two Bishops Swore Alledgeance to the King, q^{ch} made me at first view consider it as their Oath; but when I consider it, I see plainly it's an Oath calculat for Papists, upon their coming in and submitting to the King, and so it may be omitted.

His with the Bishops' Letter to the King, Nov. 9, 1615.

In the Collection of Letters in the Lawyers' Library I have made so much use of, I find 2 or 3 Letters from B. Spotswood, after he was Translated to Saint Andrews. In November, he, with the rest of the Bishops, write the following Letter to the King, in favours of Mr. Alexander Moncrief:—

Most Sacred and Gracious Soveraign,

The manifold proofs of your H. constant affection and indivertable, towards all your loyall servants, encourages us to put your Highnes in rememberance of your Majesty's old and faithfull servant, Mr. Alexr. Moncrief, whose fidelity in his Ministry, and constant disposition to your Highnes' service, without alteration, even in the most difficult times, is, we doubt not, sufficiently knowen to your Majesty. And therefore do we, in all humility, recommend him to your Highnes' gracious acceptation, that as occasion shall be offered, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to remember him, according to your Highnes' wonted favour to others of his quality. Thus, by experience of your Majesty's kindly affection to your old and approven servants, others shall be invited to devote themselves by all serviceable obedience, to set forward, under God, your Majesty's most wise and godly designes. So praying the Eternal God to continue still his blessing upon your Royall person and estate, and make your Highnes for many years a King of manifold blessings, we rest, and humbly take our leave.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servitours,

W., B. of Galloway. G., B. of Orcads. Saint Androis.
Al., B. of Dumblan. Ja. Glasgow.

Edinr., Nov. 9, 1615.

His Letter to Mr. Murray, Decr. 9, 1615.

Upon the 9th of Dec., the Primat writes the following Letter to Mr. Murray, of the Bed Chamber:—

Sr,—The Laird of Bombie has some bussines at Court, especially anent the passing of the Patronage of Twynam Kirk, in Galloway, which was one of the omitted Kirks of Hallyrood, whereto I borrowed my son's name, for the better planting them; and seing he hath taken sufficient order therewith, I will request you earnestly, whom I know otherwise to be his friend, to procure the Signature thereof to be passed by his Majesty, with the outmost expedition; and to testify to his Majesty my consent, whilk will furder appear in my Procuratory of Resignation, that I have made of the samen. Were it needfull, I would insist with you to be his friend in all his other bussiness; but where you profest to doe nothing for the fashion, I will not use words, only recommends this affair particularly to you, as wherein I have some interest, and for the which I must be obledged to you, as for many other kindnesses. So committing you to God, I rest

Yours assured ever to be commanded,

Leith, ye 9 of Dec., 1615. Saint Androis.

His Letter to the King about ys time, concerning the Commissariot of Stirling.

The next Letter from the A.Bishop wants a Date, but I suppose it's much about the time with that which follows it, to Mr. Murray, and so I sett it down here:—

Most Gracious Soveraigne,

May it please your Majesty, whereas at the restoring of the Bishopricks to their first integrity, every Bishop being repossessed of that Commissariot that was due to him; amongst the rest, that of Stirling, being composed of sundry Dioceses, when each Bishop got his own, it was dissolved in pieces, nothing being reserved to the Commissar but a part he has from me; so that I cannot but in conscience recommend Mr. Robert Murray, the Commissary thereof, to your Majesty's gracious consideration, entreating that your Majesty may be pleased to grant him a precept for any gratuity your Majesty thinks expedient, to be answered out of the Fines that shall be due to your Majesty's Thesaury or High Commission. For he being ever a most speciall friend of ours, hath only had the hap to be harmed in this kind, so that the considering of him can import a preparative for no other. It is uncertain when a benefite arises from these Fines, and he may be easily contented. And therefore I most humbly intreat your Majesty to confer this favour upon him, among many others bestowed by your Majesty for the advancement of the Church. And we shall ever, as in duty bound, continually pray for your Majesty's long and happy Reigne.

Your Majesty's most humble and most obedient servand,

St. Androis.

He writes on the 22 of December to Mr. John Murray, of the Bed Chamber, thus:— Letter to Mr. Murray, Decr. 22, 1615.

Sr,—After the writing of the last, wherein you have Letters from the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, and one from us all to my Lord of Canterburry, I received your Letters of the 11 of this moneth. As to those matters of Marr, I remitt them to the success, and I pray God if it hold forth, that his Lôp may resolve to serve his Majesty faithfully, and according to his own mind; for I have ever seen his Majesty's purpose as yet crossed by them that were placed in rooms to furder them. With your Letters, I received one from his Majesty in favours of our Archdean of Saint Andrews, which I think proceeds from some information he has made to his father-in-law, that I am scarce his friend. But of that, there is no cause; neither am I so foolish, as thô I had matter of offence, to do him any unkindnes, lest the world should think we were malicious one to another. I know nothing wherein he can take that suspicion, except that for oversights committed in keeping their Exercise at Saint Andrews, I found fault with him before the Synod, because he was Moderator for the rest; and at that time named another for this half-year. In which, that he should not think any ill, I called before me the Bishops of Ross and Caithnes, and gave him my counsell to follow his calling, and behave himself with greater gravity into it, and not be a company keeper with common folks in drinking, to which over many of our sort are subject; assuring him, that if he did behave himself so as became him, he should not miss his father here as long as I lived. And so for this, you will be pleased to assure his Majesty, that I shall so carry my self to him, as there may be no advantage given to enemies, nor shall he have any cause to suspect other. The Chancelour and Secretary came up together, as I wrote in the other Letter. The Chancelour was one day earnest with me to go in the journey with him, but I told him I could not, for many bussinesses. This day, the Secretary has been earnest for

Archdean Gladstanes.

the like purpose. I could wish to be there, as I wrote before, for diverse affairs, both as to my self and the Kirk; but when I think on the journey, I know not what to resolve upon, being very unfitt for travell, especially in this season. But as my Lord of Canterburry thinks good, I shall do; and if I come, I shall be with them, or shortly after. I take my leave, and rests

Your assured good friend,

Edinr., Dec. 22, 1615. SAINT ANDROIS.

New Warrand for ye High Commission, Dec. 21, 1615, with Mr. Calderwood's Reflexions on this shape of it. App. N.

When the Ceremonies were over, somewhat more substantiall to their Prelacy comes next, and that is, the High Commission, in its second shape. I have given the Warrand for the former, and I shall insert the Commission for this second shape of it, in the uniting of the two Courts into one. App. N. (Copy Calderwood, v. 6, p. 349-54.) Upon B. Gladstane's Death, the former Commission fell, and was renewed in this shape, Dec. 21, 1615. However, Bishop Spotswood, in virtue of the former, it seems, found himself *in tuto* to call Mr. Malcomb before him, before the renewall of it. Mr. Calderwood gives the following remarks on this High Commission:—

> At first, there were two Courts of High Commission, where the two A.Bishops were heads; but seing the High Commission is their strongest hold, they thôt good to make it stronger by uniting the two Courts in one, at the renewing of the Commission, occasioned by the Death of the last A.Bishop, that all the subjects within either of the Provinces might be drawn unto this one Court. Mr. John Spotswood, and Mr. James Law, sometime Minister in the Presbitry of Linlithgow, two pretty foot-ball men (as Mr. John Davidson foretold), have now, as we use to say, the ball at their foot. They were both near the point of Suspension, in the purer times, for Profanation of the Sabbath. Now they have power to Suspend, Deprive, Imprison, Fyne, or Confine any Minister in Scotland. In the Court of High Commission, they and their fellow Bishops maintain their usurped authority, overrule Ecclesiasticall Judicatorys, put in execution the Acts of Assemblyes, overruled by themselves; knowing very well they will not get concurrence in Presbytrys and Synods, the ordinary Judicatorys of the Kirk, to Suspend or Depose Ministers for not conformity or not obedience to the said Acts. So the Acts of unlawfull Assemblys are violently obtruded upon the Kirk, by a Judicatory which is not a Kirk Judicatory, and the Bishops overrule the Kirk by a power never given them by the Kirk.

The Archbishop's carriage in the Loosing of Huntley's Excommunication, June, 1616.

Next year, there fell in a kind of interfeiring of Jurisdictions between the Bishops of Scotland and England, in the case of the Marquise of Huntley, which Bishop Spotswood particularly interested himself in, the credit of the High Commission and the authority of our Scots Bishops being particularly concerned in it.

I'le therefore give as distinct Accounts of this as I can, from Mr. Calderwood and Bishop Spotswood their Historys; and the comparing them both will sett this matter in a fuller light than I have seen it. The Marquise of Huntley had been Excommunicat about 8 years before this, and giving still hopes of his reconciliation from time to time, did not only frustrat the same, but this year broke out in open insolencys against the Ministers in his Country, and caused his Officers to discharge his Tennants to hear the Sermons of some of their Ministers, who he pretended had offended him.

M. of Huntley compears before the High Commission, June 12, 1616.

The Ministers complained of this to the Bishops, and B. Spotswood caused Cite the Marquise before the High Commission. Mr. Calderwood tells us, "The Marquise appeared before them, June 12, 1616, but refused to Subscribe the Confession of Faith, or to give any kind of satisfaction; whereupon he was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, but was relieved out of ward the 18 day, by a Warrand from the King to come up to Court."

June 13, B. of St. Andrews' Letter to the King.

Upon the 13 of June, after the Marquise was warded, the A.Bishop wrote a full Information of all that had been before the High Commission, and their Sentence warding the Marquise in the Castle, and sent off to the King.

King's Answer June 22, 1616.

Mr. Calderwood has preserved the King's Answer to this Letter, Dated June 22, and I give it as follows:—

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well beloved Counsellour, we greet you well. We received your Letter of the 13 instant, whereby ye and the remanent Bishops doe give us an Account of the High Commission's Proceedings, and the causes moving them at their last Meeting to Committ the Marquise of Huntley. And as we are well pleased both with your Assembly and the effect thereof, especially at this time of so great defection and apostacy in the North, so it is our pleasure that the said Marquise be no wise relieved of his commanded restraint, but that he remain therein, notwithstanding of our late Letter sent to him; which being directed and dispatched before we knew of his restraint, is not to be interpreted as a Warrand of his relief therefrom; so that notwithstanding of the said Letter, you shall detain him, if he be in prison, and otherwise, to cause him re-enter the same. And now, seing ye have made so fair an entry and way to curb and correct Popery, and prevent the future growth and increase thereof, so we are the more earnestly to press you to set forward in so good a cause, without fainting and wearying; because at this time of the Marquise's first Imprisonment, every man will be in expectation of some reall effect and work of Reformation. Wherefore you and all the rest of your Collegues are to use the greater care and diligence in your proceedings against the Jesuites,

Priests, and Papists of those parts, and chiefly against those of the said Marquise his name, kin, and dependants, by Citation, or such other course as ye shall think meet for their discovery, pursuit, tryall, and punishment. Wherein, as we doubt not, ye will perform all that we can expect or require of you; so ye may be confident of our speciall approbation and aid, to be conferred to any lawfull course that ye intend or take for the same. In the mean time, among other particulars of that Letter sent to us, we cannot but take speciall notice of the Devilish disposition of Corneles Gordon's wife, in railing so wickedly against a Preacher, and using such speeches to divert people, even at the Church door, from entering to hear the Word. Wherefore, our pleasure is, that ye resolve on the most expedient course to bring her to Edinburgh, and she committed to the Tolbooth; for if those Speeches expressed in the said Letter be verifyed against her, we will repute her as infamous, odious, and punishable as any Witch; and unless by her punishment we be confirmed of her guiltines, we must esteem the information made against her to be but an invention, and you too easily to have believed a lie. According to your desire, we have required our Depute Thesaurer to cause dispatch the Guard to pursue Ghight, and take his house; and for punishing the rest, who, being Cited, compeared not before our High Commission, we have willed him to proceed against all and every one of them, with all severity and rigour of Law. And to conclude, whereas ye desire the declaration of our pleasure concerning Mr. John Murray, seing by his conformity he has given you satisfaction, we are pleased that ye place him in Dumfermline, or elsewhere, as ye shall think most fitt. And so we bid you farewell.

At Wanstead, the 22 of June, 1616.

The Council meet, June 18, and Liberat the Marquise.

By this Letter, we see that the Marquise, before the High Commission mett, had wrote up to Court for a Warrand to come to the King. Mr. Calderwood seems to think this was done not without the knowledge of some of the Bishops. And considering the Primate's interest at Court, it seems to have been the Marquise's interest, if he could, to gain his consent. Whether the A.Bishop was privy to the designe or not, and the whole of the procedure of the High Commission was but grimace, I will not determine; but while the Marquise was in the Castle of Edinburgh, the King's allowance to him to come to Court comes to Edinburgh; upon which, Chancelour Seaton calls a Council, June 18. It was remarked, that the A.Bishop of Saint Andrews was absent from the Council that day, which, Mr. Calderwood sayes, made people think he was privy to the Letter sent from the King for the Marquise's coming up. He tells us, "The Marquise was relieved out of ward the 18 of June, upon the King's Warrand to come to Court. The Bishops seemed to be miscontent, because the power of the High Commission was vili-

pended, as they alledged. But it seemed the Warrand to ward him and to relieve him were both contrived at one time. Yet many of the Council, not privy to the mystery of the matter, votted that he should be detained in ward, or at least, his liberty should be referred to the High Commission. The votes being equall, Chancelour Seaton inclined to Huntley's side, whereupon he was set at liberty."

The Ministers and Bishops take this ill.

B. Spotswood, in his History, tells us that the Marquise had not remained two or three days in the Castle, till he was put to liberty by the Chancellour's Warrand. The Bishops in Toun complained to the Chancelour of this, who disdainfully answered, "That he might enlarge, without their advice, any that were Imprisoned by the High Commission." And when he was told that the Church would take this ill, he said "he cared not what their Church thought of him." Whereupon the Ministers made great exclamations against him in the Pulpits, as against one that abused his place and power. Mr. Calderwood tells us, Mr. W. Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, Preaching in the Great Church of Edinburgh, upon the enemies of the Kirk, inveighed against the Chancellour, for maintaining of Papists. It seems the King, being informed that the Marquise was coming up to London, had writt to the Bishops that he would not suffer the Marquise to come near him, but had directed him to return to his ward. The Bishop of Galloway mentioned this Letter, and run out on the King's fatherly care and gracious behaviour towards the Kirk; but, sayes the King, the event proved all was but collusion.

Complaints of the Clergy to the King. The B. of Caithnes sent to Court, and yet the Marquise is admitted to the King.

Upon the Chancelour's liberating the Marquise, complaints were sent from all hands to the King. The Bishops, sayes Spotswood, complained of the Chancelour for his usurping upon the High Commission; and to this effect directed Alexander, Bishop of Caithnes, to the Court. The Chancelour, on the other hand, complained of the turbulency of the Ministers, and the liberty they took to censure the publick actions of Statesmen, in their Sermons. The Marquise, upon his Licence, had gone up to Court. The complaints of the Clergy, it seems, reached the King before the Marquise; and upon receiving them, the King sent Mr. Patrick Hamiltoun, Secretary Depute at Court, to

command the Marquise to return, and re-enter himself in the Castle of Edinburgh, for satisfying the High Commission. Moreover, he carryed a Letter to the Council, sharply rebuking them for releasing the Marquise, he being warded by the Lords of the Commission. The Bishop adds, the Gentleman meeting the Marquise at Huntingtoun, within a day's journey to London, did deliver his Message. The Marquise intreated him to go back, and shew the King that he was come to give his Majesty satisfaction in every thing he would enjoyn; and to beseech his Majesty, that seeing he was so far on in his journey, not to deny him his presence. The offer of his satisfaction pleased the King so well, that he permitted the Marquise to come forward to the Court.

The Marquise offers to Communicat with the A.B. of Canterburry.

When he came to the King, the Marquise was directed to the A.Bishop of Canterburry, with whom he offered to Communicat. The Excommunication standing in the way, and it being contrary to the Canons that one Excommunicat by the Church should, without their consent who had so sentenced him, be Absolved in another, it was for a while doubted what course they should take. The King, on the one side, was desirous to win the Marquise, and on the other, loath to infringe the Order of the Church. It was thôt, the King still inclined to have the Marquise Absolved, and that the Bishop of Caithnes his consent (now being come up to London), in name of the Clergy of Scotland, was Warrand sufficient.

The A.Bishop of Canterburry Absolves the Marquise from the Sentence of Excommunication. The Form he used. July 7.

Thus, the Bishop consenting, the Absolution was given to the Marquise, in the Chappell of Lambeth, by the Bishop of Canterburry, in this form:—

Whereas the purpose and intendment of the whole Church of Christ is to win men to God, and fame their souls for Heaven; and that there is such an agreement between the Churches of Scotland and England, that what the Bishops and Pastors in the one, without any worldly respect, shall accomplish, to satisfy the Christian end and desire of the other, cannot be distastfull to either. I, therefore, finding your earnest intreaty to be loosed from the bond of Excommunication, wherewith you stand bound in the Church of Scotland; and well considering the reason and cause of that Censure, as also considering your desire, this present day, to Communicat here with us; for the better effecting of this work of participation of the Holy Sacrament of Christ our Saviour his Blessed Body and Blood, do Absolve you from the said Excommunication, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of

the Holy Ghost; and beseech the Almighty God that you may be so directed, that you may continue in the truth of his Gospel unto your live's end, and then be made partaker of His everlasting Kingdome.

This taken ill in Scotland.

How soon it was knowen, adds Spotswood, that the Marquise was Absolved by the A.Bishop of Canterburry, there were great exceptions taken by the Church of Scotland. Mr. Calderwood observes, that upon the 8th of July, the Accounts of this came down to Edinburgh, that the A.B. of Canterburry was to receive the Marquise to favour and the Holy Communion, notwithstanding the Church of Scotland's Excommunication; which was thôt strange of by the people; and the Bishops themselves, in shew and appearance, took it as an usurpation over them. But the wiser perceived well enough the meaning of those proceedings. Upon the 14 of July, the Primat Preaching, before noon, in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, said, "He understood the people looked that he should say some thing of the Marquise of Huntley his relief out of ward; but, said he, it's not my purpose to speak against persons that are in eminent place, seing his Majesty has provided that the like shall not fall out hereafter. Yet, added he, it behoveth the Bishops and Ministers to be born with, to utter their grief, when Papists are so far countenanced, not only in the North, but in the very heart of the Countrey." It increased the exceptions taken, that this step was interpreted to be a sort of usurpation.

The King's Letter to the A.B. of St. Andrews on this, and Vindicating the Relaxing of Huntley.

The King was advertised of this umbrage in Scotland, and in a long Letter to the B. of Saint Andrews justifyed the doing, by those reasons, which are all B. Spotswood hath thôt fitt to give of the Letter, in his History:—

1. That in Absolving the Marquise, nothing was intended to the prejudice of the Church of Scotland; but what was done was out of a Christian necessity, it being needfull that the Marquise should be Absolved before he was admitted to the participation of the Sacrament. 2ly. He willed the Church to consider, that his Absolution at home was only delayed upon the scruple he made of the presence of our Saviour in the Sacrament; and that upon his Confession, Swearing, and Subscribing the other points of Religion, they themselves had suspended his Excommunication; the causalnes whereof he would not dispute, but referr the same to the Canonists; yet the Suspension standing, it was not much from an Absolution. 3ly. That the Absolution given him in England did necessarly imply an acknowledgment of the Authority of the Church of Scotland; whereas if the A.Bishop of Canter-

burry had received him to the Holy Communion, and not first Absolved him, being Excommunicat by the Church of Scotland, the contempt and neglect had been a great deal greater. 4ly. That the Marquise being come to England, and making offer to perform whatsomever should be required of him, it was more fitt to take him in that disposition, than to have delayed it till he came to Scotland. For those reasons, his Majesty said, and especially because all that was done was with a due acknowledgment and reservation of the power and independant authority of the Church of Scotland, which the A.Bishop of Canterburry had by his own hand testifyed, it was his pleasure, that upon the Marquise his return, a full form of Absolution should be given him, or a Ratification made of that which was done in England; so as neither the A.Bishop of Canterburry his doing should be disapproved as unlawfull, nor the same approved so as it might seem that the Church of Scotland was any way inferior to that of England. And that the Archbishop's Letters, written to that effect, should be put in record, and keeped as a perpetuall monument for ages to come.

The A.Bishop of Canterburry's Letter to B. Spotswood, July 23, 1616, giving an Account of this Absolution.

The Letter from the Archbishop of Canterburry direct to the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, which came with the King's Letter, deserves next a room here, and will let us in to a further view of the circumstances of this pretty singular Absolution, and it is as followes:—

Salutem in Christo.

Because I understand that a Generall Assembly is shortly to be held at Aberdeen, I cannot but esteem it an office of brotherly love to yield you an Account of that great action which lately befell us here with the Marquise of Huntley. So it was then, that upon the coming up of the said Marquise, his Majesty sharply entreating for not giving satisfaction to the Church of Scotland, and for a time restraining him from his Royall presence; the Marquise resolving to give his Majesty contentment, did voluntarily offer to Communicat, when and wheresoever his Highnes should be pleased. Whereupon his Majesty being pleased to make knowen that offer to me, it was held fitt to strick the iron while it was hot, and that this great work should be accomplished before his Majesty's going to progress, whereunto a good opportunity was offered, by the Consecration of the Bishop of Chester, which was to be in my Chappell of Lambeth, the 7th of this moneth, at which time a Solemn Communion was there to be Celebrated. The only pause was, that the Marquise being Excommunicat by the Church of Scotland, there was some appearance of difficulty how he might be Absolved in the Church of England: wherewith his Majesty being acquainted, who wished that it should not be deferred, we grew to this peaceable resolution, which I doubt not your Lôp and the rest of our Bretheren there will interpret to the best. For first, what was to be performed might be adventured upon, as we esteemed, out of a brotherly correspondency and unity of affection, and not of any authority; for we know, that as the Kingdom of Scotland is an free and absolute Monarchy, so the Church of Scotland is entire in it self, and independant upon any other Church. 2ly. We find by the advice of severall Doctors of the Civil Law, and men best experienced in things of this nature, that the course of Ecclesiasticall proceedings would fairly permitt that we

might receive to our Communion a man Excommunicat in another Church, if the said person declare that he had a purpose hereafter for some time to reside among us, which the Lord Marquise did openly profess that he intended; and I know his Majesty doth desire it. And for my part, I rest satisfyed that it can bring no prejudice, but rather contentment to you and that Kingdom. 3ly. It pleased God, the night before the Celebration of our Sacrament, to send our Brother, the Bishop of Caithnes, with whom I taking counsell, his Lôp resolved me, that it was my best way to Absolve the Lord Marquise, and assured me it would be well taken by the Bishops and Pastors of the Church of Scotland. I leave the Report of this to my Lord Caithnes himself, who was eye witness with what reverence the Marquise did partake of that Holy Sacrament. For all other circumstances, I doubt not you shall be Certifyed of them by his Majesty, whose gracious and princely desire is, that this bruised reed should not be broken, but that so great a personage, whose example may do much good, should be cherished and comforted in his coming forward unto God; which I, for my part, do hope and firmly believe that you all will endeavour, according to the wisdom and prudence which Almighty God hath given to you. And thus, as your Lôp hath ever been desirous that I should give you the best assistance I could with his Majesty, for reduceing or restraining this Nobleman; so you see I have done it, with the best discretion I could, which, I doubt not, but all our Brethren with you will take as proceeding from my desire to serve God, and his Majesty, and the whole Church of Scotland. I send you herewith the Form which I used in Absolving the Lord Marquise, in presence of the Lord Primat of Ireland, the Lord Bishop of London, and of diverse others. And so beseeching the blessing of God upon you all, and that in your Assembly you may proceed with unity of spirit, to the honnour of Christ, and the beating down of Antichrist and Popery, I leave you to the Almighty.

From my House at Croyden, July 23, 1616.

The Marquise Absolved of new by the Assembly at Aberdeen, August 13, 1616.

This Letter, we see, was designed to satisfy the Bishops and the Generall Assembly; and Bishop Spotswood tells us, that "it being shewed to the Clergy, and others who were offended that the Marquise was Absolved, gave them content. Yet it was resolved, that the Marquise, who was then returned from Court, should present a Supplication to the Generall Assembly, which was to meet at Aberdeen, the 13 of August, acknowledging his offence in despising the Admonitions of the Church, and promising to continue in the profession of the Truth, and to make his children to be Educat in the same. And that upon his Supplication, he should be of new Absolved, according to the Form used in the Church of Scotland. This was very solemnly performed the first day of the Assembly." I have not met with this in the Records of the Assembly, and cannot tell why it stands not there.

Further Account of the M. of Huntley his Relaxation, and its circumstances, from the Collections 1589-1641.

I'le add here some further Account of this matter of the Marquise of Huntley his Reception and Absolution, from the Writter of the Collections, from 1589-1641 :—

After the relieving of the Marquise of Huntley, by the Chancelour's Warrand, upon the 11 of July, 1616, Mr. William Cowper, B. of Galloway, Preached in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, forenoon, before a great number of people, of all ranks. When speaking of the enemies of the Kirk, he came in speciall and blamed the Chancelour, laying all the wyte on him, and heavily threatening him with examples out of the Word. He was the more bold by the King's Letter to the Council, that he would not speak with the Marquise, nor suffer him to come near him. Upon the 8th of July, it was understood that the Marquise was received into favour by the A.B. of Canterburry, which was thôt very strange. Upon the 14 of July, being Sunday, the A.B. of Saint Andrews Preached forenoon, and after some observations of Doctrine, he began to speak of the Marquise's delivery, saying, he understood that the people lacked that he would speak of y^{t} matter at length; but he shewed it was not his purpose, nor to speak against any persons in eminent places; because, as he said, the King's Majesty had provided remeed that the like matter should not fall out hereafter, and swa passed forward to some doctrine against Popery, with some aggravation, that Papists were greatly countenanced in the heart of the Countrey, and not only in the North parts; and declared, that the Ministers and Bishops behoved to be born with to speak, when Papists gat so great favour. So the A.Bishop differed from the B. of Galloway, the Sabbath before, and fand fault with Papists getting favour, and reproved not in particular, as the other, and severall of the Ministers of the Toun did. Many were of opinion the Primat knew of the Marquise's delivery before he was delivered, and absented that day from Council. He was a deep politick man. The Assembly met at Aberdeen, and sat longer than they would have done, waiting for the Marquise of Huntley's coming in. On the 20 of August, being Teusday, the Marquise came to Aberdeen, late at night. The morn, the forenoon, the B. of Saint Andrews, some other of the Bishops, and Ministry, had Conference with him, before the Commissioner; and at afternoon, the Bishop proponed to the Assembly what Conference they had with the Marquise, and what satisfaction he offered, by Subscriving to the Confession of Faith, whilk was enlarged, and to give due obedience to the Ordinances of the Kirk in all time coming, and Communicat as occasion should offer. Whereupon the Assembly's votes being asked, sundry gave diverse opinions upon his receiving again to the bosom of the Kirk; alwise all condescended to receive him, upon the acknowledging his former offence, and promising amendment in time coming. And so the Marquise was sent for, and coming in, the A.Bishop of Saint Andrews demanded of him, if he acknowledged his former errors, and if he was now resolved to embrace the Religion presently professed in time coming, Subscribe the Confession of Faith, and promise dutifull obedience. He said he would do swa; and thereupon, without reading of the Confession new formed, but upon the Bishops' assurance it was all ane with the old Confession, whilk he had Subscribed for his apostacy, he Subscribed that new Confession, and promised obedience to the Discipline of the Kirk. Whereupon the A.Bishop relaxed him from his Excommunication, and received him in favour; and so an Psalm of Thanks was Sung, and he went his way.

That I may give this matter of the Lord Huntley's Absolution as full as I can, I'le subjoin a Letter from my Lord Binning to the King concerning it, from the Originall in the Advocat's Library:— Lord Binning's Letter to the King, on the M. of Huntley's Absolution, August 22, 1616.

Most Sacred Soveraigne,

What was proceeded in the Nationall Councill keeped last oulk in this Toun, was signifyed by my Letters of the 18. No matter of moment resting then to be concluded, but the Marquise of Huntley's Absolution, who coming to this Toun upon Teusday at night, as was appointed, yesterday, the two Archbishops, the B. of Brechin, your Majesty's Thesaurer Deput, the Laird of Corse, and I, went to the Marquise's lodging, and, after 2 or 3 hours' Conference, agreed on the manner of his Absolution. And meeting in the afternoon in publick Assembly, that matter being propounded, and modestly reasoned by some of the precisest sort, the A.B. of Saint Andrews replyed so wisely, and made so timely use of some clauses of your Majesty's Letter from Nottingham, which by good fortune came to his hands that same day, that in end the Absolution was concluded; and the Marquise compearing, and granting his bypast offence, and promising constant perseverance in the true Religion, which he there acknowledged, and Subscribed publicly the Articles thereof exhibited to him, in presence of all the Assembly, he was Absolved, to the exceeding great joy of all that were present. This is one of the works of your Majesty's most excellent wisdom, wherefrâ all men expect good helps to the peace of the Estate and Church of this Kingdome. All your Majesty's other directions being most just, reasonable, and profitable for the Country, were allowed with such humility, heartines, thanksgiving, and prayer to God for your Majesty's preservation and long and happy Reigne, as your Majesty's care of the universal good of the Kingdome does oblidge all faithfull subjects sincerely to wish. Many have approven themselves dutifull in this service; but I owe particular testimony to the Earle of Montrose his affection, and to the A.Bishop of St. Androis his modesty, wisdom, and travells, whereby he so contained the whole number within the bounds of duty and obedience, as did greatly facilitat the good success of the busines. So wishing the like in all your Majesty's intentions and directions, and that God may be pleased long to bless us with the continowance of your wise, just, and gracious Reigne, I rest

Your most Sacred Ma$^{ty's}$ most humble, faithfull, and bound servand,

Aberdeen, 22 August. BINNING.

This would bring me to give some Account of that Generall Assembly, but the Printed Calderwood and Spotswood's History have what passed at great length. The Primat, as the Records of the Assembly bear, was chosen Moderator. Mr. Calderwood seems to insinuate that he stepped in to the Chair without a formall choice. He sayes, "A Fast was indicted to be keeped the day they sat down, the 13 of August, by Proclamation and Sound of Trumpet. The Laird of Corse Preached in the morn- B. Spotswood Moderator of the Assembly, 1616.

ing, the B. of St. Andrews in the forenoon, Mr. William Forbes in the afternoon. Howbeit the Assembly began with Preaching and Fasting, they were directed by a Packet of Letters sent from Court. The King ordained, by his Letter, the Primat to rule ye Clergy; and his Commissioner, the E. of Montrose, to order the Laity; and desired them to advise upon certain Overtures for rooting out of Popery, which he promised to authorize. So the Primat stepped in to the Moderator's place, without Election, against ye Practice and Acts of our Kirk, not yet repealed by the Assembly of Glasgow, nor any other." This, and their Proceedings, the Reader will find in Calderwood.

King's coming to Edinr., May, 1617, with the Bishop's Sermon before him, and the English Service is set up at Hallyrood House.

Next year, upon the King's coming to Edinburgh, in May, the Archbishop Preached before him in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh. I'le give Mr. Calderwood's Account of the King's Entry to Edinburgh, and the Bishop's Sermon, since it contains some particulars I have not met with else where.

Upon the 13 of May, the King entered into Scotland, accompanyed with the Duke of Lennox, the Earles of Arundale, Southamptoun, Pembrock, Rutland, Montgomery, and Buckingham, the Bishops of Eli, Lincoln, Winchester, and sundry other Barrons, Deans, and Gentlemen. He stayed in Dunglass two nights, a night in Seaton. Upon Friday the 16, he came out of Seaton to Leith, and about four in the afternoon, out of Leith to the West Port of Edinburgh, where he made his entry on horse-back, that he might be the better seen by the people, whereas before he rode in coach all the way. The Provost, Baillies, Council, and a number of the Citizens, arrayed in Gouns, and others standing with Speet-staves, received him at the Port. Mr. John Hay, the Toun Clerk, had a Speech to him. At his entry, he had presented to him a Golden Bason, with a Purse full of Gold. The Cannons of the Castle were shot. He was convoyed first to the Great Kirk, where the Bishop of Saint Andrews had a flattering Sermon upon the 21 Psalm, and thanked God for his prosperous journey. He Knighted the Provost of Edinburgh, Sir William Nisbit. When he came to the Palace of Hallyrood House, the Professors and Students of Edinburgh Colledge presented to him some Poems made to his praise and in signe of welcome. It was bruted that all the Colledges were to be laid waste, save Saint Andrews and Glasgow, that they might flowrish the better. This moved them to present their Poems. Upon Saturnday, May 17, the English Service was begun in the Chappell Royall, with Quiristers, Surplices, and playing on Organs.

And that I may add what relates to that—

The Noblemen, Counselours, and Bishops, so many of them as were in Edinr., were commanded to repair to the Palace of Hallyrood House, upon Whitsunday, the 8th of June, where the Communion was to be Celebrate

after the English Form. The Chancelour, Secretary Hamiltoun, Sr George Hay, Clerk of Register, the Earle of Argyle, the Bishops of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Ross, Brechin, Dumblane, and sundry others, Communicat Kneeling, not regarding either Christ's Institution or the Order of our Kirk. The Bishop of Galloway refused, but continowed not long in that mood. Upon Teusday following, the King Ordained the Lords of Secret Council to warn the Marquise of Hamiltoun, the Earles of Marr and Glencairn, who were in the Chappell, but Communicated not; and the rest of the Bishops and Noblemen who were in Edinburgh, to prepare themselves to Communicat next Lord's Day, after the same manner. That day, Mr. William Struthers Preached before the King in his Chappell, and observed the English Form in his Prayer and behaviour.

I have put those hints together, because the King's great designe in coming to Scotland, at this time, seems to have been the bringing the Church to an intire Conformity with England, and therein the Bishops, especially Spotswood.

The Bishop Preaches before the Parliament, June 17, 1617.

This appeared at the Parliament which Conveened in June. Bishop Spotswood Preached to them in the Parliament House. Upon those publick occasions, the Bishop was now much imployed in Preaching; which he might the better do, that, save at them, I do not find he Preached any through the year. About two of the clock, June 17, the King and Members of Parliament rode in great pomp from the Palace of Hallyrood House to the Tolbooth, or Parliament House. When they were entered, the B. of Saint Andrews had a short Sermon, wherein he praised the King for his great zeal and care to settle the Estate of the Kirk, and the States to hold hand to him. Then the King had a Harrangue, and signifyed his great desire of visiting this Realme, that he might see the Kirk settled, and the Countrey reduced to good order.

He goes to England with the King, August, 1617. Book of Sports. A Scandal riseth against him.

In August following, the King returned to England, by Carlisle, and through Lancashire. "There he rebuked some of the sincerer sort of the Ministers, for prohibiting lawfull recreations and honest exercises on Sundayes, and other Holy dayes, after the afternoon's Service or Sermon; and gave order, that the people should not be barred from lawfull recreations at those times. This liberty was extended to all the Shires in England, as the Declaration set forth in Print (the Book of Sports, as generally it is termed) beareth. Mr. Calderwood adds, that severall of the Nobility went forward with the King. The Bishop

of Saint Andrews went to the Bath, pretending he was diseased. Mean time a scandal ariseth, that his wife's maid was with child to him." How far it was true or false, I cannot say. If he was with the King in Lancashire when a door was opened for Profaning the Lord's Day, no doubt the Archbishop would be consulted. What his sentiments were on that subject, may be gathered from his own practice, as we have seen already; indeed, through his whole life, the Bishop's untenderness as to the Holy Sabbath appeared too plain. This very year, Mr. Calderwood tells us, he was unwilling to leave his game at Cards to see one of his dying bretheren. His words I'le rather give, than any thing of my own: "Upon the 14 of December, Mr. Alexander Forbes, some times Bishop of Caithnes, and of late Bishop of Aberdeen, departed this life in Leith. Fain would he have seen and spoken with the Bishop of Saint Andrews, but he being loath to leave his play at Cards, thô it was the Lord's Day, the other departed before he came to him." Mr. Calderwood gives B. Forbes a very sorry character, for sordid penury and meanness of spirit.

Gen. Assembly at St. Andrews, Nov., 1617. The Bishop's Sermon before them.

A Generall Assembly Conveened at Saint Andrews, November 25, this year, to prepare Ministers for the receiving of Perth Articles. Our Printed Historians give account of their procedure. Indeed, till the King's Death, 7 years after this, the main plott the Archbishop seems to have had, was to bring the Church of Scotland to as much Conformity as he could to the usages and Ceremonies of England. This project slackned a little for some years, during the beginning of King Charles the First his Reigne. But as soon as Bishop Laud came to have the intire management of that misled Prince, and circumstances permitted, the designe was resumed, and our Archbishop joyned in it; and, as every body knowes, the violent courses taken for pushing this Conformity, I may call it super-conformity, ended in the confusions of the Civil War and ruin to all the three. The first day of the Assembly, "Mr. Gladstanes, Archdeacon of Saint Andrews, Teaching in the morning, exhorted the Bretheren of the Ministry to do nothing which might procure the stoping of their mouths. The Bishop Taught in the forenoon, and affirmed that the state of Religion was in a far better case now than at any time before."

Mr. Calderwood adds, he further said, "That the first Reformers of Religion had, in effect, embraced Episcopall Government many years, and had continued therein, if the Death of the Regent, the Earle of Marr, had not interveened, and a seditious, fiery man, Mr. Andrew Melvil, come home to disturb all good order. That Mr. Andrew and James Melvill had taken the Contribution which should have supplyed Geneva, and given to the Earle of Bothwell, to fortify him against the King. This shameless lie was confuted by Mr. James Melvill himself, as we have seen. The Bishop inveighed bitterly against many worthy men in the Ministry who were then resting from their labours, and said, some of them were profane dogs, and deserved to be hanged. He forgot not the 17 day of December, 1596, thô he approved the Apology and set a sharper edge upon it himself. Sundry Bretheren purposed to have challenged him. In end, Mr. John Knox, Minister of Melross, was directed to admonish him. The Bishop accepted the gentle admonition, and in a manner gloryed that no man durst be bold with him."

Bishop Spotswood, with the rest, their Letter to the King, after the Assembly, Novr. 28, 1617.

Mr. Calderwood's Printed History hath given us the conclusions, or rather the grieves agreed to. I'le give here the Bishops' Letter to the King, before they parted from Saint Andrews, because it has not been Published, and was probably drawn by B. Spotswood. It runs as followes:—

Most Sacred and most Gracious Soveraigne,

Albeit we understand that the Secretary will give your Majesty advertisement of the Proceedings of this Assembly, yet we consider that it is our duty to give your Majesty an Account of our Service; which cannot be done so particularly at this time, in regard of the haste of this Packett, as we trust the same shall be by the Archbishop of Saint Andrews himself, which he will send within some few dayes. Only thus far, S^r^, we may say, that we have left nothing undone that lay in us to have your Majesty's Articles passed with consent of the whole; and thô we have done little, yet a way is made for all, and the same will be more easily effected at another time, that we have fought this combat with the opposites, who, in the hearing of many, have tryed their own weaknes in arguments and reasoning. The Earle of Montrose his absence, who excused himself by sicknes, did us great hurt. The place was supplyed by the Secretary, my Lord Carnegy, the Thesaurer Deput, Kilsyth, and Advocat, who discharged the duty of faithfull servants, and merit to be remembered with particular thanks; especially the Secretary, that played the part of a good President, and put them many times to the point when they shifted with abductions. The Dispute for Festivall

Dayes, Kneeling at Communion, and giving the same to the Sick, was so well done, as we could have wished any learned men whatsomever to have heard the samin. That we put so little to voices, the absence of the Bishop of Murray and all his Diocess, the Bishop of Orkney and his Ministers, the Commissioners of Ross, Aberdeen, Caithnes, Argyle, and Isles, with diverse others, were the cause; for we would not hazard any thing to make them insolent that are easily made so, except wherein we were sure to overcome them. But we neither dissembled nor bore with them in any thing, and, thanks to God, have had of them a singular advantage. Mr. Patrick Galloway was here, and carryed himself well and wisely. They were foolish enough of themselves, but if he had not kythed against them, they had been much more. But, as we said, we must referr particulars to a larger Report, humbly beseeching your Majesty favourably to accept our small proceedings, seing we have done all that was in our power at this time. Some things we have imparted to our Primat of our own and other men's particulars, whose ready service at this time deserves your Majesty's favour, which we know he will not forget. And so praying God Almighty to bless your Majesty with all happiness, we humbly take our leave.

Your Majesty's humble servants,

Saint Andrews.
Ja. Glasgow.
Pa., B. of Ross.
Ad., B. of Dumblane.
An. Lismoren.

St. Andrews, 28 Nov., 1617.

What was written to the King in the separat Letter which the Primat sent, probably by Archdeacon Gladstanes, I cannot tell further what is contained in the King's Letter of January next, and those generally were now in Ecclesiasticall matters a transcript of what the Primat proposed and desired.

Lord Binning's Letter to the King, after the Meeting at St. Andrews, Nov. 28, 1617.

I'le add here the Lord Binning, Secretary, his Letter to the King, which the Bishops referr to in theirs; and it probably was written in concert with them, particularly the Bishop of Saint Andrews, whose disappointment the Secretary seems to apologize for. It runs:—

Most Sacred Soveraigne,

In the Assembly now dissolved, nothing was propounded but the Articles sent to your Majesty. The great part of the Ministers were so wilfully inclined to have the whole deferred at this time, to the effect they might have laizour and opportunity, by reading the Fathers and Councils, to resolve if they might with good conscience, and without scandall of inconstancy to the Kirk and to themselves, they might yield unto the alterations and novelties which they imagined the Articles to imply, that it was very difficult to my Lords of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, and the remanent Bishops, assisted by the wisest and learnedest of the Ministry, and your Majesty's Commissioners, to induce the disordered multitude and their leaders to determine upon any particular. And so being driven to the extremity, either to dis-

solve the Assembly without any manner of progress, and with manifest dissention, or to make use of the best expedient the time could produce in determination of some of the Articles: all the rest affected to your Majesty's service thôt it expedient to accept what wisdom and authority could gain at this time, and leave the rest under hope and promise of satisfaction at the next Assembly. And so the Article of giving the Communion to the impotent and dangerously sick, in their privat houses; and delivery of the Elements out of the Ministers' hands to the people, at the Publick Celebration, being obtained, in such manner as the formed Articles to be sent to your Majesty by my Lord of Saint Andrews bears. When the Article of Holy Dayes was of new urged, the desire of delay was so universall in that and the rest of the Propositions, that the Bishops were forced, for fear of an direct refusall, to yield to a continuation, upon promise made by the most part of the pretended precisians, that they would use all possible means to prepare themselves, with consent of their well-informed flocks, to give your Majesty satisfaction at the next Assembly. My Lord of Saint Andrews' fear of your Majesty's offence, by delay of so just and godly desires, made him so passionately instant, as he could scarcely be induced by any perswasion to accept of any doubtfull or dilatory answer, and moved him to threaten them with your Majesty's Resolution to, or by Acts and Penall Proclamations against the Contraveeners, to have all those Articles now delayed obeyed; showing to them how disgracefull it would be to the Church of Scotland, in the judgement of all the Reformed Churches in Europ, that our ignorant and obstinat refusall of so godly and lawfull Propositions should force your Majesty, by your Christian authority, to compell them to do that which their duty should have moved them to embrace, with thankfull acknowledgement of your Majesty's care to have the abuses of our Church Discipline Reformed, and rightly Conformed to the universall order of all the rest of the true Christian Churches in Europ. But the rest thinking the delay, with the assured hope of satisfaction, less hurtfull than an abrupt and contradictory Dissolution, which we all most humbly wish that your Majesty may graciously allow, since we are confidently perswaded that the next General Assembly shall give your Majesty contentment, especially if your Majesty grace the next Assembly with Commissioners of greater sufficiency and authority; albeit I may affirm and hope the Bishops will testify that those who were at this time imployed, wanted no good will to give their best concurrrence. So wishing to your Majesty many happy years, that we may enjoy the fruits of your most prudent and glorious Reigne, I rest

Your most Sacred Majesty's most humble, faithfull, and obedient subject and servant,

St. Androis, 28 Nov., At night. BINNING.

In December, the Bishops left Edinburgh, each to goe and Preach in their own Church on the 25 of December, as the King had required, and Celebrat our Saviour's Nativity. The Bishop of Saint Andrews choosed to keep that Festivall at Edinburgh, and Preached in the Great Kirk, and laboured to prove the keeping of Festivall Dayes lawfull. Mr. William Cowper, Bishop of

Galloway, Preached as Dean of the Chappell there, where there were Organs playing. Mr. Calderwood nottices, that the Bishops practised Innovations before they were embraced by any Generall Assembly, and thinks that therefore they ought to have been afterward secluded from Voting in that matter, and condignly Censured.

Procedure of the Bishop, January, 1618, as to the 5 Articles.

In January, 1618, the effects of the Primate's Letter came to appear, and rumors came to be spread that the King was highly displeased with the Bishop of Saint Andrews, because the 5 Articles proposed by the King, afterward named Perth Articles, were not come into, and the Ministers were driving time; that the King would make the Ministers know what it was to have to doe with an old King when lenity was abused; that in time to come he would have no Ecclesiasticall Meetings, save of the Bishops, and such whom they would assume and answer for; and that a Warrand was come, or to come, from the King, discharging Presbitrys and Kirk Sessions. It was fitt to prepare matters for receiving the 5 Articles, that all this should be threatened; and if there were such intimations from Court, it's scarce to be doubted that the Primat had procured them. After these frightsom storys were spread, the Bishop of Saint Andrews called a Meeting of the Bishops and Ministers in Edinburgh for the time, Jan. 26, and communicat the King's Letter to them, requiring the Bishops, Ministers of Edinburgh, and such others as could be gott together from the neighbourhood, should approve the King's 5 Articles by their present Subscription; and such as would not Subscribe, the Bishop was ordered to Suspend them from their Ministry and Stipend. No body doubted but this Order was procured by the Primat; and Mr. Calderwood supposes, that the Primat had Blanks under the King's hand, to fill up as circumstances answered. The Ministers answered, the matter was of importance, and the Meeting suddain and violent, and it behoved them to have the advice of their Bretheren in the Ministry. I only nottice this to shew the aversion of the Ministry to those Innovations, and the steps the Primat was forced to take to overaw and fright them.

With this Letter, the Archbishop, according to his own pro-

posall to the King, no doubt, received a Charge for the keeping of Holy Dayes, which was Published Jan. 28, 1616, to prepare matters for the ensuing Assembly, and procure their complyance. I do not observe it as yet Printed, and being but short, I add it here, with Mr. Calderwood's observation, that the Generall Assembly had not yet given their assent to Holy Dayes, and the Acts of Parliament against keeping Easter and Christmas were in standing force, and unrepealed. It's a frequent observation offers, that the impositions upon conscience and the Church are very frequently joyned with invasions upon the rights of the subject and the standing Statutes and Lawes. The Proclamation followes:—

Proclamation, Jan. 28, for observing Holy Days, procured by the A. Bishop, with Remarks.

Forasmeikle as it's the duty of all good Christians to keep in perpetuall rememberance the great and inestimable benefites which it hath pleased Almighty God, in His dear Son Christ, and in His exceeding great love toward mankind, to bestow upon them; and in a reverend commemoration thereof to observe and spend some certain dayes in devotion and godly exercises, wherethrow the due respect and thankfull remembrance of those so great benefites be never suffered to pass in oblivion; and the King's Majesty acknowledging the great and innumerable favours and blessings wherewith it hath pleased the Divine Majesty of God to bless his Highness from time to time: therefore his Majesty, out of his true respect to the honour of God, and to have Him honnoured by all his people, hath thought meet and expedient, and by those Presents commands and ordains, that according to the example of the Kirk, when the same was in greatest purity and most free of corruptioun and errour, there should be an universall cessation and abstinence through this whole Kingdom upon the Holy Dayes following, to wit, on Christmas Day, which was the day of the Birth of Christ; upon Good Friday, which was the day of His Passion; upon Easter or Pasch, which was the day of His Resurrection; and upon the day of His Ascension, and upon Whitsunday: to the effect that his Majesty's subjects may the better attend the Holy Exercises which his Majesty, with advice of ye Fathers of the Kirk, will appoint to be keeped at those times in the Kirk. And for this effect, his Majesty, with advice of the Lords of his Privy Council, ordains that Letters be direct, charging all his Majesty's leidges, as well in Burgh as Land, by open Proclamation at the Mercat Crosses of the head Burghs of this Kingdom, and other places needfull, that they, and every one of them, abstain from all manner of husbandry and handy labour on the saids Holy Days of Christmas, Passion Day, Pasch Day, the Ascension, and Whitsunday, to the effect that they may attend the Holy Exercises which shall be appointed to be keept those dayes, as said is. Certifying all and sundry persons that shall Contraveen and do in the contrair hereof, that they shall be punished with all rigour, as disobedient and rebellious persons, contemners of his Majesty's Authority.

On the 29 of March, this year, the Primat writes to the King

The Bishop's Letter to the King, March 29, 1618.

that all things are done, as to the Election of the Bishop of Aberdeen, which part of the Letter I brought in upon the Laird of Corse his Life. And then he adds—

> We are here to Communicat, God willing, on Easter Day, where I shall have every thing in that manner performed as your Majesty desires. All of our number are advertised to do the like in their places, and the most I know will observe the samine. Our adversarys will call this a transgression of the received custom, but I do not yet see that any thing will effect their obedience, save your Majesty's Authority. We have our Synods next moneth, in which nothing shall be omitted that may make them wise. Kissing most humbly your Majesty's hand, I take my leave,
>
> Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servitour,
>
> Saint Andrews, 29 of March, 1618. Saint Androis.

Memorandum from the Bishop to Mr. Murray, a little before ye G. Assembly, 1618.

Perhaps about this same time, or some very little before the Assembly at Aberdeen this year, as appears from the matter of the Paper, thô it want a Date, this Memorandum to Mr. Murray came by the Bishop's direction, that matters might be in readiness before the Assembly. It runs thus:—

> Memorandum for an Letter to be written to my Lord of Canterburry, that it may please his to make mention of the earnest desire of the A.B. of Saint Andrews to joyn with his Majesty in conferring with the Marquise of Huntley, or then in restoring him, upon all libertys of his state and place, within the Kingdom; as also being commanded by his Majesty to joyn with his Highnes for that effect in labours, at last finding the Marquise resolved in all points, and earnestly intreating for relief of his Excommunication, hath not of any usurpation of any jurisdiction above the Church of Scotland, but at the command of his Majesty and desire of the Church there assisted the good intentions and desires of his fellow brethren and neighbour Church; therefore requests them to accept of his co-operation in good part, and to approve and intimat the Absolution and acceptation of the Marquise within their own bounds, as effeirs. Item, Sr, please you to remember in your Letter to the Secretary, that he advise with Saint Andrews upon the quantity of money to be bestowed upon the Commissioner, and to return their advice to you, that his Majesty may pass the Warrand back again; and that in any bussines you intreat his Lôp to cause the Commissar of Aberdeen desist from his Tack of Quots from Aberdeen, set to him by the late deceased Bishop. Item, that you will cause some of your servants remember Doctor Mayzorne for the Recipe for my Lady Montrose' eyes, which he promised at Royston, and let it come with the Packet; and seing the time is short for advertisement to Noblemen and Barrons, cause put two Gallowayes upon the Packet. Item, write to my Lord of Saint Androis, declaring your own diligence, his Highnes' princely care in our dispatch, and my willing travaills. For Resolution to be taken after the Assembly rises, credite to the Bearer, according to our communing at Whitehall. I pray you cause haste the B. of Canterburry's Letter, that it may give contentment to the whole Assembly. Item, to remember Sr William Alexander

to receive Warrand from his Majesty for apprehending Robert Simer, son to the Laird of Balzeardis, an denounced Rebell *ad captionem*, to the Justices of the Peace in Angus and Merns.

Perth Assembly, August 25, 1618.

The former Proclamation, impetrat by the Bishops, engaged the King's honour to have the Articles agreed to at the next Assembly; and this was the point in view, rather than a present universall obedience. Accordingly, the Assembly Conveened at Perth, August 25, 1618, and there was a kind of tacit yielding by a plurality to them, to gratify the King, as was alledged by the Bishops themselves, who were most forward in that matter. Our Printed Historians give us pretty large Accounts how things went at this Meeting, and we have a good many Pamphlets and Books Published, *pro* and *con*. What I am here concerned in, is Bishop Spotswood's carriage at this Meeting.

The Bishop's Sermon before them.

When the Assembly Conveened, Patrick Forbes, now Bishop of Aberdeen, Preached first, upon Ezra 7, 23. He endeavoured to shew, that nothing should be done or determined in the Church, by any superiour power whatsomever, but that which is according to the Commandment of the Almighty King. At ten of the clock, the Archbishop of Saint Andrews Preached in the Little Church of Perth, on 1 Cor. 11, 16. The Sermon is in Print, but that the Reader may have some view of it, I shall only give Mr. Calderwood's Extracts out of it, and his remarks upon it, from his MS. History:—

The Primat Discoursed for the space of two hours, first, in defence of Ceremonies in generall, and then as to the 5 Articles in particular. He protested, that neither he nor his fellow Bishops were the devisers of those Articles, or motioners to the King, to bring them in. This will stand best in the Archbishop's own words. "As to that which is supposed of us at home, my self chiefly, if I shall believe the rumors that are going, I will borrow that nottable man's Speech, in a case not unlike—Mihi hactenus propemodum fatale fuit, putidis his calumniis quotidie onerari; ego autem, ut sancte testare possum, me inscio ac ne optanti quidem, hæc proposita: ita ab initio in animum induxi, invidiam potius tacendo levare, quam excusationes querere minus solicitus. This was my resolution, and I should not change it, but that I will not have a misconceit of my doings to lead you into an offence. I, therefore, in the presence of the Almighty God, and of this honourable Assembly, solemnly protest, that without my knowledge, and against my desire, and when I least expected, those Articles were sent to me, not to be propounded to the Church, but to be insert among the Canons thereof, which then were a-gathering. Touching which point, I

humbly excused my self, that I could not insert among the Canons that which first was not advised with the Church, and desired that they might be referred to another consideration. Neither did I hear, after that time any thing of them, till after that Protestation was formed, to be presented to the Estates of Parliament. At which time, his Majesty, taking the advantage of their misbehaviour who penned that Protestation, and proudly stood to the same, resolved to have those Articles admitted in our Church; wherin all my care was, to save the Authority of the Church, and labour, that they might be referred to an Assembly: which was obtained, upon promise that his Majesty should receive satisfaction; and the promise was not made by me alone, but ratifyed by your selves, as ye remember, at Saint Andrews, in the Assembly that followed. However, my advice took no place. I joyned, after the dissolving thereof, with my Lords the Bishops, to excuse the delay that was made at that time." (We have seen, by their Letter above, what kind of excuse the Bishops made, or rather what encouragement they gave the King to push the Articles, and what the Archbishop wrote in his separat Letter.) "But our Letter being ill accepted, and another returning full of anger and indignation, which diverse of your selves have seen, I travelled, at the Ministers' earnest solicitations, by all the wayes I could, to divert the troubles which before this time most certainly ye would have felt; and all that hath proceeded since, ye know. So, as I spoke before, I would, if it had been in my power, most willingly have declined the receiving those Articles; not that I esteem them either unlawfull or inconvenient, for I am so far perswaded of the contrair as I can be of any thing, but I foresaw the contradiction that would be made, and the bussines we should fall into. Therefore, let no man deceive himself: those things proceed from his Majesty, and are his own motion, and not another's."

Mr. Calderwood's Remarks on it.

This part of the Bishop's Discourse is abundantly artfull, and it's plain he was a man of no little managment. Nothing can be better said to turn the odium of the Perth Articles from himself and the rest of the Bishops, if every part of it be exactly agrecable to truth, as I think it is not. And as I doubt not but the King was abundantly fond to have a Conformity in this Church to England, so it's probable he condescended so far as to take the burden of it upon himself, and allow the Bishops to talk in this strain; though the Bishop is so fair as to oun he thought the Impositions both lawfull and convenient. But I chuse rather to give Mr. Calderwood's observes than my own:—

It may be, as the Bishop alledgeth, that he and his fellow Bishops were not the first devisers of the 5 Articles to be obtruded upon our Church; yet we do not believe but that he and the rest offered their best assistance and endeavours to the King when they were propounded to them. They were propounded not only to them, but also to some Ministers, before the Protestation was penned, as may appear by the contents of the Protestation itself. It's very likely, that when they were to be propounded to the Ministers to

be Conveened at Saint Andrews, July 13, 1617, the three Ministers (Mr. Archibald Simson, Mr. Howat, and Mr. Calderwood), were deprived by the High Commission the day before, to extort with terrour the consent of the Ministers Conveened. It is false that the Ministers Conveened, either in July or November following, promised any other satisfaction than was agreeable to reason, and so far as their conscience would allow them. As for the Letters which passed between the King and him, he may make of them what he pleaseth. We know not whether the King was angry in shew only, to get his purpose effectuat, or if in sad earnest. However it was, he had no just occasion of anger offered him. We may not forsake the truth when Kings are angry.

B. Spotswood's carriage at this Assembly.

At this Assembly, the Archbishop stepped in to the Chair, and took the Office of Moderator upon him, without Election; and when Mr. G. Greir, Minister of Haddingtoun, moved that the order of Free Election might be observed, the Bishop answered, "The Assembly meets in the bounds of my Charge, and as long as I serve, I trust no man will take my place." Then he acquainted the Assembly that Mr. Thomas Nicholson, Ordinary Clerk, had dimitted his Office, and recommended Mr. James Sandylands as proper for that Office; and he was received without Election or formall Voting. The Printed Calderwood hath a pretty full Account of this Assembly, and the principall Papers, such as the King's Letter, Doctor Young's Speech, and others, are to be found there; and in B. Lindsay's Account of Perth Assembly, in Print, but smoothed a little, and softned, as Mr. Calderwood tells us. And I shall only here observe, that the Archbishop, after reading the King's Letter, protested that neither he nor the Kirk of England had craved the Novations now pressed, nor given counsell thereanent; and that it was against his will that ever they were mentioned; that he was perswaded his Majesty will be more glad of the consent of this Assembly to the 5 Articles, than of all the gold of India. He assured them on the other part, in case of refusall, the whole Estate and Order of our Kirk would be overthrown, some Ministers would be Bannished, others deprived of their Stipends, and all be brôt under the wrath of Authority. He advised them rather to consent in time, rather than afterward to beg favour, by offering Conformity, as Mr. John Sharp had done, by a Letter to him received yesternight. Mr. Calderwood sayes the Letter

was neither seen nor read; and it was not the first Letter the Bishop alledged he had in his pocket, to outface a lie. The Bishop added, "I know, when some of you are Bannished, and others are Deprived, you will blame us, and call us persecuters; but we will lay the burden on the King, and if you call him a persecuter, all the world will stand up against you." This Meeting was opened by those threatenings, but the Archbishop grew in his Hectoring of the Ministers who stuck at receiving the 5 Articles; and in the 2d Session (for this Assembly, upon such an important change, had but two Sederunts), he went beyond all bounds, as Mr. Calderwood represents him.

> The Members were told, that out of that place they should not go, till the satisfyed the King's desire. The Archbishop aggreged the necessity of yielding, and instantly urged a Vote, without further delay, saying, his Majesty behoved to be satisfyed, and that he would receive no other answer but yielding. The Bishop blew out many threats, in ye most peremptory manner. He insulted the Ministers, as if they had been hirelings, saying, "I know you all well enough; there is not one of you that will suffer so much as the loss of your Stipend for this matter. Think not but when the Act is made I will get obedience of you! There is none of you that voteth in the contrair mindeth to suffer. Some pretend conscience, and fear to offend the people more than the King; but all that will not do the turn." And yet the Bishop had formerly told them, when pressing their consent, that thô the Act were made, his Majesty would be mercifull in urging obedience thereunto; and they knew him to be more favourable to his Brethren than any Bishop in England. He took it also on his conscience, thô it was not true, that there was neither lass nor lad, rich nor poor, in Scotland, some few precise persons excepted, who were not only content, but also wished the order of Kneeling to be received, whereof he had proof in his own City of Saint Andrews, and in this Toun since he came to it. He mentioned a Pamphlet cast into the Pulpit of Edinburgh, wherein it was affirmed that the Bishops were bringing in Papistry, and that good professors will fight in defence of the true Religion. In answer thereto, he confessed that Ceremonies make not the separation betwixt us and the Romish Church, but Idolatry; the which, if the Romish Church would forsake, he would meet them mid-way, and joyn with them. And as if the Ministers had knowen any such professors disposed to fight for Religion, or had purposed to joyn with them, he disswaded them to lean to such words, for he had seen the like before, at the 17 day of December. He wished, if any such thing should happen, his Majesty would make him a Captain; but never any of those braggers would come to the field.

Those were the methods the Bishop took to carry his point at this Meeting.

That the Reader may have all the light I can give to this

remarkable Assembly, I'le subjoyn, from an Originall Copy, my Lord Binning, the King's Commissioner to this Assembly, his Account thereof to the King; and the rather because he confirms pretty much what Calderwood hath as to the Bishop's Sermons and the Ministers. And the various Accounts of this contraverted Assembly will dash out the greater light. It runs thus:— Further Account of this Assembly in my Lord Binning's Letter to the King, August 27, 1618.

Most Sacred Soveraigne,

At our coming to this Toun, finding that the most precise and wilfull Puritans were chosen Commissioners by many of the Presbitrys, especially of Lothian and Fife, I was extremely doubtfull of the success of your Majesty's Religious and just desires. At the Privat Meeting of your Majesty's Commissioners and Bishops, my Lord Saint Andrews deemed not the apparent difficulty, but declared, that being hopefull the happines which alwise attended the justice of your Royall designes would not fail in this action, he thôt the victory would be more perfect, and the obedience more hearty, when the Puritans should see the Articles concluded in the presence of their greatest patrons, their opinions being confuted by lively reasons and undenyable truth.

The Sermon before the Assembly was made by the Bishop of Aberdeen, who with great dexterity propounded the weight of the purposes to be entreated, and the necessity of consideration, that the body of ye Church, being assembled by your Royall direction, for treating of Articles propounded by your Majesty, first to an number of the principall Ministers at Saint Andrews, and thereafter in the Assembly at Saint Andrews, your Majesty had conceived great offence for the delayes then used; and being perswaded in your excellent wisdom and conscience that the Articles were just and godly, and only shifted because they were propounded by your Majesty, by such as gloryed to be opposite to your sacred designes: it was to be feared, that if at this time your Majesty should not receive satisfaction, your wrath might be so kindled, as the Church loseing your wonted fatherly favour, they might feel the heavy prejudice of that consequence; and therefore exhorted them in humility, zeal, and Christian love, to dispose themselves to proceed wisely, and to your Majesty's satisfaction. B. of Aberdeen.

At the Meeting of the Assembly, the Archbishop of Saint Andrews made the Exhortation; and by a most godly and wise Discourse remembered the auditors of your Majesty's infinite benefites to this Church; your wisdom in their direction, in keeping of purity, and suppressing of Popery; your patrociny of the good mercy to offenders of their profession, care for provision and maintainance to Pastors, and learning and zeal in defence of the true Religion, in your Works Published against the adversarys, which had incensed the Papists, to think your Majesty the only lett of their prevailing; and for that only quarrell, to seek, by treacherous means, the trouble of your Estate and the destruction of your sacred person: and the true professors, through all Europ, to honour your Majesty, as the protector of all the Reformed Churches; and to acknowledge your Majesty as the Umpire and most competent and best qualifyed Judge of all Contraversys arising among them; exhorting, therefore, every one to consider and acknowledge how justly they were bound to express their loyall respect and true obedience to your Majesty, by yielding to your lawfull desires in ye Articles propounded. B. of Saint Andrews.

State of ye Dispute. The Exhortation ended, he called the Commissioners, and named these for the Conference. Some propounded that a Moderator should be chosen, whom he silenced, because he would not suffer the priviledge of his place to be questioned; and thereafter rehearsing what had been done in the Assembly of Saint Andrews, and wittylie taken it *pro confesso* that all the Articles were in substance allowed there, except that of Kneeling at ye Communion, proposed that to be disputed. Great instance was made, that the matter being of so high consequence, might be intreated in the Publick Assembly; but the contrair was ordained. Difficulty was made anent the conception of the words of the question, and the Opposites urged that reasons might be given why the Articles was necessary. It was answered and concluded, that the Articles, coming from your Majesty, should be allowed, unless they could prove it were unlawfull. So Mr. William Scot of Cowper being commanded to speak, opponed againt the Articles with modesty, and protestation that he would be willing to adduce reasons to impugne a proposition coming from your Majesty; and thereafter coming to his arguments, was seconded by Mr. John Carmichael, with more vehemence and wilfullness. They alledged, that the order presently observed in this Countrey being agreeable to the Word and Christ's Institution, and they Sworn, at their admission to the Ministry, to observe the true Religion and Discipline received in this Church, they could not, with safe conscience, alter it. Which being answered, they came to the substance of the question, anent the manner of receiving, and spent the rest of that day, and an part of the next, in disputation upon that subject; nothing being ommitted by the adversarys which their own inventions or the Writings of those who allow their opinion could suggest. Which being wisely and learnedly answered and refuted by my Lord Glasgow, Doctor Lindsay of Dundee, Doctor Philp of Arbroath, Doctor Bruce, and some others of the best and most learned, did assist with many evident and pithy reasons. The Article was ordained to be voted in the Conference, and in end allowed by so great odds of voices, as gave wonderfull contentment to all the well affected. Yet the number of the vulgar Ministers having Vote in the Public Assembly being so very great, our doubt rested what the event of that might be which depended on the opinions of an multitude of ignorant and preoccupyed people. For remeid hereof, my Lord of Saint Androis, who in direction, disputation, and all other circumstances of this action expressed great wisdom, learning, and authority, weel beseeming his place, delayed the voting the 2d day, that he and his Bretheren might have some time to dispone things to a wished end. This day, the Bishop of Galloway made a very pertinent Sermon, to perswade the Bretheren to peace and edification. Thereafter, the Assembly Conveening, new disturbances were casten in, to reverse all that was done in the Conference, so as to bring it to a new disputation; so as my Lord of Saint Androis was forced to permitt all the Articles to be of new reasoned; and if he had not, by very grave authority, reduced their Discourses to succinct and formal reasoning, it had been impossible to bring matters to any conclusion. Some oppositions made yesterday were this day repeated, and little if any substance added by those who were not on the Conference: all which was judiciously and very perspicuously refuted by my Lords of Saint Androis and Glasgow, and Doctors Lindsay and Philp, whose faithfull and profitable endeavours merite your Majesty's rememberance. If complaint be made by Mr. John Carmichael, that I would not suffer him to enlarge his Discourses on the ancient Contraversy betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches,

Mr. William Scot.

Mr. John Carmichael.

Mr. John Carmichael.

anent the precise and true day of Christ's Birth, I must have recourse to your Majesty's mercy. In end, my Lord Saint Androis, cutting short their affectit shifts, whereby they intended either to disappoint the matter or to perswade the Assembly to remitt it to another Meeting, he ordained this Proposition only to be Voted, whether the Assembly would obey your Majesty, in admitting the Articles propounded by your Majesty, or refuse them. Some insisted to have them severally Voted, but both he and Dean of Winchester (whose diligence, discretion, counsell, and good assistance in this service, hath been faithfull and very commendable) declared that your Majesty would receive none, if all were not granted. And so being put to Votting in those termes, fourscore and six allowed the Articles, 46 refused them, and three were *non liquet*.

My Lord of Scoon *antiquum obtinet*, and will never *aberrare a via regia*. My Lord Carnegie, the Thesaurer, Advocat, Kilsyth, and Sir Andrew Car, have done that faithfull duty that became them.

The Earle of Lothian, the Lords Sanquhair, Uchiltree, and Boyd, did attend, with a good number of honourable and well affected Barrons. But, the praise of the success being only due to your Majesty's directions and their wisdom, the worthiest instruments have been the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Galloway and Aberdeen, and remanent of their Estate, of whom none were negligent or remiss, but professedly resolved in the advancement of the action. Many Bishops kythed very dutifull, both in reasoning and voting. But all those particulars I must remitt to the Dean of Winchester's relation; only assuring your Majesty, albeit the contention was vehement, both in the Conference and Publick Assembly, yet after they were Votted, there appeared great contentment in many good men's faces, for the happy and peaceable approbation of your Majesty's Articles. If your continuall care for the good of this Countrey and Church move your Royall mind to intend hereafter any Church matters of such consequence, I beseech your Majesty, for the good of your own service, to imploy an more fitt Commissioner in my place, who am also unskillfull in thir subjects as I am ungracious to the Opposites. So thanking God for the blessed end of thir affaires, and praying Him that your Majesty may long live, and happily prevail in all your Royall enterprizes, I rest

Your Majesty's most faithfull, humble, and bound servant,

Saint Johnstoun, the 27 of August, At night. BINNING.

His Letter to the King, Sept. 2, 1618, with Mr. Peter Young, Dean of Winchester.

Doctor Peter Young, Dean of Winchester, brôt down the King's Letter to this Assembly, and it seems was very usefull to carry through the Articles. When he returned to England, in September, the Archbishop wrote the following Letter with him to the King:—

S^r^, your Majesty, upon the end of our Synod, was advertised of the good success of this bussines. The Dean of Winchester will now relate the particulars, and witness that we ommitted nothing which lay on us to do, for bringing matters to the desired end. His travails have served to great purpose, as I foresaw they would. Not only were the ill disposed keeped in a better temper, but others more indifferent made forward by his presence.

In the beginning of the Assembly, after reading your Majesty's Letter, he had a Speech most perswasive, to make them yield to those Articles, wherewith diverse of the calmer sort were much moved; and all the time did carry himself so wisely and gravely, as I must profess, I was helped and upheld by his good advice. My self and others were taught by that which they saw in him, to conform themselves unto their calling. Sr, I bless God who has provided your Majesty of so trustie and wise a servant, and us of so good and faithfull a friend; and my certain hope is, that his service, some day, shall prove comfortable to the Church of God under your Majesty. Remitting all things to his rememberance, I most humbly kiss your Majesty's hands.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servitor,
Saint Andrews, 2 Sept., 1618. SAINT ANDREWS.

His Sermon at Edinr., March 14, 1619.

For severall years after this Assembly, the Primate's great work was to press Perth Articles. Ministers were soon called before the High Commission, and there Deprived, and Confyned for noncomplyance, as we will see on severall of their Lives. Upon the 14 of March, 1619, Mr. Calderwood observes, that "The Archbishop Preached in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh before noon, where the Chancellour, President, and other Noblemen, were present. He threatned the Estates, from ye highest to the lowest, with the King's wrath and authority, which he had not done with the boldness and liberty he then used, if there had not been collusion betwixt him and some of the Officers of State; that the people hearing him speak to them and the Noblemen, might tremble, and give obedience to the Articles of Perth Assembly, without a whisper in the contrary. He exhorted the Counselours and Magistrates not only to give good example of obedience to the people, but also to compell them to obey."

His Synod at St. Andrews, Aprile 6, and soon after another at Edinburgh, and goes to Court.

Bishop Spotswood had all his authority from his interest at Court, and when he had any prospect of alterations there, he was wise enough to proportion his carriage to circumstances as they happened. Upon the 6th of Aprile, he held a Diocesian Synod at St. Andrews. The Ministers expected great threatnings and severity, but beyond all their expectation, he was exceeding calm, and ended the Assembly with one Session, and without any uneasiness to the Ministers. The occasion of this was a report that came before, that the King was sore afflicted with the gout and gravell, and in danger of his life. But soon after, when he understood the King was convalescing, in a Synod held at Edin-

burgh, he threatned the Ministers adjacent who did not comply with Perth Articles with Bannishment to Newfoundland, and loss of their Stipends; and four dayes after, took journey to Court.

Where he gets the High Commission renewed, June 15.

When at Court this summer, he prevailed with the King to renew the powers of the High Commission, in more ample form than formerly, this being the great ingyne for supporting Prelacy and pressing the Ceremonies. Having given the other Formes of this arbitrary Court, with the Members, I shall cast the Form of this also into the Appendix N. (Copy Cald., v. 6, p. 476; Print p. 732.) It's Dated June 15, 1619. Mr. Calderwood observes on it, that Advocations and Suspensions granted by the Session to such as were in Proces before Bishops or Ministers,

Its Form, App. N.

. . . But the true intent was, to force Ministers and Professors to practise the 5 Articles, and to establish the tyrranny and usurpation of Bishops. It's certain, that since Bishops were advanced by the King, the Lords of Council and Session advocated no Processes from Ecclesiasticall Judicatories, for fear of offending the King, but referred them to the Bishops, and left Ministers in speciall to their rigour.

His Discourse to his Synod at Edinr., Oct. 26, 1619.

Upon his return from England, he keept a Diocesian Synod in Edinr., Oct. 26. He had a flaming Sermon to them, upon Heb. 13, 17, "Obey them y^{t} have the rule over you." Mr. Calderwood gives us those passages from it, intermixed with his own remarks upon the Bishop. The Bishop said—

> Obedience to Pastors was necessary. That they were to be reverenced and obeyed, albeit they were traitours as Judas, licentious as the sons of Eli, and profane as Arrius; and their flocks ought to submitt themselves to their judgements in matters Spirituall, where the Word of God is not expressly in the contrair; otherwise there would be no order in the Kirk, but great confusion; and all authority would be contemned, in case the Bretheren and the people gave no obedience to their Pastors. He protested they would ruinat the Kirk, and cited them before the Throne of God in case of disobedience.

Mr. Calderwood adds—

> He was conscious to himself that he was a traitor, profane, and licentious. Among the instances of his profanity, he made no scruple, upon the Lord's Day immediatly preceeding, to come out of Kinghorn to Burntisland, and send for the mariners, in the Kirk, at the Sermon, and to come over the watter in Stagie's Boat. He landed at Leith, in the forenoon, with a fair wind, in time of Sermon, and played at Cards during the afternoon's Ser-

mon. And yet this profane man, with impudent face, dare seek obedience and reverence; neither having lawfull authority, but usurped, nor urging things lawfull, but superstitious and idolatrous, with a cauterized conscience. He was not affrayed to make mention of the Throne of God, which should have made his guilty conscience to have trembled. After Sermon, he chused young men and formalists to sitt upon the Conference. Afternoon, he acquainted the Ministers in those termes—"I will appoint a Meeting to hold the 23 of November, at Saint Andrews, where my Bretheren, the Bishops, will be present. I shall send for such Ministers as refuse to Conform; we shall see what reasons they have. We shall put them out of Scotland, or they shall put us out. It were better they and we were Hanged, or the Gospel decay. We will be as zealous as themselves. He was a false lying knave that wrote *Perth Assembly* [a Pamphlet so entituled, wrote by Mr. Calderwood], for there was not one man there but he was called on, except Mr. John Murray, whom he ommitted, he said, on purpose." He added, "We must go all one way. Monsr. Du Moulin, the learnedest man in France, when he was in England, Kneeled at the Sacrament. His Majesty's heart rejoyced when he heard it."

His share in the Conference with the Ministers, Novr. 23, 1619.

The Meeting the Bishop speaks of was keeped at Saint Andrews, Novr. 23, and it was pretended to be to gain the Ministers who stood out against Perth Articles; but it was really to know their sentiments, and, if possible, to frighten them in to a complyance. And so the Archbishop had ready for them a Letter from the King, abundantly peremptory, and no doubt procured for the purpose. The Accounts of the Meeting or Conference stand in our Printed Historians. I have given Mr. John Carmichael and Mr. William Scott's Discourses, on their Lives; and the Bishop of Aberdeen will come in his Life, if I form it; and here Bishop Spotswood's actings come in here. He opened the Meeting with a short Prayer, and then delivered himself to this purpose—"Bretheren, I presumed to call you together to this Meeting without the King's knowledge; but certifying him of my intention, he interpreted it to the best, and therefore sent his trustie servant, my Lord Scoon, to be present with us, and his Letter, for further declaration of his pleasure at this Meeting. For my part, I confess, I could be content that the Church of Scotland wanted those things; but seing his Majesty urgeth them, and without his displeasure we cannot tollerat your refusall any longer, the things themselves being indifferent, and now established by an Act of the Kirk, you must not think that we mean to suffer with you in this cause, although ye should incurr

great troubles hereafter; for I will prefer the Unity of the Kirk before your wives, children, estate, &c.; and that his Majesty's express command ye shall hear by his own Letter." The Clerk began here to read his Majesty's Letter, but he failed in reading. When the Clerk began to fail, the Bishop took it from him, and read it perfectly. The summ of it was this—"Having heard of your Meeting the 23 of November, I have sent our trustie servant, the Lord of Scoon, to signify our pleasure more fully unto you, and to certify us again of your proceedings herein; and I do command you, as you will be answerable, that you Depose all that refuse to Conform, without respect of persons, no wise regarding the multitude of the Rebellious; for if there be not a sufficient number to fill their places, I will send you Ministers out of England. And I charge you, to certify us of their proceedings twixt this and the 3d of March next to come." When the King's Letter was read, the Archbishop said, "Brethren, I have not called you together for disputing, to irritate one another, but that we may lay our heads together, to advise together for the best course to the peace of the Kirk, which is disturbed by a dangerous contention; wherein I will desire of every one of you your advice, to further this peace." He began with the Bishop of Aberdeen, and his opinion will come in on his Life. After Mr. Carmichael and Mr. William Scot had delivered their opinions, the Archbishop craved Mr. Robert Balcanquell's advice. He thought it proper that advice were sought at other Reformed Churches, the matter being of so publick a nature. The Archbishop answered, "Our Kingdom is a Monarchy, and Monarchs are jealous to admitt other Nations to meddle in their affairs. Our King is wise enough to govern his Kingdom with[out] advice of other Nations." "Yea (sayes Mr. Robert), but, my Lord, the Deposed and Bannished Ministers, being constrained to go to other Countreys, occasion other Nations to think of our Church as an Apostolick Church; and his Majesty escapes not without censure, because they are not made acquaint with our proceedings." This put the Primat in a frett and passion, and he exceeded so far, that his brother Bishop of Aberdeen was necessitat to interrupt him, with a kind of admonition, as Mr. Calder-

wood has it. Bishop Spotswood answered—"Mr. Robert, I tell you, his Majesty needs not the reports of any Country to uphold his respect. Nay, I am perswaded, the Protestant Churches of other Countreys do so highly respect him, that there is none of them who will not give him leave to sett down what they should profess; and if they that are Bannished go to Monsr. Du Moulin, and wise men, they will tell them they are fools to leave their places for such triffles. It may be, indeed, if they go to Mr. John Welsh, and such like, he will greet and weep with them, and say, All is wrong in our Kirk. Many men, when they have little in themselves, will pretend to be zealous for the Kirk, to get themselves respect among the people. Nay, there be some that have their choppins of wine among wives ———" Here the Bishop of Aberdeen interrupted him, saying, "Good, my Lord, be patient; passion never did good in those matters." The Archbishop said—"My Lord, you must bear with me, for I see some of them here I cannot forbear. I mean not Mr. William Scot and Mr. John Carmichael—they are modest and wise men; but fools, fools are they, that at a choppin of wine with wives will be so bold as to say, The King will Die, and the Prince is otherwise minded. But they shall all be Hanged before the King Dye." And other such Speeches, which Mr. Calderwood sayes he passes.

At the Synod, Apr. 25, 1620.

It was too ordinary with the Bishop, thô otherwise a man of cunning and much address, to suffer his passion and temper to get the better of him. There was a plain instance of this in the next Synod at Saint Andrews, which Conveened Aprile 25, 1620. After they were Conveened, the Bishop said—"Seing we are all met, I will cause those that have Conformed Censure those y^{t} have not Conformed. And so he called the Roll of their names. The Ministers who had not freedom to fall in with the Perth Articles, after they had answered to their names, went out of the Synod, save seven or eight. The Bishop, in a rage, enquired at those who stayed, particularly at Mr. David Anderson, whether they had ministred the Communion according to the Act of Perth? Mr. David said he had not. The Bishop demanded what was the reason? The other answered, Because my people

will not receive it after that manner from me. Is that the Laird of Torrie, said the Bishop, that bade you say so? Tell him I bade him go Hang himself. Mr. David answered, My Lord, you are in the wrong to the Gentleman; for howbeit he hath land in my Parish, yet he is none of my Parishioners. He never bade me such a thing, nor conferred with me in that matter. The Bishop said, You may tell him yet again, I bade him go and Hang himself. Albeit I were not in the place I am in, I think my self as honest a man as any Barron in Fife." Thus, sayes Mr. Calderwood, the proud Prelat abused that worthy and Religious Gentleman, Mr. Patrick Wardlaw, Laird of Torrie, in the face of a Synod. I may observe, that pride and passion go frequently together. And it would seem the Bishop loved to be carressed and acknowledged. Mr. Calderwood observes very fully, in his Printed History, the hardships William Rigg and John Mean were brôt to, for refusall of Kneeling at Communicating. In July, 1620, the Archbishop wrote to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, that some of the Citizens of Edinburgh who were charged to their Wards had come to him, and given him thanks for his interceeding with the King in their behalf; but that William Rigg and John Mean came not to him to acknowledge: whereupon they were now charged to their Wards, Mr. Rigg to Caithnes and Mr. Mean to the West Country, within 20 dayes. Upon this, Mr. Calderwood tell us, they went to ye Bishop, and conferred with him, but he got no advantage. However, when thus he was carressed, the Archbishop wrote to the Council in their favours, and they were no more troubled.

Hints of him, 1621.

During the rest of this Reigne, there is not much more offers as to the Archbishop, save his procedure against Noncorm Ministers, in the High Commission Court, which was pretty uniform, that is, peremptory and severe. Instances of it will come in under the Lives of the particular Ministers who were called, severall of whom follow. January, 1621, the Bishop went up to Court, and took his journey on the Sabbath Day from Leith. His errand was, to concert matters for the ensuing Parliament, of which all our Historians give Accounts. The Acts of Perth were only the King's and the Bishops' deed, till they had the

sanction of Parliament given them. This was done under the Marquise of Hamiltoun. When the Parliament was up, the Bishop, according to his custome, chose the Sabbath to crosse the Firth, on the first of August this year. And as he was negligent of Publick Worship, so Mr. Calderwood gives too good proofs that he had scarce the form of Secret or Family Worship. In Mr. David Dickson's Life, this year, who was before the Primate this year, we shall find a new instance of B. Spotswood's violence, and the hights he ran to.

The Bishop's Letter to Mr. Murray, Jan. 9, 1621.

I'le add further, to clear up the Primate's carriage this year, what of his Letters I meet with in the forsaid Collection. Before he went up to Court, he writes thus to Mr. Murray, of the Bed Chamber:—

Sr,—I have received your Letters this day at St. Andrews, being the 9th of January, and shall do in those things as his Majesty has prescribed. I know his Majesty will desire to hear of our observation of Christmas, which in this City was never better keeped, with great confluence of people to Church, and a generall cessation of people from work; our Tailzour excepted, whom I caused punish for his contempt. From Edinburgh, as yet, they have advertised me nothing of that; but I trust it be well done there. I did not fail to advertise our Ministers; but some that have promised me much have performed nothing, as I hear. Their folks will cease with time, and the retraiters will go away, are dropping doun every day, even as at the writing hereof I am advertised that John Erskin, Minister at Dun, the only opponner on that side of Forth, is deceased. I have dealt earnestly with Mr. John Guthry to come to Edinburgh, who will not be moved for any perswasion I can give him. The Toun desired me to concurr in a Supplication to his Majesty, that he should be compelled to obey or consent. I advertised him thereof, and the Answer he returned I send herewith, that his Majesty may see it. He is a very honest man, but in this bussines is intractable. And yet their Magistracy being so well sett at this time, I cannot think any thing so meet to bear down the humerous people amongst them as a Free Planting; nor know I any man whose labours would be so steddable, if he would be yielding. Therefore, I entreat you to beseech his Majesty, that a Letter be yet directed to him in that bussines, and sent to the Secretary, with a direction to his Lôp to receive the Answer from himself. I have penned the Letter my self: if the form thereof please his Majesty, James Dowglass will write it over, that it may be Signed. I am glad to understand that his Majesty has been pleased to set you on work about those Moneys, for thereby I look to come to some end. The burdens that lye upon me that way, render my service less profitable, and force me to live at home, and more obscure, except when necessity presses me to attend. To further the service, I spared no expence, and made for it, upon occasion or other, 41 Journeyes to Court, whereby it may be soon conceived what bred me thir burdens. I left Glasgow, and took my self to a greater Charge, with less provision; only, as God is my witnes, to advance the

Mr. John Guthry.

The Primat makes 42 Journeys to London for Settling of Episcopacy, and complains of Poverty.

bussines, which I know men that were abler than my self would not be so willing unto. Then the time is so fallen out by the cheapnes of corns, that the little thing I had will be the less by the half this year than before. So beyond my Annualls, little remains to my self; and in what case I should leave my children, if God should visit me, He knows. But I confess my self in his Majesty's favour and your care, and am as little deficient as I can in that which my place requires; thô my mind be not a litttle troubled, having none to whom I can be so plain as to your self. I am very sorry that his Majesty should have cast off the course of the Parliament, for I am perswaded the Collection would have been as suddain as the Contribution, and been nothing under a 100^{d} thousand Pound Sterling, being followed as was procured. This, if it go no furder than the Nobility, Session, and Toun of Edinburgh, will be small; for the Nobility have not, and are for the greater part engaged. The Session take away them, or some few Advocates and Clerks are as poor as any of the Countrey, and Edinburgh people will be very unwilling. They talk that his Majesty has desired only 5 or 6000$_{d}$ Pounds; but I have written to the Secretary, that some better care may be had of this, and said that the Churchmen, in so great a necessity, thô we be the greatest beggars in the Countrey, may be moved to doe that, and much more while the war may continue. So I mind, at the next Meeting, to provock others to doe by our example; for being 900^{d} or thereabout of Ministers, I think every one will give at least 10Q^{d} Merks over head; and what is wanting of some, will be supplyed by the Collection of Bishops and others, that be in better Estate. By all means, his Majesty, at this time, ought to be provided with store of money; for without it, the affair cannot be done. This far I thôt proper to impart to you of my mind. Praying God to bless you with all happiness, I rest Yours ever assured at power,

Collection of 5 or 6000d £ Sterl. from the Clergy proposed for the Palatinat.

St. Andrews, Jan. 9, 1621. Saint Androis.

When the Bishop is on his way to Court, he writes to the same person thus:—

Another to him, Jan. 30, 1621.

S^{r},—I am now upon my journey towards Court, desired by the Council and whole Noblemen that met at Edinburgh last week, and compelled by their importunitys, in a most unseasonable time, to hazard the way, which I find very difficile; for we have here such a tempest of snow, that I have been forced to stay at Cockburnspath two dayes, and order men to cast the wayes where the snowes were blowen and made unpassable. The affection to the bussines, which is anent the Contribution, and a designe to approve my self to their Lôps who have imployed me, wrought me up to undertake it; for in former times, many of them formerly have been jealous of my voyages. And now when I find all their voices concurring with such instance, I would not deny it, hoping to give his Majesty satisfaction sufficient, and to acquire the greater credit with them hereafter, whereby I may be more stedable in his Majesty's other affairs. Hereof I thought good to give you advertisement. And if I may be so happy as to return with a contented answer to them, whereof I diffide not, and some supply that I have long expected of my Lowburn Estate, I shall have both a freer mind and better occasion to do good in his Majesty's service than before. Remitting all other things to meeting, I rest Yours assured ever to my power,

Cockburnspath, Jan. 30, 1621. Saint Androis.

Another, March 9, 1621.

The Bishop seems to have continued at Court for about a moneth, and when returning to Scotland, he writes thus to Mr. Murray :—

Sr,—I must pray you to cause draw the Warrand for the money under your own name, and write your own Letters therewith to the Lord Thesaurer and Deput, that it may be payed thankfully; for I have much bussines at this term, which being satisfyed, I may attend a while the rest till a better occasion, and, by God's help, his Majesty shall find it well bestowed. Ye would also be pleased to get an Warrand for Demitting the Priest that I have in keeping, and sending him beyond seas; and an other to receive my Lord Craigtoun on the Council, which no man will but take well that is at home. You will have care to let this overtake me in Packet by the way. And for all your kindnes, you know that I remain, and will ever,

Your oblidged and most assured,

Westminster, the 9 of March, 1621. Saint Androis.

His Letter to the King, August 3, 1621.

Upon the 3d of August this same year, the Primat writes thus to the King :—

Sr,—It was your Majesty's gracious pleasure, when I did request for the imployment of Collectory in the present Taxation, to answer that I might have it more conveniently in the name of another, than to be seen therein my self; but having lately understood the Clerk of Register to be about the same suit, and knowing both his worth and good deserving at your Majesty's hand, I have resolved wholly to surcease my own, and meerly in regard of your Majesty's service, to make bold, after my manner, to interceed that he may find your Majesty's favour in it. All the expectation I had, save a little benefite that might have come to me by the Fee that is allowed, whereof I make no account, will be as well satisfyed by his employing as my own. For the speciall I regarded most, was to keep our refractory Ministers from obtaining any favour, which in former times they have been in use by some other Officers to find, will be sure enough, if your Majesty be pleased to direct him, that none be spared or overseen of that sort, except they bring my Testificat to him, both of their obedience and necessity otherwise. I know also his fidelity in all affaires, and have seen his forwardness at this time in procuring the Tax, and the malice he endures of diverse in good place, for shewing himself in that and every other thing that occurred for your Majesty's obedience, that I should be more sorry to see him fail in his expectation than disappointed my self in any thing worldly. That he may therefore have encouragement, and your Majesty's service well discharged, I most humbly beseech your Majesty that he may be favoured with this, and it will add no small courage to all others that see your Majesty regard them that serve truely and well. Sr, I protest before God and your Majesty, that I singly look in thir to your Majesty's service, being content to neglect my self that they may be satisfyed who I see serve you well; whereof I am confident your Majesty will be pleased to pardon my boldnes, and favourably regard my humble request, wherein at this time I rest

Your Majesty's most humble servitor,

Edinr., August 3, 1621. Saint Androis.

King's Letter to the Primate about Mr. W. Whiteford's Presenting to Libbertoun.

I take it to be at this time, thô the Letter wants Date, that the following Letter came from the King to the Archbishop, Presenting Mr. Whiteford to the Kirk of Libbertoun, upon Mr. Adamson's being made Principall.

Right Reverend, &c.,—Having heard that the Kirk of Libbertoun is made Vacand, by removing of Mr. John Adamson to our Colledge of Edinburgh, we have taken occasion to acquaint your Lôp that it is our pleasure the Kirk be planted with a man of speciall good affection and dexterity for our service, in respect of the nearness of the place to our Burgh of Edinburgh; and for those respects, that Mr. Walter Whiteford, Minister at Moffatt, be removed from the samine; and that so soon as the said Mr. John Adamson shall be settled in ye Charge of our Colledge, we may be advertised, to the effect we may Present the said Mr. Walter to the Stipend of Libbertoun, according to our right of Patronage.

His carriage, 1622.

Next year, in the entry of it, the Archbishop's violence was a little slackned, as was thought, by advice from England, in harrassing the Ministers; and the Bishop was baulked in his project of being made Chancellour. The Diocesian Synod met at Perth, and the Bishop dismissed them in about two hours. He rebuked some Ministers that urged Kneeling too much on the people. It was said, the Bishop of Canterburry had wrote to him, and desired him not to urge the Ceremonies now, when weightier affairs were in hand. In June, Mr. Alexr. Seaton, Earle of Dumfermling and Chancelour of Scotland, Dyed. Mr. Calderwood sayes he was Popishly disposed in his Religion, but condemned many of the abuses of the Church of Rome. He was a good Justiciar, and no great friend to the Bishops. The Bishop of Saint Andrews had a view to succed him, and disposed of his Office as Lord of Session to his son, afterwards S^{r} Robert, but was disappointed for some years as to being Chancelour. In August, this year, B. Spotswood held a Visitation at the Kirk of Kinghorn, to support Mr. Alexander Scrimgeour, whom he had intruded on that Parish, against their inclinations, in the room of Mr. John Scrimgeour, Minister there, as will be remarked in Mr. John's Life. The Presbytery was present, and the Bishop gave them a Sermon. Therein he fell foul on Mr. John Davidson, Minister at Prestonpans, and said he was the maddest man he ever knew; for besides his unquietnes otherwise, he wrote a Book, *De Hostibus Christi*, wherein he brought in the King as

the last and greatest enemie of all. He presented the Book to the King, who, when he had read it, cut it in pieces. This unconnected story does contradict it self, and is perfectly inconsistent with Mr. Davidson's knowen character. He added, But I will not urge you to obey the Ceremonies; yet I protest to you, that if you obey them not, ye shall never come to Heaven, for disobeying the King's Lawes and the Kirk's. He was calmer than usuall at this time, that he might procure the Presbytry's and people's favour to Mr. Scrimgeour. Mr. Alexander urged, that none might sitt in Session but such as Kneeled, else no order would be got of them. The Bishop answered, There was too great a rent in the Kirk already, and it was not time now to urge those things; and placed the honest men who had refused Kneeling, and Mr. Scrimgeour had turned out, in the Session again, and then desired them to take their Minister by the hand, which they did, declaring they never ouned Mr. Scrimgeour for their Minister till now. Thus he deceived the men, by his show of opposition to Mr. Scrimgeour, and they invited the Bishop and Ministers to an Entertainment. Next Sabbath, the Bishop, in his return from Edinburgh, Preached at Kinghorn, and invited the honest men to dine with him. After dinner, he took his Coach and rode to Saint Andrews, as was his custome to travell on the Sabbath. The Demelee betwixt the Bishop and Mr. Andrew Duncan, Minister at Crail, in October this year, will fall in upon Mr. Duncan's Life, if I write it.

Bishop's Letter to Mr. Murray, March 27, 1622.

To this generall hint, during the year 1622, I'le add what Letters of the Bishop I meet with in the Advocat's Library. In March, he writes to Mr. Murray of the Bed Chamber thus:—

> S^r^,—Those are to advertise you of the Proceedings of the 24 of May, to which day I had warned sundry Papists, and certain of our Puritan Ministers. S^r^ John Ogilby compeared, and after an excuse made for his contumacy, upon which he was denounced his Majesty's Rebell, he acknowledged his defection, or rather professed his equivocation in the Oath he had formerly made for Religion; and declared he was and had been a Catholick Roman, and did so continue. After many Speeches to and fro, the conclusion we came to was, that he should enter into Dundee the first of July next, and abide there the space of a moneth, to conferr with the Bishop of Brechin, to try if he could find a solution to his doubts and scruples; which if he should not, he has promised, and by his Subscription oblidged himself, to depart the Countrey, before the Term of Martinmass, under the pain of a

1000[d] Merks. Francis Ogilby, his brother, Subscribed, and gave satisfaction. Petterbury Grordoun, whom we denounced for his not appearing to be Tryed anent the Mass said in his house the 5th of November, and the Feast I advertised you of before, compeared also, and denyed the fact. The Witnesses charged came not, alledging diverse excuses; whereupon we ordained the Bishops of Aberdeen and Murray to examine them in the North, where they dwell, and return their Reports to us, against the 26 of June next; and warned him to compear the same day, and answer his Apostacy; for I had made a promise to the Marquise to challenge him no further at this time than Mass denyed, and to dimitt him free. Others of them whom we Summoned, appeared not, whom we are to denounce. Their insolence in the Northern parts is exceeding open; contempt of Preaching and Ministers; insulting at the loss of Bohemia, and asking the Ministers what good their Prayers have done; feasting the Spaniards that are come from Dunkirk to those parts; and scoffing all the professed Religion. The good news that came lately of the Victory in the Palatinat has compesced them a little, and they begin to fear a turn. The Pedagogue that brings up the Marquise's young children is given up Excommunicat. I wrote earnestly to him at this time, to dispatch him from his company, otherwise I would complain. I know not what he will doe, but I flee what I can to fall in question with him.

State of Papists in the North at this time.

I had Summoned to this day three of our Ministers, that I may truely say do as much hurt to Religion as either Priest or Jesuite does. Mr. John Dykes was excused, by attending; Mr. John Carmichael, they say, is lying sick at Edinburgh; Mr. Ephraim Melvil compeared, and said he had obeyed all the Acts, save that of Kneeling, and excused himself by his Parishoners. The Minister at Lergo, called Auchinleck, who at his admission had sworn and promised obedience, confessed he had not yet practised, but said he was perswading his Parishoners to it. The first of thir, Mr. Ephraim Melvill, had begun obedience, it was thought enough to command him in the rest, under the pain of Deposition. Auchinleck having the Communion to give at Whitsunday, is charged then to put in practise the Acts, or leave the Ministry. For the Kirk of Udney, which is at Lundon's Presenting, my Lords Stormont and Mortoun, which have the burden of his Estate, have Presented to me one Mr. Robert Dowglass. The E. of Mortoun came with him hither. I told his Lôp that he was welcome, and that I was glade to have the occasion to doe him pleasure; and having called the young man, asked him what was his disposition in the matters questioned in the Kirk? He answered, he would be obedient. Then I told him how the formes of those men were, to promise much and perform nothing; whereupon he behoved to give his Oath and Subscription. He excused himself, that his Subscription would be scandalous. But I said we had no less reason to require the Subscription of Ministers to Church Acts, than the Subscription of Laicks for their profession of Religion. After some insisting was made with me, to oversee his Subscription, I said I would do as much for my Lord Mortoun as any Nobleman, but in that his Lôp would pardon me. I would not for any respect oversee it. So my Lord, who is a very discreet Nobleman, said he was satisfyed with that which I spoke to his friend; and since he refused to satisfy, he would only desire that no other should be received in the place on better conditions. My Lord Stormont has now Presented one Murray to the place, with my Lord Mortoun's advice, who offers all obedience; and his qualification, I think, shall be questioned by our Ministers, and there I shall

Ministers do more hurt than Jesuits. Mr. Jo. Carmichael. Mr. Eph. Melvil.

Mr. Robert Douglass.

have another plea with them. But we must endure, seeing no end of troubles, qrof the true cause has been oft meaned, and so little hearkned unto, that I must cease to mention the cause, and resolve to live and dye in vexation; and whilk I am most sorry for here, to behold the ruine of a Church here, through the folly of perverse Ministers, and the urging on of enemies, to both their and our destruction. But no more at this time.

Yours ever assured,

Dairs, March 27, 1622. SAINT ANDROIS.

The Bishop's Letter to the King, May last, 1622.

Upon the last of May, he writes to the King thus:—

Most Sacred and Gracious Soveraigne,

I cannot express the contentment that qlk your good subjects, and I in particular, have received, in preferring Mr. Thomas Henderson, Commissary in Edinburgh, to the vacant place in Session; as well for the regard they see your Majesty takes of those places, to have them filled with men of knowledge and conscience, as because it will serve much for the incitation of others to the study of learning and virtue, when they perceive it not to miss the just reward, and a greater respect had thereunto than to the importune solicitations of others. My self has so much ye more cause, that I assuredly know the service wherewith I am trusted in this Church shall by this means receive no small supply; his affection to the advancement of the Church, and your Majesty's service in it, being so sincere, as by a long experience we have found it to be. Wherefore, as I have no small encouragement to proceed in the troublesome bussines of our Church, I must humbly begg your Majesty's favour to offer my most submissive and humble thanks in his behalf; beseeching Almighty God long and ever to bless your sacred Majesty with all blessings of Heaven and Earth, that all this Church, and all other Reformed Churches within the Christian world, may still be happy in your Majesty's Royall favour and protection.

Your Majesty's most humble and affect. servitour,

Darsy, May last, 1622. SAINT ANDROIS.

His Letter to Mr. Murray, May last, 1622.

That same day, he writes to Mr. Murray of the Bed Chamber as follows:—

Sr,—As ye advertised, so I have presumed to offer unto his Majesty my humble thanks for this preferment of the Commissar to the place of Session, which does more good to his Majesty's service every way than I can well express. But alace! what are my thanks, or any thing I can promise or effect, worth, being so infinitely obliged as I am by benefites undeserved; all being duty, and less than duty, that I am able to perform. Sr, I received with your Letter another from his Majesty, whereto my former, that are come to your hands ere now, have given some satisfaction; and still shall be carefull both to doe and advertise of ye proceedings we make, which I trust in God shall not be ineffectuall, thô the opposition we have be great, and more underhand than either is or dare be avowed. If my health do any way allow, I will, by God's grace, the next vacance see you, and make bold to shew what will be the only remedy of all our crossings. So leaving to write of my own particular till I try the effect thereof, I rest

Your ever assured at power,

Darsy, last of May, 1622. ST. ANDROIS.

Aspice, non frustrâ Veneranda hæc pingitur Icon,
Vivit adhuc tanti qvælibet umbra Viri.
Prisca nitet Vultu Pietas, Virtusq; Sepulchri
Nescia, in Effigie nescit et ipsa Mori.
Sic vno Intuitu Vultûs, Morumq; Volumen
Perlegis, et Pictor transit in Historicum.

IOANNES SPOTISWOODE ARCHIEPISCOPVS S.t ANDREANVS, TOTIVS SCOTIÆ PRIMAS ET METROPOLITANVS, EIVSDEMQVE REGNI CANCELLA.us

1677.

Upon the 6th of June, he writes again to the same person— Another, June 6, 1622.

Sir,—I came to the Toun of Edinburgh this morning, where I found Mr. John Carmichael Buryed the night before, one of our great troublers; my Lord of Glasgow and the Chancelour dangerously sick, the Chancelour at Pinky. If it shall fall out that he be taken away, his Majesty has occasion, by selling of that place, to secure his affairs here from all opposition hereafter. Therefore I shall beseech you to desire his Majesty to regard the effecting of his own designes, more than any other man's pleasure, and to chuse some one that is according to his own heart, if so it shall voyd. As for your own bussines, my Lord Marr sayes to Sir James Bailzie that he must have his Majesty's express command, which if it be not already sent, I pray you furder with all diligence; for Sr James assures me the Warrand must not be of new under his Majesty's hand. I can say no more, but rest Mr. J. Carmichael.

Yours assured ever,

Edinr., June 6, 1622. Saint Androis.

Upon the 19 of the same moneth, he writes again to Mr. Murray, thus:— Another to the same, June 19, 1622.

Sr,—I see your care for my bussines, by your Letter, which I receive this day, and must render you thanks for it, which is all I can, and too little for such kindnes. Nothing is like to be done before Archibald Primrose's coming, which we expect every day. You have before this time understood that the Chancelour Dyed on Sunday last. I will not write of the discourse, humors, and rumors that are here. But I pray God, his Majesty make a good choice, as I know he will, that we may serve with more quietnes and content than we did in thir last times. My own opinion I wrote unto you, and since that time I have talked with my Lord Melrois himself, who is well peremptory in his refuse and declining that charge. If that cannot be, I wish it may fall into the hands of some man that loves Religion, and is not fantasticall, as I think my Lord of Mortoun to be; for he is a Nobleman of good presentation, and speaks well, and I trust shall keep an equall course, to his Majesty's good liking. My Lord of Aire has written, I know, to you, what his love perswades him to doe; but I beseech you, take no heed to it, for it's altogether unfitting. In the Action pursued by my Lord Marr against Elphingstoun, there has been a great delay used, upon a Letter purchased to my Lord of Durie, for supplying the Advocat's place in this Cause: wherein it seems they have informed his Majesty, that it has been the custome, in substitution of one in the Advocat's place on such occasions, that some of the Lords themselves behoved to plead for his Majesty's interest; but that never was used, and seems to be a plain derogation of the authority of the House, and drawes after it a number of inconvenients. But I leave this, and other particulars, to their information whom it concerns; only I write of it because I remember the Elphingstouns' service in the late Parliament, and the care they took in the affairs of our Church. I desire no man wronged against justice; but they who have given proof of their intending his Majesty's service, ought not to be delayed for such men's pleasures. Yet all this is referred to his Majesty's pleasure. If the Advocate substitute, as he is ready, one of the Advocates of the House, as was the form, whom the party will choice, it seems to many here sufficient. Closburn was with

me, and we agreed on conditions; but I find the gentleman very unable to perform any thing. My Lord of Aire tells me, that your obligation is impignorat for Jaj. Lib.; but if they end as they have promised, that shall be done which ye have directed in that part. This in haste, being to come in this Packet. I rest

Your ever assured,

Edinr., June 19, 1622. SAINT ANDROIS.

His Letter to the Viscount of Annand, Sept. 16, 1622.

Upon the 16 of September, the Primate writes to his very Honourable and good Lord, my Lord the Viscount of Annand, Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed Chamber, as followes:—

I know by this time your Lôp has understood by my Lord Register that nothing is done for the delivery of those Moneys to my Lord Marquise, and so I am disappointed of that which I expected. They promise to his Lôp 50 thousand Pounds Scots, 14 dayes before the next Term, or 14 dayes after; and it's like enough they shall cast off longer, whereby I can promise my self nothing. In the mean time, the Annualls shall consume all, and make his Majesty's Benefite to me unprofitable. I caused deal with Archibald Primrose, and have obtained of him, that if my Lord Marquise can be induced to Subscribe the Warrands inclosed, he will satisfy me in due time of my part, wherein your Lôp will be pleased to take some pains, if you find it expedient. But I fear his Lôp offend so at thir delays, as he scarce agree unto it. I have written a Letter to his Lôp, to give him thanks for his favour, and generally entreated his Lôp's furtherance; but the particular your Lôp may move, as from your self; and if his Lôp agree to it, cause James Douglass, or some of your own Secretarys, to write them out in a better hand. If this succeed not, and that your Lôp see no certainty how I shall be payed this way, I would wish to be assigned to the Moneys of Edinburgh, for they pay 10 thousand Pounds yearly, whereof 3 years are to come; and for discharging some profites thereof, I would look to be advanced by them, at least have those to whom I am indebted take to their payment; and for that, a new Precept must be advanced to the Thesaury, to assigne to your Lôp to their Moneys, in respect of your disappointment in the other Precept. If Mr. John Hay be not come away, your Lôp may in this case talk with him thereof, and make him your Lôp's agent to receive the same, as Sr James Bailzie was to the other. But I must remitt all this to your Lôp's care and judgement, that knowes who is best in the errand. I thought to have sent a servant to attend this, as I wrote in my last; but seing that would be chargeable, and that I found my Lord Register carefull enough to have satisfyed me, if he had come speed himself, I did not send any. I will not meddle in thir matters, but it seems to many that my Lord Marquise's precept might have been satisfyed with less noise, and more speedily. I look to hear from your Lôp in this bussines, which I shall look for. As to those things I wrote last of to his Majesty, the clamours continue in those parts, and are fostered by malcontents. They have written to me from the West parts, to Conveen the Bishops, and some speciall of the Ministry, to conferr upon the appearing dangers to Religion; but I have disswaded this, and written to them, and to all parts of the Countrey, that they take matters not rightly, and warned them to be quiet, and attend their calling. We are ill disposed people, and so cannot but expect some great mischief. I pray

God save his Majesty from their wishes, and give us to enjoy him long, and bless you with all happines. So I rest

Your assured good friend to be commanded at power,

Dairsy, Sept. 16, 1622. SAINT ANDROIS.

The Bishop calls a Meeting of Bishops and Ministers, April 23, 1623, to consider what might be done to soften matters with the Papists.

Next year, matters continued a little easier and softer for such who refused Conformity to Perth Articles; and the Archbishop, who was led intirely by the course of things in England, and the influence of Courtiers about the King, called a Meeting of Bishops and Ministers at Saint Andrews, Aprile 23, 1623, to consider how the most easy methods might be taken with Papists, now that the Prince was in Spain. Severall instances might be given, in the following part of our History, when severitys have been slackned towards pious Nonconformists, when the designe of the Court and their Agents hath been to shew favour to Papists. This is the first instance I have observed of it in Scotland, and the Archbishop, it seems, like his master the King, was very willing to meet the Romanists half way. I give Mr. Calderwood's Account of this:—

Upon the 23 of Aprile, there was a Meeting at Saint Andrews, where the Bishops of Saint Andrews, Brechin, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Dumblane, and some Ministers written for, Conveened. Yet none of the Ministers from Edinburgh came to it, because, as some of them gave out, the end of that Meeting was to see how far we might go with the Papists, and what is questionable betwixt us and them; for it was affirmed by some, that there were but two or 3 points substantiall wherein we differed, and that we might agree with them in Ceremonialls, for peace sake. Yet the manner was not handled in publick. They appointed a Fast to be keeped universally, the last Sabbath of June and the first Sabbath of July. Complaints were given in upon some Papists in the North, who would not suffer their children to be Baptized with the Ministers, and sundry other abuses. The Bishops promised to write up to the King, to see what should be done with them; and that was all the redress got. What further was done at that Meeting is not certain, because the reports were diverse. It was reported it was agreed that no Minister should be urged hereafter with obedience to the 5 Articles; and on the other side, that it was not expedient to be rigorous against Papists during the time the Prince was in Spain.

His Letter to the Viscount of Annand, May 11, 1623.

In May, this year, the Bishop writes to the Viscount of Annand thus:—

My very Honourable and good Lord,

I received a Letter from Mr. John Hay, whereby he shews me that he was commanded by his Majesty to desire my Lord of Montrose, the Provost, Bailzies, and Council of Edinburgh, and my self, to enquire the true cause

of not keeping the Feast of Easter and Communion as they ought to have done in that Toun, and to advertise his Majesty thereof. For my self, I can give the cause without inquisition, which is, an obstinat purpose and resolution in that people to hearken to no perswasion that can be given them, nor to obey any direction that way. They have also worthy men, that speak as plainly to them as can be wished. But nothing will move. And I advertised your Lôp long since, that the Magistrates chosen this year were not so set as to draw the people, either by their perswasion, or example, or other means, to obedience, as it has proved. It will not be amended with reproofs or benefites, whereof the more they get, the worse they grow, as if his Majesty could not want their service. What effects have appeared at this time, I doubt not your Lôp has heard ere now. If they had had so much affection to their Prince as Nature would have taught them, remembering where he was and the entertainment his Highnes has found, they would have kythed some more kindnes, and not given so just cause of grief to those of his Majesty's Council. But I will not meddle with that; and for our Church matters, they are gone, unless another course be taken, and followed with authority. And I pray God the effects yet kyth not worse. If his Highnes were returned, which I trust in God shall be shortly, I would say it were meet to take some order with things that are far ammisse. This is all I can say of those bussinesses, whereof I write more freely to your Lôp than perhaps men would advise me; but I know your Lôp will communicat them unto his Majesty only. For the remedy, if his Majesty desire to know my mind, I will not spare to travail thither upon his Majesty's direction. But it passes our means and diligence to do more than we have done. I pray God send us our Prince safe home, and give his Majesty to take things more patiently than they require, and herewith to bless your Lôp with all happines. I rest Your ever assured at power,

Dairsy, May 11, 1623. SAINT ANDROIS.

Goes up to Court in October. His Letter to the Visc. of Annand, Sept. last, 1623.

It seems, according to the Primate's desire, he was called up to Court soon after this, for upon the last of September he writes this short line to the Viscount of Annand:—

I have, God willing, intended to begin my journey to Court the 7th of October, whereof I thought good to advertise you, wishing of God we may have a good and happy meeting, and that I may see that longed for return of our Prince, which will not be here believed. So till that time, I rest

Your ever assured,

Darsy, Sept. last, 1623. SAINT ANDROIS.

His Letter to ye same person, Oct. 8, 1623.

As the Bishop came to Leith in his journey to Court, he writes thus to the same person:—

My Lord,—I received the sorrowfull news this morning of my Lord Craigton's Death. His Majesty has lost a true servant, and one who has not left the like behind. I cannot write what I would for sorrow; but I am perswaded, my Lord Chancelour being on his journey, his Majesty will leave that matter whole till his coming; and it concerns his Majesty's service much that it be so. I had been two days advanced in my journey, but I

must bring Bernard Lindsay with me; alwise 10 or 12 dayes, I hope, shall finish it, and bring me thither. Wishing your Lôp all happiness, I rest

Your Lôp's most assured ever,

Leith, Oct. 8th, 1623. SAINT ANDROIS.

His Letter to the same person, Jan. 20, 1624.

The Bishop returned from Court about the end of the year, and Jan. 20, 1624, he writes the following Letter to the Viscount of Annand:—

My very Honourable and good Lord,

I wrote some dayes past by Sr William Murray to your Lôp, but perceiving that he makes no haste in his journey, I have taken occasion to renew my Letters; and if I find him before his parting, will take them back; or if your Lôp receive them, you may use them as you please. Only what I wrote of Mr. William Wiseheart, and the Laird of Babigno's complaint of him, which his Majesty directed me to take order with, I find, since my coming to this Toun, that Babigno's information is diverse, and not agreeing to the answer Mr. William gave me; and therefore I am to Summond him to a Dyet before the Commission, and do what justice requires, so as you may assure his Majesty that bussines shall be done to that Gentleman's contentment, so far as reason will permitt; and that he shall have no cause to complean of delay or unjustice. There was presented a Letter from his Majesty to the Commissioners of the Rents concerning Orkney, and I find they are all of mind that it shall be his Majesty's profit to Feu the Lands for the Duty they presently pay; which certainly shall be for the well of the Tennants, and make a certain Rentall to his Majesty, which for many reasons now is unsure. It seems the Chancelour expects by this some benefite, wherein I fear greatly his Lôp be deceived; for the poverty in those parts, and in all this Countrey, is so great, that it will take a long time ere he be able to make any good thereof, which, out of my love to him, and yet not so much to him as to his Majesty's service, I advertise you of, that your Lôp may hold his Majesty in mind of some means whereby his Lôp may be inabled to do the services he setts himself to; for I know he will not move any thing that may be thought burdensome to his Majesty, and that he is more ready to do than to speak. Your Lôp has alwise loved such servants, and I protest to God, his Majesty, in my time, had never a better. I must still be doing, for my part, this good duty to him, althô he would perhaps disallow me if he understood so much. The last I wrote to you was by John Auchmonty, from Newcastle, where I advertised your Lôp of our troublesome journey homeward, and the loss I made of two horses; and now all the four are gone, so as I must make new provision. If your Lôp can conveniently obtain a Precept to me on the Thesaury for my Charges, it will come, in this troublesome year, in good season; but I referr this to your Lôp's wisdome, for I will not offend with begging, thô my necessity were greater than it is. Thus wishing to your Lôp the continuance of all happines, I rest Your Lôp's most assured to command,

Edinr., 20 Jan., 1624. SAINT ANDREWS.

P.S.—I will pray your Lôp to remember my service to my Lord Niddisdale. The rumour is here, that he is become his Majesty's convert; and there is nothing I wish more for his good, Spirituall and Temporall.

Memoriall about branches of Conformity betwixt ye Church of Scotland with that of England to be endeavoured.

There is joyned to this, in the Collection of Ecclesiasticall Papers in the Advocat's Library whence it's taken, a Memoriall, sent up, as I suppose, to this same person, by B. Spotswood, anent further Degrees of Conformity with England, in this Church with England, and I shall subjoyn it here. It runs thus :—

> There is laiking in our Church an Form of Divine Service; and while every Minister is left to the framing of Publick Prayer by himself, both the people are neglected and their Prayers prove often impertinent. An Publick Confession of Faith must be formed, agreeing, so near as can be, with the Articles of the Church of England. An order for Election of Archbishops and Bishops, for times hereafter, must be established by Law; and in the mean while, if his Majesty purpose the Translation of any, by reason of the Vacancy of Saint Andrews, the Form used in the Translation here of Bishops in England would be keeped. An uniform order for Electing of Ministers, and their Receiving; the Formes of Marriage, Baptisme, and Administration of the Holy Supper, must be in some points helped. Confirmation is wanting in our Church, whereof the use for children is most profitable. Canons and Constitutions must be concluded and set forth, for keeping both the Clergy and Laicks in order. Those things must be advised and agreed upon in a Generall Assembly of the Clergy, which must be drawen into the form of the Convocation House in England.

Remarks upon it.

This Memoriall, by the tenor of it, is drawn in England, and it may be it's the Archbishop's proposall, when last there, or the effect of his conversation with the Viscount of Annand, sent him. However, we see a scheme of an intire Conformity with the Church of England hath been upon the carpet much earlyer than any of our Historians notice. We may suppose that this would have been exceeding welcome to King James, notwithstanding of all the opposition made to Perth Articles; but it's probable the King's declining state stiffled this; and the stretches of the prerogative, and ill humors raised by those, in the beginning of K. Charles the 1st his Reigne, stiffled this, till Bishop Laud pushed this matter, to the downfall of Episcopacy in Scotland and England both.

1624, his carriage as to the affair of W. Rigg, John Mean, and other Citizens of Edinburgh.

Next year, when the affair of Spain was over, the bitterness and persecuting temper against the Nonconformists with Perth Articles broke out again. The Printed Calderwood gives very large Accounts of the trouble Bailzie Rigg, John Mean, and others met with, for refusing to Kneel at Communicating, and differing with their Ministers, who urged Conformity violently.

I only notice what share the Archbishop had in this matter. Upon the last of Aprile, a Committee of Council Summoned the Bailzie and Tounsmen of Edinr. before them. John Mean was called upon, and asked what his part was in the Meeting with the Ministers complained of? He answered, he only desired the Communion to be distributed after the old manner. After some scoffes from the Chancelour and Secretary, the Archbishop said, "John Mean is one of those who keep Private Conventicles. He keeped a Brounist Minister in his house, Preaching and keeping Conventicles." John Mean, directing himself to the Chancelour, said, "My Lord, he never taught in my house. I wish at God there were more Preaching and Prayer than there is." "Have ye not as good Teachers as in the land?" said the Chancelour; "may ye not be staiked with your own?" "Those men you hear and follow," said the Archbishop, "Preach to you by the spirit of the Devil." "I would not that for all the world," answered John Mean. The Bishop, directing himself to the Lords, said, "I was once set upon the Brounist Minister in his house, but narrowly missed him. He is now Dead in Ireland: we are well quite of him." The Chancelour asked John Mean if he had any more to add? He answered, "When Mr. Andrew Ramsay was laughing and sporting at us, I said, Sir, you will answer to God for that." The Chancelour said, "Yea, Sir! when your Minister smileth, will you call him before the Judgement Seat of God for it?" John answered, "If it were not for respect of that Judgement, I could go as far in that way as others do." The Committy took the persons' own Declarations and Depositions, and sent them up to the King. In June, the King wrote down a Letter, ordering (probably not without the knowledge of the Bishops) William Rigg to be Fined in fifty thousand Merks, to be Warded till it was payed, and then to Confyne him in Orkney; and to Confyne and Deprive the rest who had any Office. This was reckoned terrible severity, and the Lords of the Committy put over the matter to the Council. When they met, Mr. Patrick Galloway had a Discourse to the Council in favour of Bailzie Rigg, but spoke nothing of the rest; and the Council Confyned him to his own house till further orders, and

Committy.

Proclamation agst Private Meetings penned by him. App. N.

the rest were ordered to their Confynments. And a Proclamation was Published against Privat Meetings, Dated June 11, 1624, which, because Mr. Calderwood supposes was penned by Bishop Spotswood, I have added, App. N. (Copy Calderwood, v. 6, pag. 610, 11; vid. Print.) Upon q^{ch} Mr. Calderwood remarks, that "It's falsly asserted in it, that the persons suspected abstained from hearing the Word Preached. Next, that they had y^{r} Privat Meetings at the hours when their Pastors were Preaching in their Parish Kirks. And 3ly, that they assumed to their Meetings the name of a Congregation. The matter being only this: A number of Godly Christians sometimes Conveened in Edinburgh, when they had the occasion of a sound and zealous Minister to stirr them up in those times of defection, and recommended to God the desolat condition of this poor Kirk; for the Pulpits of Edinburgh now all sounded the contrary way."

His Letter, June 21, 1624, to ye Ministers of Edinr., about them.

When the King heard of the lenity of the Council to William Rigg, he wrote down a threatening Letter to the Council, ordering his will to be execute, and William Rigg to be Warded and Fyned, and the rest Confyned. It was suspected that this came from the Bishops, and the Ministers of the Town were dealt with to write to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, to interceed with the King for them. The Ministers of Edinburgh wrote, but in such a manner as it seems the Bishop understood their meaning, and gave them a refusall in the following Letter:—

Loving Bretheren,—I received your Letter, intreating me to interceed for those of your flock who are in this trouble. I believe thô I would request, the Council would not be yielding; and I know his Majesty will offend at the lenity already shewed; for his Highnes apprehends those matters otherwise than is conceived by many. Ye shall therefore pardon me, that I meddle no more with that bussines, while I hear how his Majesty taketh it. There is time enough, if they will amend; neither is their trouble so great, in all that is yet inflicted, as either yours or mine. So trusting you will excuse me in this, I commend you to God.

Your assured Brother,

June 21, 1624. Saint Andrews.

The Bishop's Letter to ye Viscount of Annand, July 6, 1624.

In July, this year, the Bishop writes to the Viscount of Annand as follows:—

My very Honourable and good Lord,
I perceived by your Lôp's Letter that his Majesty was not pleased with

the course which the Council took as to those matters of Edinburgh, so as the whole Overture which I sent by my son serveth for nought at this time. I have been advertised, that upon his Majesty's direction, the Council hath done that which was at first required, saving in point of the Fines, for which they have given their reasons of new to his Majesty. To be punished by the Purse, is what hath been still most grievous to Scotsmen, and keepeth them most in awe; wherefor the preparative is so feared, that men seek carefully to eschew it. And yet I cannot see a reason why those Fines might not have been imposed; not that I would have wished them exacted with rigour, if they would have come to repent their insolence; but when men saw what might fall on them in the like cases, they would have become the more wise. Since my last writing to your Lôp, the Ministers were intreated to deal for the suspension of the Wards of those men that were commanded off the Toun, and put in the Tolbooth; but when they dealt with them to keep order in time coming, and not to run from their own Communions, promising not to urge them with the gesture of Kneeling, they answered, that their consciences would not suffer them to Communicat with those y^{t} Kneeled, nor otherwise than after the old manner. They offered to hear Conference in that point, but would promise nothing. Yet the Ministers, carefull of their weel, wrote to me, that I might request the Council for a continowance of their Charge. I answered, I feared his Majesty should not take well the continowation that was already granted; and therefor till I heard how his Majesty's Letters come down, I have heard nothing from the Ministers; but by some that have spoken with them, I understand that there is great malice born unto them, and that they are so wearyed of their places, that they all resolve to leave them. There is no way of settling of that Church, but by the setling of those particulars which I sent up to your Lôp; but how they shall be urged upon them, except they were induced to entreat his Majesty's favour, I scarce see. I fear they shall not trouble themselves much with it that is done; but if his Majesty should be pleased to write another Letter to the Council, and shew that since those men who are challenged were not only in the fault, his Highnes would have them to try the rest, and especially the keepers of Conventicles, it's probable the fear thereof should sett them on to supplicat for favour, and then conveniently those things which I spoke might be urged. But I remitt all this to his Majesty's great wisdom; only I will add this, that if the occasion be lost that is now offered for remedying those disorders, and that there be not a constant prosecution of that which is begun, we shall never see an order again in our Church. For your Lôp sees how they are come to maintain, that a separation is lawfull and necessary from such as are obedient to the Constitutions of the Church; which is a folly that will not be beaten out without a heavy and severe correction. I wish of God that his Majesty were eased of those fasheries, which I can not think can ever be so well and easily done as by what I wrote of last; but therein I submitt my opinion to his Majesty's wisdom. The reason why I use the hand of another, is a disease that hath vexed me this 14nigt and more. This day I have advertisement from my Lord of Stormont, that he is tyed to the bed by a heavy sickness, whereof I fear the worst. Praying God to save your Lôp, I now rest

Your Lôp's most assured to serve you,

Dairsy, July 6, 1624. SAINT ANDREWS.

Acts made by him in his Synods at Saint Andrews and Edinr., Octr. and Novr., 1624.

In October, that same year, the Bishop held his Synod in Saint Andrews, where an Act was made, "That in respect many persons, in contempt of their own Ministers, went to other Kirks to Communicat, that none hereafter be admitted, unless they receive a Testimoniall from their own Minister; and if any Minister give them the Communion without their own Minister's License, he shall be Deposed. Item, that all persons, of whatsoever rank they were, should present themselves to the Examination, or else be deprived of the Communion. Item, that none be admitted to the Ministry, but such as had an inclination to Conformity." November 2d, the Synod of Lothian Conveened, and the Bishop anticipated the ordinary time of Meeting. Mr. Calderwood observes, the 3d part of the Presbytrys were not present, because the time was anticipated, and only the most corrupt of the Presbytrys were advertised; which was done of purpose, because the Bishop and Ministers of Edinburgh inclined to pass some Acts without opposition. The Presbitrys of Dunce, Churnsyde, Haddingtoun, and some others, were not warned. These Conveened concluded as follows, not without some opposition of severall present, "That no Minister should give the Communion to one of another Congregation, without his Minister's Testimoniall, under pain of Deposition." This was done to force the inhabitants of Edinburgh to Communicat in their own Kirks, by debarring them from other Kirks. "Item, that in all Kirks there should be a portion of Scripture read by the Minister, except where there is a Reader to do it, before the Minister enter upon his Sermon. That all ranks and persons, of what quality soever, present themselves to the Examination, before the receiving of the Lord's Supper." Those Acts were of no force, because many of the Ministers were absent, through default of warning. Mr. Calderwood adds, there was an Article left to be resolved on, because it was thought too difficult, to witt, that Expectants, and young men who were to enter upon the Ministry, must have skill in the Languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latine, and be able to make an Exercise, or Common Head, in Latine, and expound a Chapter out of the New Testament from the Greek, and another out of the Old Testament from the

Hebrew Text in Latine, upon 48 hours' advertisement. The Bishop himself was not able to do it.

Favour shewn to Papists. More severitys design'd agst noncomplyers with Perth Articles.

Soon after, the Marquise of Huntley brought down a Letter from Court to the Council, in favours of 3 persons, Papists, near Aberdeen, to stop the Sentence of Excommunication against them, and to desire the Bishop of Aberdeen to take no advantage of the Horning given out against them. The reason the King gave is, that they were relations of Bishop Panter, Popish Bishop of Ross, who had done good service to his mother. The King wrote, at the same time, a Letter to Bishop Spotswood, desiring him to write to the Bishop of Aberdeen to that effect, and to take order with Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. David Forrester, and Mr. John Ross, one of the Ministers of Aberdeen, who were most earnest in the Process of Excommunication against them. Thus favour is shewn to Papists, and rigour to the noncomplyers w^{t} Perth Articles. All who Communicat not Kneeling, were ordered to be Imprisoned. Mean while the Pestilence breaks out in November, and disappointed keeping of Christmas at Edinburgh that season. New severitys were designed against William Rigg, of Atherney in Fife, Bailzie in Edinburgh, and other noncomplyers, and they expected nothing but for the outmost severity.

The Bishop's Letter to the Viscount of Annand, Nov. 18, 1624.

I suppose it's with relation to this favour done to ye Papists in the North, that the Bishop writes, in November, to the Viscount of Annand. There was a competition like to fall in between the powers and prerogatives of the High Commission and that of the Council, and that the Archbishop could not well bear. Both their powers, however, were from the King; and in the event of the King's Letter, I can see no doubt to be made of the regularity of the Council their taking before them affairs before the High Commission, they being both creatures of the King. And the insinuation the Bishop seems to make, that the causes of the Ministers who stood out against Perth Articles might be taken before the Council, that was scarce to be supposed, because the King would not readily give any Letter ordering this. Be this as it will, I'le give the Primate's Letter.

My very Honourable good Lord,
One inconvenient begetts another. The Warrand sent home for the

Papists of Aberdeen caused the Lords grant a Suspension of their Horning; whereupon I am cited by the Copy inclosed to answer the last of this moneth, and produce the Decreet of the High Commission, with the rest y^{t} followed thereupon: which is in effect a subjecting of our Decreets to their Judicatory, and the disannulling the Commission and authority of it. I am very uncertain how to behave my self, and sorry to see the preparative, which will not fail to meet us in other things. But because I will not oppose to his Majesty's directions in any sort, I think it best for me not to compear, and let the matter go. I received the Copy but this day, otherwise I had advertised your Lôp sooner, to have understood his Majesty's pleasure. The same are the people whom, by his Majesty's own Letter, we cited to the 2d of October last, and who denyed their compearance before us. Yet had I concluded with my self to use no execution against them, because of the present Treaty with France, and therefor dissembled their disobedience for the time. The Bishop of Aberdeen is Summoned likewise, and a number of the Ministers; and what a clamour this shall make, your Lôp will easily judge. I have awaited this moneth for some Resolution upon the affairs of Edinburgh, but now I must go back, after the 25 day, to Saint Andrews, where many things are not right, especially in the Divinity Colledge. The Earle of Marr came yesternight only to the Abbay. He had a dangerous fall by the way, which I pray God may not trouble him. So wishing your Lôp all happines, I rest

Your Lôp's to command,

Edinr., 18 Nov., 1624. SAINT ANDREWS.

King James' Death, March 25, 1625. The Bishop continows in favour with his son.

Those things, and many others in dependance, went on slowly for some time, by reason of the uncertain state of the King's health; and his Death, which fell in next year, March 25, for some little time put a stop to bussines. Upon the Accession of King Charles the First, matters soon came much to their old channell, thô by the change of hands and fluctuation of affairs in the beginning of this Reigne, Conformity to Perth Articles, and severall other things now in the Bishop's hands, were not for some time so violently pressed. The Primate stood as much in the good graces of the son as of the father, and we shall see was made Chancelour of Scotland. But under this Reigne, the Collection of Letters I have given so much from fails me; and there are but two more I have met with, which I shall insert in their proper places.

King's Letter to the Bishop, Aprile, 1625.

Mr. William Scot of Cowper, in his Apologeticall Narration, tells us, that Aprile, 1625, the King, soon after his father's Death, wrote a Letter to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, "willing him to go on in that good course wherein his father had set him; to advertise his Brethren, the remanent Bishops, that they do

the like; and to certify them, that it is his speciall will to have the Orders and Lawes concerning Church matters to be observed as was decerned in his father's time." He adds, that albeit the Bishop shewed this Letter to many in privat, yet this was not thought sufficient to work dispair in the hearts of zealous professors; and a publick declaration of the King's will was thought necessary.

Proclamation as to Conformity, August 1, 1625.

Therefore, on the first of August following, it was declared by Publick Proclamation from the Cross, "That whereas some disconform, and averse persons from the established Government in the Church, and contemners of the King's authority, by transgressing ye orders established by Acts of Parliament, have travailed to perswade sundry subjects that the King intended to make some alteration in the Kirk Government and Canons thereof, happily established by his dearest father; and that he minded not to urge any more the observation of the Acts concluded at Perth, and established in Parliament: to the intent that all such false and foolish rumors may be suppressed, and the further growth and progress of them prevented, it is declared, that his Majesty was so far from any purpose of innovating the Government of the Kirk, so happily established by his dearest father, that if the same had not been happily determined, he would with all his care have advanced the same, as knowing it to be the only best Government a Christian Kirk can be ruled by, in Monarchies and Kingdomes; and that he is resolved, as far as the Lawes will allow, to punish any person that shall seek to disturb the peace of Religion and the present Government." And in September, a Direction came down to the Council, that the just now named Declaration should be Printed, and Coppies thereof to be affixed on the Cross, Kirk Doors, and other places, that none pretend ignorance.

Bishop Spotswood's Letter to the King, Oct. 2, 1625.

The first Letter I meet with in the fore cited Collections in ye Lawyers' Library, from the A.B., is to the King, Dated Oct. 2, this year, and it runs thus:—

Most Sacred and Gracious Soveraigne,

May it please your Majesty, the Town of Edinburgh hath, by Act of their Council, condescended to the Articles propounded by your Majesty's

father, of most blessed memory, and renewed to them by your Majesty s self. And for the Petitions they made to your Majesty concerning their Churches, which your Majesty deferred to answer, before the Articles propounded to them were agreed to, I have composed the matter between their Ministers and them, as your Majesty will see by their Subscriptions. Both those require your Majesty's Ratification, which must be done by Act of the Lords of Privy Council; to which effect your Majesty would be graciously pleased to write a Letter to the said Lords, and another to the Town, for perfecting of the things whereunto they have condescended. I trust the good success of this work, which was a work most difficill to be brought about, doth prognosticat a good event to all your Majesty's Royall purposes intended both for this Church and for the Republick. The rest I remitt to my Lord Bishop of Ross his information, of whom we are all assured your Majesty will have a speciall care, that his charges in attending there doe not undoe his Estate, which by diverse occasions already is much hurt, and especially by his forwardnes in the services of your Majesty's father, for which he sustaineth as yet the hatred of many great ones in this Kingdom. So with my humble prayers to Almighty God for your Majesty's long and prosperous Reigne, I humbly take my leave.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servand,

St. Andrews, Oct. 2, 1625. SAINT ANDREWS.

The A.Bishop goes up to Court, Nov., 1625. Factions there.

This winter, the A.Bishop went up to Court. There were divisions fell in, as is ordinary in the entry of a new Reigne, amongst our Scots Managers. In November, the King wrote down for Six Counselours to come up to him—the Chancelour, the Earle of Marr, the Earle of Morton, the Earle of Roxburgh, the Earle of Melross, and the Bishop of Saint Andrews. The Writer of the Collections from 1589-1641, sayes, on the other side, there went up the Earle of Marshall, Niddisdale, Lord Ochiltrea; and that the Bishops of Saint Andrews and Ross were to joyn them, with some others; and it was thought that things would come to extremitys. The Chancelour and those with him reckoned upon the Bishop of Saint Andrews; but when they were challenged by the Noblemen on the other side, before the King, the Primate kythed upon the other party. Each side challenged other very sharply in the King's presence, and the rumors came down that both the Chancelour and Secretary would be turned out of their posts. And soon after, February next year, Sir William Alexander was made Secretary. That same moneth, a Commission came down for a new Privy Council, and another Commission to try grievances, to the Bishops of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Ross, and Dumblane, the Chancelour, Huntley, Niths-

daile, and Annandale, the Viscount of Airds, the Laird of Thorntoun, and others not very agreeable to the Countrey. Power was given them to call all persons before them, for breaking of Acts of Parliament, speaking against the same, misconstruing the King and his proceedings, or his progenitor's, and to Fine and Confyne at pleasure. And the 2d Commission was for the Exchequer, to be a check upon the Lord Thesaurer. I need only hint at those things, since they belong properly to Civil History.

Changes in favour of the Revocation, in Session.

Because we have very few Printed Historians in this period in Scotland, I'le dash down what Sir James Balfour hath as to the changes made in Council, &c., and the Commissions, especially that concerning Grievances. He notices, that in January, 1626, the King signifyes to the Council his pleasure as to the Revocation lately made; of which, sayes the Writer of the Annalls, the King conceived so much prejudice, and in effect it was the groundstone of all the mischief that followed, both to the King, the Government, and his family; and the contrivers of it deserve to be held infamous and accursed. The pretexts for it were, the practice of King James the 5th, Queen Mary, and King James the 6th, who revocked all done in y^{r} minority, to the prejudice of the Crown; that he had 2000^{d} Seamen to set out, and this would supply the defects of the Taxation, and prevent further burdens on the Kingdom. At a view to carry on this bussines, the King prohibited any of the Lords of Council to be upon the Session, save the Chancelour and Extraordinary Lords; and so Thomas, Earle of Melroise, President; John, Earle of Lauderdale; David, Lord Carnegie; S^{r} Archibald Napier, Thesaurer Deput; S^{r} Richard Cockburn, Privy Seal; S^{r} John Hamilton, Clerk Register; S^{r} William Oliphant, King's Advocat; S^{r} G. Elphingstoun, Justice Clerk, were turned out of the Session; and in their places came in S^{r} James Skeen, President; S^{r} Alexr. Seaton, of Gilcreuch; S^{r} Alexr. Napier, of Lawriston; S^{r} George Auchinleck, of Balmanno; S^{r} Archibald Aitcheson, of Glencairney; S^{r} Robert Spotswood; Mr. James Bellenden, Commissary of Edinburgh; Mr. Alexr. Moreson, of Preston Grange.

Commission for Grievances, or Scotts Starr Chamber.

At this same time, his Majesty sent down his Commission, in a Letter to the Privy Council, for a new Judicatory, whereat all

sorts of people repined much, termed A Commission for Grievances. The reason of the King's putting this great Novation on the Kingdom stands thus in his Letter—"That all such of our subjects as complain of any heavy grievances may have the means, in justice, to be relieved." This new Court is ordained to be published with great solemnity, at all the Markett Crosses. But, adds S^r James, the wisest and best not only feared, but saw that this new Court was nothing but the Starr Chamber Court in England, under another name, come down here to play the tyrrant, with a specious vizor on its face. The Primat was first in this Commission, as we have seen. But by the vigourous opposition of the Nobility, and the outcrys of all honest men, this Court evanished, and there was never one Meeting of it.

The Primate made President of the Exchequer, March, 1626.

When this Court came to nothing, the Primate was putt into a new Office, which ended with himself, President of the Exchequer, as S^r James Balfour, in his Annalls, observes. On the 14 of March, a Letter came down to the Lords of Exchequer, to chuse the Bishop of Saint Andrews the President. He adds, the Reader will notice that that Prelate was the first and last President ever the Exchequer of Scotland had.

Instructions to the Lords of Session, June 14, 1626.

Upon the 14 of June, instructions to the Lords of Session were sent down to Edinburgh, to prepare matters for the Revocation which the Primate and Bishops were so keenly for. I shall Transcribe them from Sir James Balfour's Annalls, because they are not in the hands of many.

ARTICLES SENT BY HIS MAJESTY TO THE LORDS OF SESSION.

That the Lords of the Colledge of Justice take a course for appointing a Chaplain, who may every morning, at 8 of the clock, say a Prayer to them. That the President of the said Colledge make choice of two or three Lawyers, who may consult and assist with the King's Advocats in all bussines y^t concerns his Majesty's Law affairs. That the President appoint such times and dayes as he shall think meet for consulting in his Majesty's affairs. That the President consult all Registers, and take notice of such things as may advance his Majesty's service. That the President give command to the Advocats for his Majesty, that nothing be done in that Action betwixt the Earle of Marr and Lord Elphingstoun prejudiciall to his Majesty's service. That the President do cause Revise all such Acts and Ordinances as do concern expedition of justice, or ordering the Session House, that they be of new enacted; and what is further necessary, being advertised by the President, his Majesty may give orders thereanent. That the President, in search

of the Registers, make Roll of all Holdings, and their Charge. That the President may make a note of all the privileges of the Session, and Members thereof, that his Majesty may ratify such of these as he thinks expedient. That the President search the Registers, and make a Roll of all Acts that concern the Presentations and Admissions of the Lords of Session. That his Majesty's Advocats be consulted what course shall be taken in the bussiness of the Bass. That his Majesty's Advocats be commanded to raise Summonds against such Lords of the Erections, and other points contained in his Majesty's Revocation, as shall be thought expedient. To search those Books and Acts made in the time of the Lords called Octavians.

At Whitehall, June 14, 1626. CHARLES REX.

Remarks.

Sir James Balfour nottices those Articles were crushed in pieces by Chancelour Hay and others, whose places they intrenched upon; and Sir James Skeen, President, was brôt in disgrace for proposing them, as what matter of moonshine to the King, and strong ropes to withdraw the hearts of ye people from obedience, and seeds of Rebellion. The Primate was thought concerned in them; and on the 2d of July, the King, by his Letter to his Council, discovers his intention, and a Declaration of his purpose anent his Revocation.

King's Letter to the A.B. of Saint Andrews July 11, 1626.

There came down a Letter, Dated July 11, to the A.Bishop of Saint Andrews, thanking him for his pains in his service, and especially for promoving and using his uttermost endeavours for effectuating of those ends which he himself (as the Letter runs) had recommended to him; and bids him rest confident that he resolved punctually to follow and prosecute the same, as also that he would be mindfull of his pains taken in that bussines.

Remarks.

"The bussines (adds Sir James Balfour) meaned here in the King's Letter, was that bussines (of the Revocation, as I take him) so much advanced since; which hath not only rooted up the whole Bishops, root and branch, but also ruined the King and his whole family. Those unhappy Bishops were evill Counselours, but worse Musitians, for they tempered their strings to such a cleif of ambition and superstitious foolry, that before ever they yielded any sound, they burst all in pieces."

July 12, Letter ordering the A.B. to have the precedency of the Lord Chancellour, to qch the

What follows, I take also from Sr James his Annalls. A Letter from his Majesty to the Council, Dated Wainstard, July 12, this year, was read, commanding that the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland, have

Chancellour refuses subjection.

the place of precedency before the Chancelour of Scotland, and so consequently before all others. To which, notwithstanding, the Lord Chancellour Hay, a gallant stout man, would never condescend, nor ever would he give the place all the dayes of his life. "I remember (adds Sir James, Lyon King at Armes) that King Charles sent me to the Chancelour, being then Earle of Kinnoul, the day of his Coronation, in the morning, anno 1633, to shew him that it was his will and pleasure, but only for that day, that he should cede and give place to the Archbishop; but he returned by me a very brisk answer to the King, which was, that seeing his Majesty had been pleased to continue him in that Office of Chancellour, q^ch^ by his means his worthy father, of happy memory, had bestowed upon him, he was ready, in all humility, to lay it down at his Majesty's feet; but since it was his Royall will he should enjoy it, with the known priviledges of it, never a stoned Priest in Scotland should set his foot before him. When I related this answer to the King, he said, Well, Lyon, let us go to bussines; I will not meddle further with that old cankered goutish man; there is nothing to be gained but sour words.

Articles on Church matters sent by the B. of Ross, July 12, 1626.

At the same time, there came by B. Lindsay of Ross Articles relative to Church matters, Subscribed with the King's own hand, Wanstaid, July 12, 1626. I insert them here, as what, no doubt, were framed principally by the Archbishop and his concurrence. They run thus:—

1. You shall declare to your Bretheren, the Bishops, that we are pleased that they suffer such of the Ministry as being admitted thereunto before the 5 Canons were made at Saint Johnstoun, and having before that time taught and instructed their Parishoners otherwise, do now make scruple to practise any of the Canons, especially that of Geniculation; and that oft their charity to their Bretheren, and love to the peace of the Church, they spare them a little till they be better instructed, providing they utter no Doctrine publickly against our Authority, the Church Government, nor the Canons thereof.

2ly. That they shall disswade others, neither publickly nor privately, from the obedience thereof; nor shall maintain reasoning against the same, nor shall refuse Communion to any that crave it Kneeling. That they shall not receive any persons of their neighbour's Congregation to the Communion, without the Testimonial of their Minister. And that for eschewing of all schisms and confusions, providing any of the saids elder Ministers have practised any of the said Canons at any time before, that they be not ex-

empted from practising them thereafter; and that they shall not write any reasons against the saids Canons and Church Government.

3ly. That the Bretheren that are Bannished have liberty to return and be placed again at Churches; and that the Brethren Confyned and Suspended for their Disconformity be enlarged, and placed again in the Ministry, provided that they give security for observing the former conditions, and we be made acquainted therewith, and Warrands be procured from us severally in their favour, upon the Petition of the A.Bishop of the Province, the Bishop of the Diocess, and his own.

4ly. That you desire your Brethren to make all the Ministers that are admitted within the severall Diocesses, since the 5 Canons were made, to obey and practise the same; otherwise to Censure them accordingly, to the tenour of their Bands, Subscribed by them at the time of their admission. And in case any have been admitted since that time, without Subscribing a Bond of Conformity, let us be advertised in whose Diocess that Minister dwells, that we may cause the Bishop thereof to be punished, for admitting any without a Band of Conformity; and that the said Minister be urged to Subscribe the Band, which at his entry he should have Subscribed.

5ly. That a common Band of Conformity be formed, that all the Archbishops and Bishops shall cause to be Subscribed by each Minister within their Diocess at their admission; which we declare we will have every Archbishop and Bishop cause be done, under pain of loseing their places and Benefices.

6ly. That all Bishops make residence at their Cathedrall Church with all diligence, except such as shall be imployed about our service and publick imployment; and the Bishops not residents, their names to be delated to us by the Archbishop of the Province, to the effect we may signifie our pleasure concerning the same.

7ly. That you deal with the Archbishop, and others whom it may concern, that the Earle of Niddisdale be not troubled for his Religion, unless he give some publick offence, till we be first acquainted with it.

8ly. That all Archbishops and Bishops use ordinary Visitations, and in the time thereof, that they plant Schools in every Parishone, and cause weekly Catechize the people by every Minister, for removing ignorance, barbarity, and atheisme; and also that they take order for entertaining the Poor in the Parish.

9ly. You shall desire Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton to deliver his Book, to be perused by the Archbishop of Saint Andrews; and when you have reformed such things as you think fitting, that you cause put the same to the Press and Publish it.

I take this to be his Vision of Balaam's Ass, representing the state of the Church of Rome, Printed 4to, Lond., 1616, and now probably designed to be republished. If it be any other, I have not met with it in Print.

10ly. Ye shall certify the said Mr. Peter, that we have taken notice of the good service done by him to our late dear father, and of his ability and sufficiency to serve us; and when fitting occasion shall offer, we shall not be forgetfull, but have a care of his preferment.

Sic subscribitur, CHARLES REX.

Remarks on them.

At the same time, the King wrote a Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops, shewing them that he would have the Articles sent down by the Bishop of Ross punctually observed. There is very little favour showen to the scruplers of Conformity. A few of the old Ministers are overlooked, and that on conditions hard enough to persons of their principles. And the strictest severity is to be used upon all entered since the [year] 1618, and new intrants. Yet even unfavourable as they are, it seems the generality of the Bishops were displeased with them. The very semblance and appearance of any lenity, they reckoned would be hurtfull to their state. Whether the Archbishop of Saint Andrews was consulted with in forming of them (and indeed little was now done in the Church or State without him), I know not, or whether they were the draught of Sir William Alexander, now Secretary, and the Bishop of Brechin.

Letter to the Council agst Papists, Feb. 8, 1627.

That they were displeasing to the Bishops, I gather from two passages which follow in Sir James his Annalls. In February, the King writes down a Letter to the Council, to execute the Lawes against Papists, upon informations of their encrease. Those, no doubt, he had from the Bishops, who, under collour of bearing down of Papists, generally bore hard on Nonconformists. Sir James sayes, "On the 8th of Febr^{ry}, 1627, the King wrote to the Council that he was credibly informed of the misbehaviour of Papists, and publick scandal they gave, commanding them to cause the High Commission take precise orders with all Romanists, especially with Seminary Priests and Jesuits, who give publick scandall; and that the Council assist the said Commission herein. But withall desires them to spare such of the Romish Religion as live conform to the Lawes, not giving offence publickly, but carry themselves civilly, and are obedient to our Lawes. Our intention, adds the Letter, being rather to save their Souls than ruin their Estates."

King's Letter, May 2, 1627, chyding the Bishops.

It seems the favour shewen in the Articles to the elder Ministers, and this favourable way of writing upon their Informations of the growth of Popery, drew a Letter of complaint from the Bishops to the King, in March. In answer to which, as Sir James tells in his Annalls, "The King wrote a Letter upon the

3d of May, 1627, to the Council, chiding the Archbishops and Bishops, as men void of charity beyond measure, and without a cause; in respect they had written a Letter to him lately, shewing that what was intended by his Majesty to be a help to the Church, was likely to prove the utter undoing of it."

Upon the 13 of July, the B. of Saint Andrews writes to the Earle of Annandale at Court, as followes, and annexes to it the state of Conformity and Nonconformity through this Church. This is the last of the Primate's Letters in the 3 Vols. of Collections of Ecclesiasticall Papers I have used so much. It's pity but the Collection had been carryed down, but I must give things as I meet with them.

Bishop of Saint Andrews' Letter to the E. of Annandale, July 13, 1627.

Since your Lôp's writting from Portsmouth, I have answered nothing, because my Lord of Stormont was then at home, and I could not see him till I came on this side of the Forth. His Lôp hath now been with me, and I find him resolved to alter nothing in that which he appointed for you, which most certainly he will keep. The present difference is betwixt him and Sir Mungo Murray, for the provision he hath made to the House of Balvaird, and for the standing of it, which in the generall, any reasonable man will allow him; for being a brother of that House, and none left of the right line to succeed, he had reason to establish it again in the nearest, and in such a person as he esteemed would best preserve it. But for the particulars, as I will not take upon me to judge who is in the wrong, he or Sir Mungo, who complains that my Lord hath altered with him, no cause being given on his part, and given away some things not so proper for Balwaird; so I should advise Sir Mungo not to contend with him, by whose goodwill he might have whatsoever he hath, and to keep his favour rather than lose it, and hazard all. For your Lôp knowes my Lord's nature better than I doe, and as he useth to speak commonly, "He will not be straiked against ye hair." He promised to be ruled in those things by my Lord of Melross and me, for which we had appointed the 18 day of this moneth; but I think that Dyet will not keep; and he hath determined with himself aforehand what he will do to Sir Mungo, and setting it down in writing, sent one Coppy to my Lord of Melross, and given me another, the double whereof I have inclosed, that you may see what he minds to doe. I think S^{r} Mungo should content with it, and hath reason so to doe, and doubtless would be so, but that the Revocation makes many of those things questionable. I told his Lôp so, and he answered, that so were many things he had appointed to Balvaird, and that he should make things no better than his were; but as himself expected his Majesty's favour, so he thought S^{r} Mungo might do the like. Alwise, for what concerns your self, he will not change, and sayes he hath not and will not do any thing in your Lôp's prejudice, and that he shall be found in that no time-server, but a true and faithfull friend.

There will be with you at Court now diverse of our Lords, for matters of the Commission. Much bussines hath been, but nothing effected, I will not in whose default; but generally, I say that things will not be done that

his Majesty intends, for the good of the Church and Countrey, by this course. Our Convention, as your Lôp, stood much for entertaining 2000^{d} men at sea, which his Majesty then desired; and I think the Country, in Extraordinary Journeyes to Court and Meetings at home, have spent what might have entertained ten thousand since that time.

The Bishop's thoughts on the Revocation.

It were folly for me to interpose my advice unasked. But hardly can a man speak to the contentment of all. But I dare be bold with your Lôp in any thing, knowing that you will not communicat my opinion but to his Majesty himself, which is, to get the Revocation Ratifyed in Parliament, which will be more easily now done than before could have been, in regard of the diversitys amongst our selves, and that men saw weel enough how truely the Revocation was condemned, and said to call in question all men's rights since King Fergus. When this is done, his Majesty, as all men, would never be alike used, nor do they deserve alike; and men will then know to whom they are oblidged. But to limit the King and his Successors, and sett bounds, as they speak, to their Revocations in time coming, I do not know how it stands with the Royall authority of a King. And to make Tythes Heretable, and reduce them to the half, as they would have them, is to invert all that former ages have been doing, and will make the provision of Churches and Schools impossible to be bettered. Besides, a number of other things projected, that can never be brôt to an end. This shall prove the righter way for his Majesty's profit, the bettering the Estate of the Church, and the ease and relief the Gentry would have from oppressors, and all other things that his Majesty propounds. For the right once established in his Majesty's person, a few Commissioners, well chosen, may order all those things to his Majesty's content and benefit. But this I remitt to be spoken or concealed, as your Lôp shall think fitting. For God is Witness, I have no ends but to serve his Majesty, and wish his pleasure done, because I know it is good and just. I will pray your Lôp to have some care of my brother's bussines, and to cause (he is now Bishop in Ireland) him to be sent for to England, and his party, where things only can be composed; for I perceive things grow daily worse among them, and he is in the mean time caused to spend that whilk to the poor widow and bairns might do some good. So for the present I rest

Your Lôp's assured friend to serve you,

Dairsy, July 13, 1627. Saint Andrews.

The Estate of ye Church of Scotland as to Conformity, 1627.

To this Letter is annexed the state of Conformity in Scotland at this time, which I imagine he sends up to the same person at this time. I doubt not but this curious Paper will be acceptable to the Reader, and so I subjoyn it. The Title runs—

The Estait of the Church of Scotland as to Conformity.

It is most certain, that 3 of the Articles received and confirmed by Parliament were never put in practice, to wit, Communion to the Sick, Private Baptisme, nor Confirmation.

As to Geniculation and the Holy Dayes, however they were once practised, the very Pastors, in many parts of the Kingdom, have resiled and turned back again.

Especially, within the Diocess of Saint Andrews, besouth the River Forth, the Ministers within the Presbitrys of Striviling, Edinburgh (the Ministers of the Toun of Edinburgh and Leith only excepted), Dalkeith (the Moderator only excepted), Mussilburgh, Haddingtoun, and Dumbar, does not Conform; and the most part are opposit to ye Law.

Benorth Forth, all the Ministers of Fife, a very few excepted, with the University of Saint Andrews, are all disobeyers.

Within the Diocess of Saint Andrews, the Ministers of the Presbitry of Dalkeith, Musselburgh, and diverse others, which practised the first years, have left off to conform these 3 years bygone.

Sicklike, by perswasion of Mr. Robert Bruce, the Ministers within the Diocesses of Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, who gave obedience before, have plainly refused, and will no more Conform.

Within the bounds of Sutherland, Papisme, and within ye bounds of Caithnes, overfloweth, because their Ordinary was not within his Diocess since his Preferment, but once, four years since, and that for the space of 5 dayes allennarly; and the very Pastors are lewd livers.

Within the Diocess of Glasgow, all the Ministers, Masters of Schools, Readers at Churches; within the Presbitrys of Dumbartan, Paislay (three excepted), Irwine, Air, Dumfreice, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melross, and Lanerk, refuses obedience; and many of them Preaches that Geniculation is not lawfull, yea, some of them openly that it is Idolatrous.

And, which is more, Mr. Robert Scot, Minister of the High Kirk of Glasgow; Mr. Zachary Boyd, lately admitted Minister at the Barronry Kirk of Glasgow, the Readers and Masters of the Schools, are all avowedly refusers to obey and Conform.

The Dean of Glasgow, who before was Conform, is now become so careless, that his Parishoners of the Kirk of Hamiltoun, who before Geniculated, now receive the Sacrament sitting.

Moreover, whereas Mr. William Livingstoun, Minister at Lanerk, and Mr. John Fergusone, Minister at Uchiltree, for their non-obedience, wer Confyned and silenced in the year 1620; nevertheless, without any authority, either from your Majesty or the High Commission, they are enlarged, by the Ordinary his tacite overseeing of them, and tolleration, thir 3 years, and Preach at their own Kirks with as great liberty as before.

And finally, the Ministers underwritten, admitted to the Ministry, within the Diocess of Glasgow, since the Act of the G. Assembly and the Act of Parliament made anent Conformity and the 5 Articles, are all disobedient, and openly averse to the said Acts, and practice thereof. To wit—

Mr. Robert Blaickwood, Minister at Kirktoun; Mr. Thomas Hog, Minister at Tarragles; Mr. . . . Buchanan, Minister at Kirkpatrick, *juxta;* Mr. Robert Ker, Minister at Lintoun; Mr. Thomas Sinclair, Minister at Abbot Rule; Mr. John Dunkieson, Minister at . . .; Mr. Robert Martine, Minister at . . .; Mr. David Burne, Minister at Girvan; Mr. Robert Burne, Minister at Kirkmichael; Mr. Robert Spreul, Minister at Dalrymple; Mr. John Knox, Minister at . . .; Mr. Gavin Stewart, Minister at Dalmellingtoun; Mr. Gilbert Ross, Minister at Calmonell; Mr. John Hamiltoun, Minister at Craigie; Mr. Thomas Hog, Minister at Stobo; Mr. Alexander Dunlop, Minister at Ardrossan; Mr. William Russell, Minister at Kilbride; the said Mr. Zacharias Boyd, Minister of the Laigh Kirk of Glasgow; Mr. William Wallace, Schoolmaster, and James Sanders, Reader, of the Kirk at Glasgow;

Mr. John Galbraith, Minister at Balfrone; Mr. Robert Sempill, Minister at the Kirk of Bonill; Mr. John Hay, younger, Minister at . . .; and diverse others within the Diocy of Glasgow.

The very like is usuall in other Diocesses, which is to be Tryed, according as his Majesty shall please to appoint.

It were very profitable to the Church, if your Majesty would appoint some man who may secretly try all Dilapidations, and also the committers of Simony, within this Kingdom.

Observe on this.

This Account is evidently addressed to the King, and no doubt he required it from the A.Bishop. By some things here, it would seem to be drawn up 3 years after the [year] 1620, and the urging of Perth Articles. I find it subjoyned to this Letter in the [year] 1627. It's of no great importance which of the 2 years we place it; for after the [year] 1623, I believe I may assert it, Conformity was daily loseing ground, and the Nonconformists growing sensibly.

A Meeting of Bishops and Ministers att Edinburgh, July 17, 1627.

While the Bishop is taken up at Saint Andrews in informing the Court of the state of matters, there is a Meeting of Bishops and Ministers at Edinburgh, July 17, this year. It was called by the Primate, or, at least, with his allowance; but neither he nor the A.Bishop of Glasgow found it proper to be present. We shall see the Primate made his excuse want of health; but it was alledged, that neither of the A.Bishops inclined to be present, not knowing how the King would take this Meeting, nor what would be the conclusions they would come to. I have the Copy of their Minutes, as I take it, under Mr. Charles Lumsden's hand, who might be Clerk to y^{t} Meeting; and because Meetings of this kind with the Bishops were very rare, I'le insert their Procedure here. Thô the Primat was not present, yet he wrote his excuse, and gives them his sentiments as to their Procedure. I might have brought this in upon their Moderator, Bishop Lindsay, or Mr. Robert Scot of Glasgow, their Lives; but being a matter of generall concern, and the A.Bishop making his own use of it, it will stand well enough here. The Extract of their Procedure stands thus:—

Members of the Meeting.

July 17, 1627, the whilk day Conveened, in the New or East Kirk of Edinburgh, the Right Reverend Patrick, Bishop of Ross, Moderator for the present; Andrew, Bishop of Galloway; John, Bishop of Caithnes; and Andrew, Bishop of Argyle; together with sundry Brethren having Commis-

sion from diverse parts and Presbitrys of the Countrey, whose names follow. From the Presbitry of Churnside—Mr. Alexr. Kinneir, Mr. G. Rule. From Ersiltoun—Mr. Henry Blyth. For Dunce—Mr. Alexr. Cass. For Dumbarr—Mr. Patrick Hamiltoun, Mr. John Dalziell, Mr. William Dowglass. For Haddingtoun—Mr. James Carmichael, Mr. Robert Balcanquell. For Dalkeith—Mr. Patrick Turner, Mr. James Robertson. For Edinburgh—the whole Ministry there, together with Mr. William Arthur, Mr. John Cranstoun, Mr. James Hanna. For Linlithgow—Mr. John Tennant, Mr. Thomas Spittell. From Stirling—Mr. Joseph Laurie, Mr. James Edmondstoun. From Dumfermline—Mr. Robert Rough, Mr. Robert Colvill. For Kirkcaldy—Mr. John Mitchelson, Mr. William Nairn. For Coupar— . . . For Saint Andrews—Mr. William Erskine, Mr. Alexr. Henderson. For Perth—Mr. Robert Murray, Mr. John Straughan. For Muthil—Mr. John Freebairn. For Dumblain—Mr. John Drysdale. For Dundee—Mr. James Jardin. For Meigle—Mr. William Malcomb, Mr. Thomas Lundy. For Aberbrothock—Mr. Alexr. Inglish, Mr. James Guthrie. For Forfar—Doctor Thomas Eliot. For Brechin—Mr. Richard Melvill, Mr. Robert Norry. For the Mernis—Mr. James Sibbald, Mr. Andrew Colles. For Caithnes—Mr. Richard Merchinstoun, Mr. William Abernethy. For Ross—Mr. John M'Keinzie. For Argyle—Mr. Neil Campbell, Mr. Hugh Cameron. For Glasgow—Mr. Robert Scot. For Hamiltoun—Mr. James Hamiltoun, Mr. David Sharp. For Lanerk—Mr. John Cheisley, Mr. Robert Bellanden. For Paislay—Mr. John Maxwell, Mr. Daniel Cunningham. For Irwin—Mr. Michael Wallace. For Dumbartane—Mr. William Blair, Mr. Walter Stewart. For Air—Mr. James Bonnar, Mr. James Cunninghame. For Wigtoun—Mr. James Adamson, Mr. Andrew Anderson, and Mr. Thomas Lamb. For Kirkcudbright—Mr. Gavin Maxwell, Mr. Robert Murray. For Dumfreice—Mr. Francis M'Gill, Mr. John Dowglas. For Lochmaben—Mr. William Hamiltoun, Mr. Walter Whiteford. From Penpont—Mr. George Kneeland. For Middleby—Mr. John Alexander. For Kelso—Mr. James Knox. For Jedburgh—Mr. William Bennet, Mr. William Clark. For Melross—Mr. Patrick Shaw, Mr. Thomas Forrester, Mr. Robert Martine. For Peeblis—Mr. Thomas Hog, Mr. Theodore Hay. For Dunkeld—Mr. Alexr. Ireland. The Diocy of Aberdeen—the Bishop there is to answer for all the Presbitrys in his bounds; and sicklike the Bishop of Murray for all the Presbitrys within his bounds, according to his Letter. For the Isles—Mr. Patrick Stewart. And lastly, the Bishop of Argyle promised to answer for all the Bretheren in his bounds.

B. of St. Andrews' excuse and Letter to ye Meeting.

The whilk day, the said Patrick, Bishop of Ross, declared to the Commissioners Conveened, that my Lord Bishop of Saint Andrews, being of intention to keep this Meeting, and being impeded therefra by infirmity of body, did write to him to make excuse to the Bretheren, and to supply his place; and to acquaint the Brethren with his mind anent the bussines to be entreated at the said Meeting; whilk he did by causing an Letter to be read, directed from the said Archbishop for that effect, wherein the said Archbishop advised the Brethren to condescend on a Publick Humiliation and Fast, for such causes as they should most expedient; and likewise desired them to condescend upon an Contribution for entertainment of an Resident Commissioner at Court, to attend his Majesty for the affairs of the Church, for such space as the necessity thereof should appear.

The Meeting declared not a G. Assembly.

Before any particular treating was of the two former points, it was demanded by severall Bretheren whether this Meeting was a Generall

Assembly or not? Whereunto it was answered by the said Moderator, with consent of all the Bretheren, that it was not a Generall, but only an Occasionall Meeting, for condescending on the two particulars propounded.

Petitions and Grievances delayed, and a G. Assembly craved of the King.

Sicklike, sundry Grievances being propounded, and Petitions desired to be made to his Majesty, concerning the Brethren out of the Countrey, and partly concerning sundry Brethren within the Countrey, either Confyned or Deposed; and other Petitions being propounded, for reforming of sundry particulars: it was answered by the Moderator, with consent of the Brethren, that seing this Meeting was only for the said two particulars, this Convention could not meddle with any of the foresaid Grievances and Petitions; but the samine were only pertinent to an G. Assembly, therein to be treated; and therefore, all that had such Grievances to make were desired to continow the samine, till they should have occasion of a G. Assembly. And in the mean time, such as had any lawfull Petition to make to his Majesty, that they would send the same, Subscribed with their hands, to the Commissioners to be Nominat by this Meeting to Court. Moreover, it was thought fitting by the Brethren Conveened, that the said Commissioners should humbly entreat his Majesty to give Licence for Convocating of a Generall Assembly, at such commodious time as his Majesty should be pleased to think convenient.

A Fast appointed, Aug. 8 and 12, 1627.

July 18, 1627, the whilk day, after reasoning, it was agreed upon by all the Bretheren in ane voice, that there should be an Publick Humiliation, with Fasting, upon the 2d Wednesday of August, and the Sabbath following, being the 8th and 12 dayes of that moneth; and Intimations to be made thereof the Sabbath Day preceeding, being the 5th day; and the Bretheren of the Ministry of Edinburgh, together with D. Theodore Hay, D^{tr} John Mitchelson, Mr. Robert Scot, Mr. Patrick Shaw, Mr. Henry Blyth, and Mr. William Erskine, should Conveen, and condescend on the particular causes of the said Fast.

Supplication for Mr. John Livingstoun to be Minister at Torphichin.

The whilk day, my Lord of Linlithgow appearing, with some Commissioners for the Parochin of Torphichin, gave in a Supplication, desiring Mr. John Livingstoun to be established their Minister, and Mr. George Hannay to be refused. With the which Supplication, the Brethren declared they would not meddle, but remitted the same whole bussines to the B. of Saint Andrews, who has only interest therein; and desired the said Bishop of Ross, Moderator, to send the said Supplication, together with his Letter to the said Archbishop, declaring that this Convention has referred that matter to his Lôp's discretion.

Causes of the Fast.

July 19, 1627, the whilk day the Brethren appointed for condescending on the causes of the said Humiliation reported ye same; whilk being read in the presence of the Assembly, were allowed and approven; the tennour whereof follows:—"In every Parish of this Kingdome, the Pastors shall exhort their people to humble themselves before the Lord, in true Repentance, with Tears and Fasting, for those speciall causes. 1. Because of the great increase of Papistry, and of all sorts of sin, in all degrees of persons, within this Land, both against Law and Gospell; which increase being in the time of so clear a light, can not but provock God's heavy wrath against us, q^{ch} cannot be averted without true and sincere Repentance. 2. For the distress and cruel persecution of the Kirks Reformed in Bohemia, and the adjoining Provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, and the Palatinat; to entreat God that He would be appeased to His people, and pity them who

are by the enemies' designes destinat to Death, and whose blood is shed as water in the streets; that He would cut the cords of the wicked, and turn the rage of His enemies to His praise. 3ly. Because our King's Majesty is embarked in a most necessary and lawfull War, and has Armys both by sea and land for the maintainance of ye true Religion, and his Royall Allyance: to pray the Lord of Hosts that He would lead these, and all other Armyes for the defence of the truth, and pour shame upon His enemies, and smite them through the thigh, that they be not able to stand against him. 4ly. Because of the extraordinary Rains, which now threaten the rotting the fruits of the ground before they be ripe, and so bring a fearfull Famine upon this Land, in so dangerous a time, when the seas are closed by the enemies, and no hope of help from other Countreys, if God shall send a Famine; to entreat the Lord that He may cause the Heaven to answer the Earth, and the Earth to answer the Corn, and the Corn to answer our Necessity, and us to answer His will, in faith, repentance, and obedience."

The Bishop of Ross and Mr. Robert Scot sent to Court.

Sicklike, it was agreed this day, it was agreed upon, that Commissioners shall be Nominat and chosen to go to Court, for attending his Majesty, and dealing with him for the affairs and well of our Church; and for that effect were put in Lite the Bishops of Ross, Aberdeen, Dumblain, and Caithnes, of whilk number, Patrick, Bishop of Ross, was Nominat and chosen, by uniform consent and suffrages of the whole Brethren. And sicklike it was thought meet, that some of the Bretheren of ye Ministry should accompany the said Bishop of Ross; therefore Mr. Robert Scot, Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Robert Murray, Mr. James Bonnar, were put in the Lite, and the said Mr. Robert Scott was Nominat and chosen, by plurality of Votes, to accompany the said Patrick, Bishop of Ross.

20 Shilling per Chalder, or 100d Merk to be payed by every Minister for their charges.

The whilk day, the question being demanded, whether every Brother in the Ministry shall contribute 20 Shilling Scotts for every Chalder of Victuall, and for every hundred Merks of their yearly Rents and Stipends, and that for satisfying the charges of the six Commissioners who have been already sent to Court, and for their charges also who are chosen to be sent presently, or shall be hereafter sent, during their residence and attending his Majesty in the affairs of the Church: the Brethren Conveened has condescended and agreed, all in ane voice, that all the Ministers within the Kingdome shall pay 20 Shilling for every hundred Merks, or Chalder of Victuall, whilk they have yearly in Rent for their Stipend, and that for satisfying the charges of Commissioners who have been already sent to Court, and for furnishing their charges who are presently sent to go and attend at Court, during the time of their residence thereat for Church affairs. And the first year's Collection to be payed at Michaelmas next to come, and to be sent by the Moderator of every Presbitry to the Presbitry of Edinburgh, at the said time, who shall make an Act upon the receipt thereof, and it shall be placed in the hands of some responsible man, to be answerable therefor. And at the same time, the Moderators of Lothian, Fife, Angus, Tweddale, Clydsdale, Irwine, and Air, are ordained to Conveen at Edinburgh, to be Auditors of the Accompts of the six Commissioners who went up to Court on thir 3 last Voyages; and after tryall of the saids Accompts, the saids Auditors, or at least so many of them as shall be present with the Presbitry of Edinburgh, are ordained to make advertisement to all the Presbitrys of the Kingdom of the true estate of the said Accompts and Deburscments; and if any Surplus be, the samine shall be keeped, to be made forthcoming, and to be imployed by the direction

of the Church. And after advertisement made to the saids Presbitrys by the saids Auditors, they shall, with all diligence, make an Second Contribution, and send the same to the Presbitry of Edinburgh, in manner forsaid, before the Term of Martinmass next, for furnishing the Commissioners presently chosen, Patrick, Bishop of Ross, and Mr. Robert Scot, Minister at Glasgow.

Further Account of this Meeting from Row's History and Mr. Scot of Cowpar.

I shall add Mr. Row's Account of this Meeting: "In July, 1627, there was a Meeting of Bishops and Ministers, that were written for, holden at Edinburgh. Thir were all the Assemblys, in thir corrupt times, and days of apostacy and defection from the Covenant, now buried, and precious cause of God now deserted, to conferr anent the affairs of ye Kirk. Some feared it should stand for a G. Assembly, but the Bishop of Saint Andrews came not to it, but wrote his excuse, and desired the Bishop of Ross to Moderat in his stead." His Account of what they did fall in with, is what is above, and so I need not Transcribe it. Mr. William Scot of Cowpar, in his Apologeticall Narration, adds that "Ministers were sent up with the Bishops to Court, that they might shew the harmony betwixt the Ministers and Bishops; and those Occasional Meetings were all the Bishops would allow for G. Assemblies. That the two Archbishops declined to be present at this Meeting, that in case matters did not go as they inclined, they might disprove of ye Meeting, as they did, and were displeased with the Bishop of Ross for what was done. Mr. Henderson was designed by the sincerer sort of the Ministry, but Mr. Scot carryed in the Vote, and yet was not permitted to go up with the Bishop; and he managed the affairs of the Kirk as he and the Bishops pleased. And yet the Contribution was pressingly exacted by the Bishop of Saint Andrews, and earnest Letters writt to every Minister to pay it up, thô the person they had chosen was not permitted to go."

Debates about the Communion at Edinr., with the King's Letter to the Primat, Apr., 1628.

In the beginning of the next year, 1628, as in part has been observed on Mr. Struthers his Life, there was an amicable Meeting among the Ministers of Edinburgh, wherein they agreed that the Communion should be given without Kneeling; but the Bishop of Saint Andrews discountenanced the design, and the King wrote down an angry Letter to him, to Censure the Petitioners. I give it as Mr. Row has it in his MS. History:—

In the beginning of the year 1628, all men desiring to have their own Teinds, came in willingly, and so the Revocation went fast forward. When the Pasch came this year, in Aprile, the Communion was not given at all, by reason that there was a Meeting agreed upon, wherein the whole Ministers, and two out of every Session that were already Conform, had agreed to meet with 12 or 16 of such as were not Conform, to advise what way the distraction that was among them might be removed. The Ministers that were last come to Edinburgh, Mr. Alexander Thomson and Mr. David Mitchell, were earnest that the Communion in Edinburgh should be given in the good old manner, without Kneeling. So great reasoning being on all hands, they all seem to be content that the Communion be so given; but yet they think two things needfull to be done, one, that some be sent to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, to see what is his judgement, seing the half of the Town of Edinburgh came not to the Communion last year; yet he would not consent to their conclusion. The other was, a Letter to be sent to the King, by all the Ministers, beseeching his Majesty to give them leave to Celebrat the Communion without Kneeling; which, added the Ministers, we must do; but if the King consent not, we shall give you all satisfaction; for neither shall we urge any to Kneel, neither shall we Kneel ourselves. When the Letter came to the King's hands, he was greatly displeased. He would not daigne the Ministers of Edinburgh an answer, but wrote a Letter to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, to this effect: "Having received a Letter from the Ministers of Edinburgh, wherein they, desirous to give way for exempting their Parishoners from Kneeling in taking the Sacrament, contrary to an Act of Parliament; in which case we cannot but be exceedingly offended, that they presumed to move us agst that course that was so warrantably done, and that without your knowledge, who are entrusted with a charge over them: therefore our speciall pleasure is, that ye Conveen those persons before you, and having tryed the truth of this bussiness, and chief authors thereof, that you inflict such condigne punishment as may, by this example, make others forbear to do the like hereafter, and continue to our best endeavours to settle that order whilk was formerly established, whereby ye shall do us most acceptable service.—Whitehall, 21 Aprile, 1628.

Orders sent doun, Oct., 1628, to the A. Bishop, to cause the 5th of November to be keeped.

The Writer of the Collections from 1589-1641 notices, that in October this year, the King sent directions to the Primate to cause Ministers keep the 5th of November, by Sermons and public demonstrations of joy, as it was keeped in his father's time. The Bishop communicat those orders to the Synod which met at Edinburgh, Oct. 27; and they agreed to Celebrat that day, in all time coming, with Preaching and Publick Thanksgiving to God; and the Lords of Council Published their Act for this purpose, October last. He adds, that these orders seemed to be levelled against Papists, who generally refused to Celebrat that day; yet fears were entertained of some Novations and Impositions upon Protestants, which generally accompanyed any threatenings against Papists. And this was the rather feared, that at the

same time, orders came down to the Council to dispense with the execution of the Lawes, and stop the Excommunication of the Popish Noblemen and Ladyes who stood out, viz., the Earles of Angus, Niddisdale, and Abercorn, the Countess of Niddisdale, Abercorn, the Lady Herrios, and others.

State of matters in Scotland from 1628 to 1637, with ye character and situation of the Bishops, from Burnet's Memoirs.

It's only broken hints I can now give. Things went on pretty smooth. The Bishop managed all Church matters in Scotland. Only some of the Arminianizing Doctors and younger Bishops, who were under the immediat conduct of Bishop Laud, who had the great management of the King and all Church affairs, seemed to be setting up for stretches of perfect Conformity with the Church of England; to which the Primat and some of the elder Scots Bishops were not so very forward at first, thô at length they were forced to come in. Matters were now managed very much at London by Mr. John Maxwell, afterward Bishop of Ross, and he went up frequently to Court; and the matter of bringing in the whole of the English usages was gradually carried on, till the [year] 1637, when things took a new turn. I cannot sett the present state of things in Scotland, the circumstances of the Bishops, their character, and situation with the Court Nobility, Ministers, and people, for ten years, in a fairer light than Bishop Burnet has done it in his Memoires; and the passage deserves a room here, as an introduction to what I am to give on ye after part of the Primate's Life.

King James was succeeded in his Throne by his only son, Charles the 1st, who was zealously conscientious for Episcopacy; so what was begun by his father out of policy, was prosecuted by him out of conscience. The Bishops, therefore, were cherished by him with all imaginable expressions of kindnes and confidence. But they lost all their esteem with the people, on many accounts. The people of Scotland had drunk in a deep prejudice at any thing that savoured of Popery. This the Bishops judged was too high, and therefore took all means possible to lessen it, both in their Sermons and Discourses, mollifying their opinions and commending their persons, not without some reflexions on the Reformers. But this was so far from gaining their designe, that it abated nothing of the zeal against Popery, but very much hightned the rage agst themselves, as favouring it too much.

Prejudices conceived agst ye Scots Bishops, as favouring Popery,

And Arminianisme,

There were also subtile questions started some years before in Holland, about Predestination and Grace; and as Arminius' opinion was condemned in a Synod at Dort, so it was generally ill reported of in all Reformed Churches, and no where worse than in Scotland. But most of the Bishops and their adherents undertook openly and zealously the defence of those Tenets.

Likewise, the Scots Ministers and people had still a great respect for the Lord's Day, and generally, the morality of it is reckoned an Article of Faith amongst them. But the Bishops not only undertook to beat down this opinion, but by their practices expressed their neglect of that day. [Let me add to what B. Burnet observes, that the Primat was very much noted for profaning the Sabbath.] And after all this, they declared themselves avowed zelotes for the Lyturgy and Ceremonies of the Church of England, which were held by the zelots of Scotland all one with Popery. Upon those accounts it was that they lost all their esteem with the people. And Breach of Sabbath.

Neither stood they in better termes with the Nobility, who at that time were as considerable as ever Scotland saw them. They were offended at them, because they seemed to have more interest with the King than they themselves had; so that favours were mainly distributed at their recommendation. They were also upon all affairs. Nyne of them were Privy Counselours; diverse of them were upon the Exchequer. Spotswood, B. of Saint Andrews, was Chancelour, and Maxwell, B. of Ross, was fair for the Thesaury, and engaged in a high rivalry with the Earle of Traquair, then Thesaurer, which tended not a little to help forward their ruin. The Nobility began to be jealous of the Bishops.

And besides this, they began highly to pretend to the Tythes and Impropriations, and had got one Learmonth, a Minister, presented Abbot of Lindors, and seemed confident to get that State of Abbots, with all the power and revenue belonging to it, restored again to the hands of Churchmen; designeing also, that according to the first institution of the Colledge of Justice, the half of them should be Churchmen. This could not but touch many of the Nobility in the quick, who were too large sharers in the Patrimony of the Church not to be very sensible of it. Bishops claim the Tithes and Impropriations, and seek the State of Abbots restored.

They were no less hatefull to the Ministry, because of their pride, q^{ch} was cryed out upon as insupportable. Great complaints were also generally made of Simonical pactions with their servants, which was imputed to the masters, as if it had been for their advantage, at least by their allowance. They also exacted a new Oath of Intrants, beside what was in the Act of Parliament, for obedience to their Ordinary, in which they were oblidged to obey the Articles of Perth, and submitt to the Liturgy and Canons. They were also making daily inroads upon their Jurisdiction, of which the Ministers were very sensible. And universally, their great rigour against any that savoured of Puritanisme, together with their meddling in all secular affairs, and relinquishing their Diocesses to wait on the Court and Council, made them the object of all men's fury. The Ministers dislike them for Pride, Simony, New Oaths, &c.

But what hightned all to a crisis, was their advising the King to introduce some Innovations in the Church, by his own authority. Things had prospered so ill in G. Assemblys, that they thought of those no more. And in the Parliament, 1633, that small addition to the prerogative, that the King might appoint what Habites he pleased to the Clergy, mett with vigorous opposition, notwithstanding the King seemed much concerned for it; those who opposed it being sharply taken up, and much neglected by his Majesty, which stuck deep in their hearts, the Bishops bearing all the blame of it. Innovations brought in without consent of ye Church.

At this time, a Liturgy was drawn up for Scotland, or rather the English Ko., Printed with that Title, save that it had some alterations, q^{ch} rendered it more invidious and less satisfactory; and after long consulting about it and another Book of Canons, they were at length agreed to, that Lyturgy and Book of Canons.

the one should be the Form of the Scottish Worship, and the other the Moddell of their Government, which did totally varry from their former practices and constitutions.

Particular High Commissions in every Diocy, particularly Galloway

And as if all things had conspired to carry on their ruin, the Bishops, not satisfyed with the High Commission Court, produced particular Warrands from the King for setting up such High Commissions in their severall Diocesses; in which, with other Assessors, Ministers, and Gentlemen, all of their own chusing, they might punish offenders. That was put in practice only by the Bishop of Galloway, who, thô he was a pious and learned man, yet was fiery and passionate, and went so roundly to work, that it was cryed out upon as a yoak and bondage the Nation was not able to bear.

The same methods carrying on in England. Instances from Rushworth's Collections of the influence Arminian Tenets had in paving the way to Popery.

Bishop Burnet was under no byass to state things thus. It was the evidence of fact, and vouchers before him, which made him assert things so disadvantagious to the Bishops of Scotland; and his Narrative can be supported, in every branch of it, were this a place for it. In short, we had the same struggle here that the party in England, at the same time, who were appearing for Liberty and the Reformation, against Bishop Laud, whose creatures the most part of our Prelates were, to grapple with. It's abundantly evident, from Rushworth's Collections, that Popish designes and arbitrary measures in Church and State were fast carrying on, by countenancing and propagating Arminian Doctrines, which had been secretly fomented by the Jesuits and Popish Missionarys, to ruine the Reformation in the Low Countreys. King James counted it a point of honnour to oppose those; and severall of our old Bishops, and particularly the Primate for some time, did not appear to favour Arminianisme. But upon King Charles his Accession, and Laud's getting an absolute power over ye King, as these grew frightfully in England, so all our young Doctors and time-serving Ministers, and the Bishops advanced after King James his Death, were tainted with Arminianisme, as Bishop Burnet notices. That Bishop Laud had any formed designe to introduce Popery, in the proper sense of the word, or his party, I do not assert; but that he was offered a Cardinal's Cape, and was not unwilling to take it, upon some Reformation in the Court of Rome, and some little betterings in the Church, was ready to bring matters as near to Rome as might be, there appears much reason to believe. In order to this, he keenly espoused the Arminian side, as persons who, by their Principles,

were usefull to help on his designes. This is what the most knowing Patriots in England were sensible of, and made loud outcryes about, and with the greatest reason. The same methods of carrying on things, by wide steps toward Popery, and fostering Arminian and Pelagian Tenets, being used, especially after the [year] 1628, in Scotland, as if that were a necessary part of Conformity to England, as well as Ceremonies, Lyturgy, and Cannet, I think it will not be out of the way to sett down here, as to matters in England, from Rushworth's Collections, relative to this. I need not produce the known Letter from the Jesuite at Clerkenwell in England to his Rector at Brussells, in the beginning of the year 1628. Rushinworth, v. i., p. 474. He tells him—

Jesuit's Letter of Clerkenwell upon his hopes from spreading Arminianisme.

We have added two new bulwarks. When King James lived, you know he was very violent against Arminianisme, and interrupted with his pestilent witt and deep learning our strong designes in Holland, and was a great friend to that old Rebell and Heretick, the P. of Orange. Now we have planted that soveraigne drug Arminianisme, which, we hope, will purge the Protestants from their Heresy, which flowrishes and bears fruit in due season. For the better preventing of the Puritans, the Arminians have already locked up the Duke's ears; and we have those of our own Religion who stand at the Duke's (of Buckinghame) Chamber, to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too watchfull in this regard.

Sentiments of ye House of Commons on Arminianisme, 1628.

But we have yet a more generall proof of the influence of Arminianisme to promote Popery, in the Commons' remonstrance against ye Duke, June, 1628, of which I shall transcribe this passage:—

And as our fear concerning change or subversion of Religion is grounded on the daily encrease of Papists, the open and professed enemies of it, so are the hearts of your good subjects no less perplexed when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and spreading of the Faction of the Arminians; that being, as your Majesty well knowes, but a cunning way to bring in Popery; and the professors of those opinions, the common disturbers of the Protestant Churches, and incendiarys in those States wherein they have gotten any head; being Protestants in shew, but Jesuits in opinion; which caused your Royal father, with so much pious wisdom and ardent zeal, to endeavour the suppressing of them, as well at home as in neighbour Countreys. And your gracious Majesty, imitating his most worthy example, hath openly, and by your Proclamation, declared your mislike of their persons and opinions, who notwithstanding are much favoured and advanced, not wanting friends, even of ye Clergy near to your Majesty, namely, Doctor Neal, Bishop of Winchester, and Doctor Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who are justly sus-

pected to be unsound in their opinions that way. And it being now generally held the way to preferment and promotion in the Church, many Schollars do bend the course of their studys to maintain those errors. Their Books and Opinions are suffered to be Printed and Published; and on the other side, the Imprinting of such as are written against them, and in defence of the Orthodox Church, are hindered and prohibited, under the collour of your Ma^tie's formerly mentioned Proclamation, the intent and meaning whereof we know was quite contrary.

After this publick authentick proof of what I am on, I need scarce name the particular Speeches in ye House of Commons, about this time, to this purpose. Mr. Rouse, in his Speech, Jan. 26, 1629, sayes—

Mr. Rouse, Jan., 1629.

Since Popery is a confused heap of errors, casting down Kings before Popes, the Precepts of God before the Traditions of men, living and reasonable men before dead and senseless stocks and stones, I desire we may consider the increase of Arminianisme, ane error that makes the grace of God Lackey it after the will of man, that makes the sheep to keep the sheepherd, and makes a mortall seed of an immortall God. Yea, I desire that we may look in to ye very belly and bowells of this Trojan horse, to see if there be not men in it, ready to open the gates to Romish Tyranny and Spanish Monarchy. For an Arminian is the spawn of a Papist, and if there come the warmth of favour upon him, you shall see him turn one of those froggs that rise out of the Bottomless Pit. You shall see an Arminian reaching out his hand to a Papist, a Papist to a Jesuit, and a Jesuite gives one hand to the Pope and another to the K. of Spain. And those men having kindled a fire in our neighbour Countrey, have brought over some of it hither, to set flame to this Kingdom also. Yea, let us further search and consider whither those be not the men that break in upon the goods and libertys of this Commonwealth; and by this means they make way for taking away our Religion.

I shall only add, that at this time the Commons were so sensible of the hazard of Religion, and that from ye danger of Popery, by the Arminianizing Clergy, that they were apprehensive that a villanous meaning might be put on the Doctrinall Articles of ye Church of England, if they should come to be sensed by a Convocation so manifestly byassed towards Arminianisme as they feared the leading Clergy were gott into. And therefore at this same time, Jan., 1629, they entered into a solemn Vow to stand by the plain literall meaning of the Compilers of the Articles, in opposition to the Arminian and Popish sense to be put on them by the corrupt Bishops and Clergy. Mr. Rushworth hath preserved this remarkable Vow—"We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of

Vow of the Commons to stand by the Articles agst the Arminian and Jesuiticall sense, Jan., 1629.

the Articles of Religion which were established by Parliament in the 13th year of the late Queen Elizabeth, which by the publict Act of the Church of England, and by the current expositions of the Writters of our Church, have been delivered to us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuites, Arminians, and all others, wherein they differ from us." At the same time, they address the King for a Fast. Those were pretty much the same methods the sincere part of the Church of Scotland took some years after this to recover themselves from the low pass we were brought to by B. Laud in England, and the Bishops verging towards Popery and Arminianisme, his tools in Scotland. So much by way of supplement to what Bishop Burnet has observed.

Some more generall observations on ye state of things in Scotland, from 1628-1637 from Mr. Kirktoun's Memoirs.

Before I come to the direct motions towards a Lyturgy in Scotland, let me subjoyn another generall observation upon the generall state of things from the [year] 1625 to the [year] 1637, from Mr. James Kirktoun, Minister at Edinburgh, his Memoirs, MS., a person as much seen in our Scots History as many in his time; and the rather, because it gives light to what follows, and seems to free Spotswood and the elder Bishops from being in the Lyturgy and Canons, and layes it on the younger Bishops. Mr. Kirktoun's style is short and strong, and he spares not the blemishes of the greatest when they come in his way. The passage I now coppy from him runs—

Character of K. James 6th.

King James Dyed 1625. A King he was, both of a publick and privat character. The Courteor laughs when he reads the Historian's description of a King whom he knew. He was certainly a Prince of excellent endowments: learned, for which he was beholden to Buchanan; reserved, which he learned from his difficult society and Court in his youth. Many Princes make Religion only an ornament to policy. English Writers complain, that for his Religion, he was so modest, that he could have denyed the half of his own, so he might agree with Rome. But for his prerogative, he was so peremptory, he reckoned it blasphemy to dispute the King's power. Both those he professed before the English Parliament. Except his Swearing, he was judged innocent of these personall vices which reigne in Princes. He mightily enlarged the prerogative, abridged the power of the Nobility, but enriched the Merchant; and above all, the Puritan found the sting of his spirit. And thô he spent more of his time in the establishment of Bishops in Scotland than any other designe in the world, yet did he never eat the fruit of that tree, Bishops never having the honour to do him one penny worth of service. It may be he had grief to hear of B. Nicholson's deathbed dispair, and shame to hear how Spotswood hired a whore with the King's

jewell, given him when in Royall favour. Honour from them he never had, being constrained himself to excuse the Bishop's baseness, from his own necessity, having none else to chuse. And last of all, they were his son's overthrow. So unprofitable, many times, use ambitious designes to be, both to the contrivers and abbetors.

King Charles meddles little with Religion in Scotland during his first seven years.

After the Death of King James, King Charles came to the Croun, with as much joy and triumph as uses ordinarly to attend the beginning of a tragedy; and such his Reigne was. He medled but little with the Religion of Scotland for the first seven years of his Government, being diverted partly by his home-bred contestations with his Parliament, and partly by his forraigne Military attempts on Germany, France, and Spain, in all which he came by the loss, lamentably.

Debate about Ministers' Apparrell in ye Parliament, 1633.

But being at ease in the year 1633, he began to long for ye glory of the ancient Crown of Scotland. Therefor he first demanded it might be sent to him in England, to save him a journey; which being most solemnly refused by the Scottish Nobility, he found himself necessitat to make that long journey, that he might acquire the honour. So to Scotland he came towards the Coronation, which was the occasion that many a Scottishman spent his Estate on superfluitys, and that Scotland might in some measure match, if not the riches, yet the bravery of England. The King had no necessary bussines ado in Scotland, all being quiet to his mind. But being fatally fond of the English Formes, he would needs urge the Parliament to grant him a power to prescribe the Ministry the Rayment they should use. And truely one would think it a poor office to a King, to become a Master Fashioner to a company of mean men, and a contemptible occasion for a wise man to adventure either displeasure or offence. Might not a Godly man wear a Doublet or a Coat, as well as a long Cassock? Or what is the Sacramentall difference betwixt Buttons or a Surcingle? And that almost all Scotland thought. Beside, the Scots thôt the proposall itself a contemptible trifle. Yet they considered it as a preparative, as a small needle may make way for the introduction of what is of a great bulk. But the King would have his will upon any termes, and you shall know the cunning he used to come at his purpose. The Heathen Emperors of old used in the Market place to rear their own image closs beside the image of their Heathenish God, to oblidge the poor Christians, in passing by, either to salute the Idol, in saluting the Emperor, or to affront the Prince in neglecting the Idol. So the King caused incorporat the Article about Ministers' Apparel in the same Act of Parliament with his Title to the Crown, to oblidge the Parliament either to acknowledge him King Fashioner for the Ministers, or else to deny him to be King of Scotland, which he believed would straiten them. Also, when the Act was to pass to the Vote, he took pen and paper in his hand, to mark the Votes of such as durst dissent; withall telling them, he should know who were good subjects and who were bad, thô one would think it a poor test for a man's honesty. And yet when all was done, after much sharp dispute, chiefly by the Lord Lowdoun, it was found there were in the Parliament a number of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Burgesses who caused rather to disoun the King's Title to the Crown of Scotland, as it stood in the Act, than to acknowledge his power to encroach upon the latitude of Christian liberty. But none of these dissenters were admitted to his presence with any favour for all the time he stayed in that Countrey. And when all was done, the King's Cassock was disdained by 100^{d} where it was worn

by one. And so the King himself desisted from Innovating in the Church of Scotland for four years more.

Liturgy with Bishop Laud's Corrections.

But when the appointed time was come, that Bishop Laud thought all was ripe, and the King that all was ready, then was the fatall project of the Service Book sett on foot. So the King, to begett Scotland into the likenes of England, sent down a Lyturgy, which was indeed a great deal nearer the Roman Missall than the English Service Book was. I have seen the principall Book corrected with Bishop Laud's own hand, where, in every place which he corrected, he brings the word as near the Missall as English can be to Latine.

Not desired by the wisest Scots Bishops.

This Book was nothing desired by the wisest of the Scottish Bishops, who desired no more of the English Church but the riches and the honour. But the unanswerable argument of the King's pleasure, in the mouth of one or two of the young proud Bishops, prevailed with the Council it should be read in ye Churches.

Tumult at ye Reading of it, July 23, 1637.

So upon July 23, 1637, they began in the Churches in Edinburgh; but he who was to Officiat in the High Church had no sooner begun to read, but he was interrupted with a tumult. First, an unknown, obscure woman threw her stool at his head; a number of others did the like by her example. The whole multitude clapped their hands, and cryed, "A Pope! a Pope!" The Lords of Council and Magistrates were threatned by the people, when they went about to still the tumult. Both Preacher and Reader were forced out of the Church, and followed home with a shower of stones, hardly escaping with their lives. As the first Reformation, that abolished Popery, began at Perth with the throw of a stone out of a boye's hand; so the 2d Reformation, which abolished Episcopacy, began with the throw of a stool in a woman's hand. Such inconsiderable beginnings have the greatest Revolutions in the world. Other tumults there were, both in Edinburgh and the Countrey. The Bishop of Brechin hardly escaped with his life in one. But this opposition was so unexpected, that Bishop Spotswood had that day provided a great treat for his friends at Gilmertoun; and Bishop Fairly, Consecrated but two dayes before, had the same day provided his Consecrated gossoping in his own house in Edinburgh. The house took fire in time of the tumult. But this unexpected fray spoiled two feasts. There was, indeed, no more appearance or expectation of it that morning, than of an earthquake or a massacre. And so the greatest plots of Providence use ordinarly to be execute.

Letter to the Primat from the King, shewing his pleasure, that the Church of Scotland receive ye Order of the Church of England, with their Liturgy, July, 1630.

Having given those generall observations of the state of things in Scotland, I return again to Bishop Spotswood's Life, as to whom I have nothing remarkable till the year 1630, when the Writer of the Collections, 1589-1641, sayes, Mr. John Maxwell brought down a Letter from the King to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, signifying it was his pleasure that the whole Order of the English Church should be received here. His words are— "It was constantly reported, that Mr. John Maxwell brôt down with him a Letter from his Majesty, to assemble such of the Ministry as he pleased, at least the Moderators of the Presbitrys,

at Edinburgh, July 27, and to intimate, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that the whole of the Order of the English Kirk should be received here." Whether matters were yet ripe to do this, I cannot tell. The Convention met that day for a Taxation, and great freedomes were used there, in proposing the Countrey's and Ministers' grievances, thô without any great effect. This I take to be the first motion for the English Liturgy in Scotland in King Charles' Reigne, which had afterwards such dismall effects. To this time, I suppose, Mr. Collier's Account, v. 2, p. 755, relates, that King Charles, after the Peace with France, being at some more liberty, reminded the Scots Bishops of his father's Revolution, and ordered them to solicit this affair with the outmost application. Doctor John Maxwell was sent to Court, and after severall Conferences with Doctor Laud, Bishop of London, he had this answer, "That if the King would have another Liturgy in Scotland than they have, they had best take the English Book without variations, and then it would be the same in all his Majesty's Dominions." The Doctor replyed, "The Scots would be better pleased to have a Liturgy of their own, but such as would come near the English in matter and form." The arguments on both sides being laid before the King, he declared for the English Book. The main reason the Scotts Bishops urged was, "That a Lyturgy made by themselves, and in some things different from the English Service, would be most acceptable to their countreymen, whom they found very jealous of the least dependance on the Church of England." Thus matters rested till the [year] 1633.

Objections of the Scots Bishops agst it. Arguments for a Book of their own.

The Earle of Clarenden gives the objections of the Scots Bishops at some greater length, and I shall sett down his words:

They first observed, that the English Liturgy, how piously and wisely however framed and institute, had found great opposition. And thô the matter of the Ceremonies had wrought only on the light headed weak men, whose satisfaction was not to be laboured for, yet there were many grave and learned men who excepted against some particulars, which would not so easily be answered. That the Reading Psalmes, being of the old Translation, were in many particulars so different from the new and better Translation, that many instances might be given of importance to the sense and truth of Scripture. They said somewhat of the same nature concerning the Translation of the Epistles and Gospells, and some other exceptions against

Reading the Apocrypha, and some other particulars of less moment; and desired, that in forming a Liturgy for their Church, they might, by reforming those severall instances, give satisfaction to good men, who would thereupon be easily induced to submitt to it. The other reason, which no doubt was the principall, and took this in the way to give it the better introduction, was, that the Kingdom of Scotland generally had been long jealous, that by the King's continued absence from them, they should by degrees be reduced to be but a Province to England, and subject to their Lawes and Government, which they would never submitt to. Nor would any man of honour, who loved the King best and respected England most, ever consent to bring that dishonour upon his Countrey. If the very Liturgy, in the termes it is constitute and practised in England, should be offered to them, it would kindle and inflame that jealousy, as the prologue and introduction to y^{t} designe, and as the first range of that ladder which should serve to mount over all their customes and priviledges, and be opposed and detasted accordingly. Whereas if his Majesty would give order for preparing a Liturgy with those few desirable alterations, it would easily be done; and in the mean time, they would so dispose the minds of the people for the reception of it, that they should even desire it.

The Earle adds, this argument was so passionately and vehemently urged by the Bishops themselves, that they pretended the humors of others. The advice proceeded from the pride of their own hearts. This is a harsh censure the Earle passes upon his friends.

Althô for some time nothing was done more publickly for a Liturgy, yet it seems the designe was still carrying on; and so the same Writer of the Collections observes, "That in May, 1631, the King sent directions to the Archbishops of Saint Andrews and Glasgow to assemble the rest of the Bishops, and such other of the Ministry as they should think meet, and there to treat and advise what way, either in a Publick Meeting or otherwise, the inbringing of the Organs in Cathedrall Kirks, with Surplices on the Ministers in time of Service, should be introduced; and a Common Lyturgy, or Book of Service, to be Read Morning and Evening in the Kirks, with a new Psalm Book, Translating the old Psalmes in a new form of Meeter, or the taking the umphile King's Translation, to be Sung ordinarly in Kirks. That a Meeting in June should be held to this effect. This moved many of the Ministry, and all honest men who loved the form of Teaching and Preaching used since the Reformation, wonderfully; and they were affrayed that the integrity of Religion

in Scotland was going away, and Superstition and Idolatry coming in the place thereof, piece by piece."

The Bishop's Funeral Sermon on the Lord Scoon, Sept. 23, 1633.

The Archbishop Preached a Sermon, Septr. 23, 1631, at the Funerall of the Lord Scoon, which made some noise, and was reckoned an encomium that Nobleman did not deserve. The Lords of Council, and most of the Nobility and the neighbouring Gentry, were at ye Burial. In the entry to the Sermon, he found much fault with *Dumb Funeralls*, as he termed them; that is, Funeralls of persons of Rank without Sermons at them. He run very high in commendations of the defunct, who, as the Writer of the Collections asserts, never deserved any from his Country. He celebrate him for his Religion, who never had the appearance of much, and had his rise and grandeur on the Kirk Rents. He next insisted on his fidelity, which was only to the King's commands, for his own ends, but never appeared to his Country or God. Next, his hospitality was praised, whereas he only keeped a table for those of his own disposition, who loved good cheer; but gave nothing to the really needy and Religious. His charity came next, and the Author I am citing sayes he was only liberall to flatterers and Courteors who commended him to the King. And lastly, the Bishop insisted on his wisdome and policy, in his Buildings to the honour of the Kingdom. It's true he pulled down an Abbacy, and with the stones thereof built a fine house for himself; and pulled down a large Church, and built a small Chapell, where he erected a Tomb for himself, with a Statue of Alabaster; and out of a large Lordship, he gave a Stipend to a Minister of his own disposition, to Preach in the Chappell. Upon the whole, the Bishop was charged with great flattery, for his own gain.

He goes to Court, Oct., 1631.

In October this year, the Bishops of Saint Andrews, Murray, and the Isles, with Mr. John Maxwell, went up to Court. Their great errand was the matter Teinds to Temporall Lords, and the Teinds of their Bishopricks; and maintainance to Kirks was pretended. At the same time, the Earle of Monteith, now Stratherne, the Earle of Traquier, and others of the Nobility, went likewise up, being called. They returned, sayes the Writter of the Collections, upon the 18 of February next year; and it

was generally reported, that they had not succeeded in the errand for which they went to London.

Meeting of Bishops, July 17, 18, 1632, about receiving a new Translation of the Psalmes for this Church.

Upon the 17 and 18 days of July, 1632, the Bishop of Saint Andrews, by the King's Warrand for this effect, called a Meeting of Bishops and severall Ministers, to whom Letters were written, at his house at Dairsy. Mr. John Maxwell, Minister of Edinburgh, and Mr. James Hannay, Minister at Hallyroodhouse, came thither amongst other Ministers, as knowing they would be welcome. There the taking a new Version of the Psalmes, and ordering y^{m} to be used in Publick Worship in the Church, was under their consideration. This matter making a great noise at this time, and being designed for paving the way to greater Innovations in view, I shall give the larger Account of it, from severall MSS. before me, and the rather because it's but very little known. The Writter of the Collections, which is oft cited, tells us—

> The end of their Meeting was to receive and admitt only to be Sung in the whole Churches in Scotland, an Psalm Book, lately turned in Verse, not only far different in the metaphraze and frame of the words and sentences from the old Psalm Book, commonly and only Sung in the Kirks since the Reformation; but also to discharge the old, whilk was well turned into Meeter, with the approbation of the whole Kirk of Scotland, to the capacity and understanding of the whole people. Albeit the new Version was full of poeticall phrazes, not besceming such a Sacred Work, but had many errors and uncouth phrazes, which could scarcely be understood by the best learned, let be the common people. The Meeting refused the said new Book, till the errors of the same were reformed, as the Kirk of England had lately reformed theirs. Yet some of the Bishops, with the 2 Ministers named, consented to it for their parts, and did what they could. Persons of judgement reckoned it would be wakened again in a short time, and brôt in w^{t} the English Liturgy.

Account of this from Mr. Row's MS. History.

Mr. Row, in his MS. History, gives what followes as to this project, only he speaks of it in the year 1631, when, it may be, it was laid before Presbitrys, and the Meeting above was Conveened, to have the result of the Book's being communicat to them.

> In the year 1631, the King's Revocation was going fast forward, and all men were agreeing with the Titulars to have their own Teinds. And the King was resolved that he would have his Annuity of them this same year. There was also a report, that the King would have the Psalmes of David, Translated and Paraphrazed by King James his father, to be received and

Sung in all the Kirks of Scotland; and some of the Books were delivered to Presbitrys, that Ministers might advise as to the goodnes and badnes of the Translation, and report their judgement, not to the G. Assembly, for that great bulwark of our Kirk was demolished, but to the Diocesian Assemblys. Yet that matter was laid aside for a while. The work was commonly thôt to be rather Sir William Alexander's of Menstrie, afterward E. of Stirling, than King James'; but it's probable both have had a hand in it. In the first impression, there were some expressions so poeticall, and far from the language of Canaan, that all who had any Religion did dislike them; as calling the Sun "the Lord of Light," and ye Moon "the Pale Lady of the Night."

And Mr. Row, the grandchild, Minister at Aberdeen, who makes some additions in his Transcribing his father's Book, Compiled from his grandfather's Papers, adds, "But surely now, in anno 1650, we have, through the rich blessing of God on the long travells of many faithfull and painfull Brethren, expert in the Hebrew and Poesy, the most exact, near, and smooth Paraphraze of the Psalmes, a part of the intended Uniformity, that ever the Christian world did behold."

Taste of Conceits and Harsh Phrazes in ye New Psalmes.

I meet with severall Papers relating to this new Paraphraze of the Psalmes in a Collection once in Mr. Calderwood's hands, which perhaps will not be unacceptable to the curious Reader, and therefore I'le give some of them here. The first I insert is entituled—

A Taste of Poeticall Conceits and Harsh Phrazes in the New Translation of the Psalmes.

Psal.	Vers.	
1.	2.	But of the Lord he on ye Law Doth ground his whole delight.
2.	6.	With Royal greatnes graced.
—	11.	Serve Him with fervent fear.
4.	6.	Who will to us do any good, A number murmure thus.
6.	8.	Go, get you gone, all you from me, The Lord hath heard my weeping's voice.
7.	9.	Of wicked ones, end wickednes.
—	13.	He fitts for him his fatal armes.
9.	6.	Destruction's vastnes, now my foe A period still doth bound. Thou citys hast entomb'd in dust.
—	13.	Exalting me, when desperat quite, Of Death even at the gate.
—	17.	The wicked all shall be driven back.
12.	8.	By man's terrestriall race.
13.	2.	How long shall I consult alone, With heavy heart entraunced.

Psal.	Vers.	
16.	4.	Their griefs that court another bed, They multiply'd shall be.
17.	11.	They at y^{r} pleasure alwise fed, With burd'nous fatnes swell.
18.	3.	I will invock the Lord.
—	4.	The torrents of ungodly men.
—	7.	The hills' foundations brandish'd were.
—	12.	And by the brightnes ushering Him, The clouds discharg'd in ire, Of hailstones did a volley give, And flow'd forth coals of fire.
—	15.	The beds of floods, ye world's main grounds, Both were disclos'd in wrath.
—	24.	The Lord hath therefor guerdoned me.
19.	1.	And their extended stately rounds, Shew what His hands did frame.
20.	9.	That nothing may appall.
21.	3.	Of goodnes for ye blessings Thou Mad'st him, ere sought, to get.
22.	6.	The object of men's obloquy, And they in dust y^{t} live.
28.	3.	Who use sinistrous arts.
33.	7.	And do engross the tumbling gulfs, As treasures in His store.
35.	8.	In vast Destruction's deeps.
—	9.	And all my bones, turn'd tongues, shall say.
37.	35.	And like a bay tree spread himself, Whose verdure decks ye ground.
38.	17.	For I am ready streight to halt, My weaknes so design'd; My sorrows, still before my face, Do tyrranize my mind.
—	20.	Of disposition opposite, Because I goodnes love.
39.	4.	Lord, let me know the fatall point.
42.	7.	Each threat'ning gulph another gulf By roaring sounds doth cite.
44.	19.	The fatall shades of horrid Death To cover us dost give.
45.	13.	The daughter of the King within Perfection doth confyne.
—	14.	The dainty virgins of that train Shall blushing come to thee.
48.	2.	Mount Sion, joy of all the earth, Doth for her site excell.
50.	21.	But I will make y^{m} brave thine eyes.
53.	5.	They, starting at each shaddow's sight, Were wounded by the ear.
55.	5.	And melancholy horrour's clouds With darknes cover me.
57.	9.	I will awake before the light Can clear the christall rounds.

Psal.	Vers.	
58.	4.	They like the tumid serpent swoln, A secret poison bear.
59.	12.	For sin y^{t} alwise swayes their lips, And wing'd w^{t} breath thence flyes.
63.	4.	While life this corpse commands.
65.	3.	The numerous press of wicked deeds.
66.	11.	Affliction's strictly wringing chain Thou laidst upon our loyns.
67.	1.	From His celestiall shrine.
68.	11.	Of them who did the same divulge, The company was great.
—	31.	Then shall great Lords from Egypt come, In brave applauding bands.
69.	7.	And with the hue that blushes dy, Shame cov'red hath my face.
—	24.	And like the torrent of Thy wrath, Them suddainly devour.
—	27.	Accumulat their sins on sins.
70.	3.	A buerdon for their shame.
72.	6.	Or like soft pearles of quick'ning show'rs, On earth that numerous fall.
73.	25.	Whom have I in the Heav'ns save Thee, Who can my vows invite.
74.	17.	Thou mad'st the summer smile w^{t} flowers, The winter frown with storms.
78.	20.	Lo! wounded rocks give christall blood, Which streight a torrent roar'd.
—	44.	That all abhorred to drink their floods, Portentously strange.
80.	10.	The mountains, darkned w^{t} her shade, Seem'd masked to remain.
86.	11.	Unite my heart's contracted powers To fear Thy Name aright.
88.	17.	They all the day encircling me, Like waters do burst out; And being joyn'd impetuously, Do compass me about.
89.	1.	The mercys of the Lord I still Will sing with sacred rage.
90.	17.	And let Thy glory's shining rayes Enlighten all y^{r} brood.
93.	3.	Impetuous floods tumultuously Make all about rebound.
94.	9.	He that eye's beautys croun'd w^{t} light, Shall He himself not see?
—	11.	The Lord doth know man's waving thoughts, That strick on many shelfe.
96.	11.	Let the harmonious Heavens rejoice.
97.	4.	From Heaven's inflamed sphere.
—	6.	The Heavens His righteousnes declare, In all their rounds envolv'd.

Psal.	Vers.	
104.	5.	Who firmly fixed the solid earth, Whose bases strong have proved.
—	6.	Thou w^{t} the deeps a liquid robe It as with christall cloathed.
—	26.	There walk the ships amidst ye floods, Where captiv'd air commands.
105.	27.	And all the monstruous prodigies.
—	32.	And in y^{r} Country ominous flames Like fatall fires did burn.
106.	14.	But did amidst the wildernes Exorbitantly cast.
132.	8.	Thou and the Ark of Thy great strenth, Which Thou wilt grace for Guest.
140.	2.	Who in the vastnes of their heart Hudge mischief do decree.
—	9.	As for their head to compass me, Who do a circle frame.
146.	8.	The Lord doth make the blind to see, And straight makes the declin'd.
147.	16.	He gives the snow like labour'd wool, Whose liquid threeds oft turn.
148.	1.	From Heaven's harmonious rounds Give praise unto the Lord.
—	3.	His praise at lenth dilate, You flaming Lord of Light; And with the starrs in state, Pale Lady of the Night.
—	7.	From earth to heaven's high spheres, Of God the praises sound, You monsters forcing fears, And deepths w^{t} christall croun'd.

I have before me another larger List of exceptionable places in this new Translation of the Psalmes, under Mr. Calderwood's hand, as I take it; but the above-mentioned places may suffice to give a taste of them. There is annexed to what I have been Transcribing, what follows:— Remarks upon them.

The common people must be learned to understand those French, Latine, and hard English termes following, before they can Sing with understanding the Psalmes in new Metre; as Royall, opposites, numerous, vastnes, terrestriall, various, vindicat, invock, torrents, brandish, ushering, gwerdon, obloquie, appall, gratefully, sinistrous, verdure, center, billows, site, cite, contemplat, deprave, portend, portentouse, tumid, divulge, exhaust, extinguish, exorbitant, vilifyed, dignifyed, rayes, impetuous, accumulat, exhilirat, emulat, impale, reside, spheres, bases, shelves, prodigies, liquid, declined, and the like, which the Reader may find in the reading.

Another Paper upon this subject was formed, which may give

Reasons why the Old Psalmes used since 1564 should be keeped.

some further light in this Debate, and therefore I shall also add it. Its Title is—

THE PSALMS OF DAVID IN METRE, ALLOWED BY THE G. ASSEMBLY, SHOULD BE SUNG IN THE KIRKS OF SCOTLAND, AS THEY HAVE BEEN SINCE THE YEAR 1564, FOR YE REASONS UNDERWRITTEN.

The Reformed Kirk of Scotland being subject to no other Kirk in the world, but independent and free, has power to interpret and apply the Word to their own purgation, conservation, and edification.

By vertue of this power, the Pastors of this Kirk, at command of the Great Council of this Kingdome, penned certain Heads of Reformation, whilk were allowed, and Subscribed in January, 1560-1.

In those Articles, it is expressly provided, that men, women, and children be exhorted to exercise themselves in Psalmes; that when the Kirk Conveens, and Sings, they may be the more able, together with common hearts and voices, to praise God.

In the Generall Assembly Conveened at Edinburgh, 1562, in December, the Kirk lent Robert Lickprivick, Printer, 200^{d} Pounds, to buy irons, ink, and paper, and to fee craftsmen for Printing.

In this Generall Assembly, holden at Edinburgh, December, 1564, it is ordained, that every Minister, Exhorter, and Reader shall have one of the Psalm Books Printed at Edinburgh, and shall use the order therein contained, in Marriage, Ministration of Sacraments, &c.

In the Generall Assembly holden at Stirling, February, 1569, the Kirk, in testification of their contentment with the Works Printed by Robert Lickprivick, did assigne him in Pension 50 Pounds.

If any person or persons had required Reformation of the Psalmes, in whole or in part, the matter would have been done in right time or place, *animi edificandi, non tentandi*, conform to the Order agreed upon at Glasgow, Aprile, 1581, and at Perth, 1596.

If the Law of Prescription, as it is reported by the Civil Law, the Laws of Nations, and the Law of this Kingdome, be just exception against pleas moved after the expiring of 30 or 40 years; and if it were extended, as it should be, not only to privat men's rights, but to public safety and tranquillity, then all action moved, or to be moved, after 68 years, against the Scots Psalms received and retained upon so good grounds, and so profitable and comfortable to Christians, his Majesty's good subjects, would be judged more than void and ineffectuall.

If *decennalis* and *triennalis possessio* by Law and Custome have the nature of a perfect right, whereby things pertaining to the Kirk may be peaceably possessed, then this Kirk should retain y^{r} possession of the Psalmes, ay and while their possession be lawfully declared to be groundless and vitious.

For further confirmation of the Kirk's right and possession of the Psalmes, in the year 1579, it is Statute and Ordained by our Soveraign Lord and 3 Estates in Parliament, that all Gentlemen, Householders, and all others worth 300^{d} Marks of yearly Rent, or above, and all substantious Yeomen or Burgesses; likewise Housholders esteemed worth 500^{d} Pounds in land or goods, to be holden to have an Bible and Psalm Book, under the pains contained in the said Act.

Sundry Musitians of best skill and perfection, for furtherance of the

Act of Parliament anent the instructing of the youth in Musick, have sett down common and proper Tunes to ye whole Psalmes, according to the diverse formes of Meeter.

Both Pastors and people, by long custome, are so acquaint with the Psalmes and Tunes thereof, that as the Pastors are able to direct a Psalme to be Sung agreeably to the Doctrine to be delivered, so he that taketh up the Psalme is able to Sing any Tune, and the people, for the most part, to follow him.

Both people and Pastors have some Psalmes, and parts of Psalms, by heart, as may serve for their different disposition and case of conscience, and for the change of their external condition.

By the loss of that heavenly treasure in their heart already, they would be further grieved and prejudged in their spirituall estate, than they could be hurt in body or goods, by suffering for retention of their own Psalmes.

In other Reformed Kirks, as England, France, Germany, Netherlands, &c., their Psalmes in Meeter are not so absolutely perfect and free of blame that nothing can be censured in them; and yet neither have they, nor will they reject the comely face of their own Psalter for a small blott, one or moe, but still retain what they have had in long continouance and comfortable practice.

If it should happen, as God forbid, that our Psalm Books in Meeter, with the Common Order prefixed unto them, and the Catechism following them, now Printed *cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis*, were removed, it might be justly feared, as the Kirk decayes in moyen and means, that the Confession of Faith, the Order of Election of Ministers, of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline, of Excommunication, of Publick Repentance, the Visitation of the Sick, the Buriall of ye Dead, the Common Prayers, the Formes of the Lord's Supper, of Baptism and Marriage, the Book of Fasting, and Calvin's Catechisme, should be suppressed, to the great hinderance of publick and privat uses.

It were a shameless ingratitude to extinguish the memories of so many worthy men, by whose care and pains God had vouchsafed to bestow so many benefites upon His Kirk; and a great testimony against the Pastors and Professors of this age, who, having those Psalmes and other means, has gained so little by them, for y^{r} comfort and edification, that they are readyer to quite them than to keep them.

In the Generall Assembly holden at Burntisland, in May, 1601, the occasion of a certain Motion made by some Brother concerning an Vulgar Translation of the Bible, the Common Prayers, and the Psalmes in Meeter, it was ordained, that Mr. Robert Pont should Revise the Psalmes, and that his labours should be Revised at the next Assembly. But as the Motion above written proceeded from personall respects, so it is to be supposed that if that faithfull man, who was both holy and learned, had found any just cause of alteration, neither he to whom the matter was recommended, nor the Assembly who should have taken count of his diligence, would have suffered that matter to be burried in oblivion.

If it had been found expedient to have altered those Psalmes, Montgomery, and some other principalls of English Poesy in their times, as they gave their Essayes of some Psalmes yet extant, so they offered to Translate the whole Book freely, and without any price for their pains, either from the public State or privat men's purses.

As the Kirk refused the offer of those Poets, as needless for the Privat

and Public Worship of God, so it is Statute and Ordained in the Generall Assembly holden at Saint Johnstoun, June, 1563, and sundry other Assemblys, that no Work be set forth in Print nor Published in Write, unto such time as it shall be advised and approven by the Kirk, conform to the Order sett down by the G. Assembly.

Since it hath pleased God to raise some hope of deliverance to the Kirks of other Countrys, so long humbled by bloody persecution, and to stretch out the hand of His power against superstition and idolatry, piety and compassion would that we should hold fast what we have, and fervently to pray to God to vindicat His truth from the tyranny of Idolaters, and to deliver His distressed people from the craft and cruelty of men; that praises may be given to his Majesty by all Kirks and persons whom he has blessed with any measure of mercifull Reformation.

In respect of the premisses, and other reasons to be eiked, as occasion shall require, the Psalmes in Meeter, as they have been and are used privately, and publickly used in Scotland, ought to be retained, and no wise suppressed; for any thing seen or heard as yet.

Observe on them.

Those Reasons, as I think, I have ground to think, from the strain of them, which runs much upon our History since the Reformation, the stile, and other things, are written by the learned and indefatigable Mr. Calderwood; and the rather because the Copy before me is that of his Amanuensis, and the very same with that of his large MS. History, in the Lord Poltoun's hands. And I have the rather placed them here, because they contain severall facts I have not elsewhere mett with.

Reasons agst the New Metaphraze of the Psalmes.

In the same Collection of Papers, and I think in the same hand, I find another Paper, formed probably at this same time. It is entituled "Reasons against the Receiving of this New Metaphraze of the Psalmes," and I think it deserves likewise a room here.

1. It wanteth both the direction before, and approbation after, of a Generall Assembly, which is the only Meeting that represents the body of our Kirk, and not a Meeting of pretended Bishops and Ministers, not freely chosen by Presbitrys.

Next. The people hath been so long acquainted with the old Meeter, that they can Sing all, or at least many Psalmes, without Book. Howbeit that excellent Poet, Mr. Alexander Montgomery, gave a proof of his skill in some, yet the G. Assembly holden at Burntisland, 1601, would not admitt a change, but ordained that Metaphraze which was in use since the Reformation to be Revised by Mr. Robert Pont, a man skilfull in the Original Tongues, and his travells to be Revised next Assembly. Joseph Hall offered his travells in that kind to the Kirk of England, and gave a proof of his gift in some few Psalmes; yet the Kirk of England would never accept of his offer. Our new Metaphrasts have carried such a despight at the old, that

they have not left one Verse unaltered; for which cause, suppose there were no other, this their work is to be rejected.

3ly. The Papists cast in the teeth of the professors in France, that they Sing the Psalmes Translated into Meeter by Clement, a Courtly Gentleman, howbeit he Translated only 50. We should not give occasion to our adversarys to reproach us with the like, nor trouble tender consciences, that will not Sing heartily Praises to God with words framed by such as are not authorized by the Kirk, and famous among the Saints, either a Clergy man or one appointed by the Clergy, if there be none so fitt among themselves.

4ly. Such a work as is the Translating of the Psalmes in Meeter, is holy and strict, and, as Joseph Hall saith, cannot admitt any youthfull or heathnish liberty. The Papists themselves say, that the elegancys and pleasant conceits of profane Poets, ought not to be brought in to so grave and austere a work. Take those for a taste—Psalm 69, v. 7; 72, 6; 78, 20; 89, 1; 104, 26; 105, 32; 147, 16; 148, 3. [I have not Transcribed the words, these standing in the List set down.]

5ly. The people cannot Sing with understanding in this new Meeter till they be first taught to understand those and the like French, Latine, and hard English termes—Regall, Vastness, &c. [They are also sett down above.] Luther, requesting Spalatinus to Translate some of the Dutch Psalmes into Dutch Meeter, desired him with all that he abstain from new coin'd and Court termes, and content himself with such as were vulgar, and meetest for the uptakings of the people. For harsh phrazes, take for example Psal. 9, 6—"Destruction's vastnes, now my foe, a period still doth bound."

6ly. The Metaphrasts have taken great liberty to add matter of their own to the text of Scripture, which may be seen almost in every Psalme.

7ly. This new Meeter beareth, that Christ descended into Hell locally, as may be seen in the 16 Psalm; so the receiving of this new Metaphraze shall import that our Kirk embraceth that error. For avoiding of this imputation, therefore, it ought not to be received for publick use, nor allowed to be used in privat.

8ly. The receiving of this new Metaphraze, and absolutely rejecting the old, shall give occasion to Forraigners to call us light-headed Scots, inconstant, and unfitted in our Orders, changing at the pleasure and for the commodity of men. England will not receive it, and shall we, that wont to be more scrupulous, give way to it, and so expose our selves to open shame in the eyes of the world. Nay, suppose England would receive it, what were that to us?

9ly. The Countrey shall be burdened with the loss of 300^{d} Thousand Books of the old, and with the cost of 600,000^{d} of this new, during the priviledge which we hear is to be granted to the chief author.

As those Reasons serve for rejecting it, so some of them also serve against committing it to the Revising. For to committ to some to Revise, tendeth to the approbation of it, if it be approved by the revisers, which may easily be obtained. If any be to be revised, it's the old; and none hath power to committ it to be revised, in prejudice of the old, but the G. Assembly; and especially seing the G. Assembly hath ordained already that the old be revised, which, by reason of the troubles that followed after, was not yet performed. The pretended Prelats, therefor, cannot meddle with this bussines.

Reasons agst the Publick and Private Use of the Psalmes, with a Caveat.

There are before me two or three Coppies of this Paper I have been Transcribing, which seem to be first draughts of them, corrected in some places with Mr. Calderwood's hand, which makes me apprehend it's likewise of his drawing. There are two of them which seem to have been designed for a larger draught, under the Title of "Reasons against the Publick and Private Use of the New Psalmes." They coinceed very much with what stands last, the 9 Reasons, only they have a Preface those want, and the Reasons against their Privat Use, with a Caveat. Because I would preserve all that relates to this subject, which will be new to most of my Readers, I shall Transcribe them here. This Paper, then, begins thus—

John of Lincolne, in his Sermon Preached at the Funerall of King James, reporteth, that the King was in hand, when God called him, with the Translation of our Psalmes, q^{ch} he intended to have finished, and Dedicated to the Saint of his devotion, the Church of Great Brittain, and that of Ireland; and that this work was stayed at the 31 Psalme. This controlleth the Title. The rest then were Translated by others, and the first revised by them. I have not yet compared their Translation with the Originall, nor considered what liberty they take in Metaphrazing, to add, insert, or digress; but suppose they fail not in these, they are not to be Sung in our Kirk, for those Reasons.

I do not copy them, because they are the same with the 9 above, only they end with this remark—"Others have observed, that there is a whole double Verse wanting in the 43 Psalm, and another Psalm hath those lines in ye double Verse." Then followes

Reasons against the Private Use.

The very Private Use ought to be suppressed. First, because some will labour to have them by heart, which should rather labour to have those in memory which are Sung in ye Church; for who will study to both? And therefore a Metaphraze of the Psalmes different from those used in the Church, is the most unprofitable work that may be, yea, prejudiciall to that which is publickly received, unless it be in Greek or Latine, which are not and cannot be used in publick. Therefore, ye see the like doth not occurr in any Reformed Church, French, Dutch, or Italian. A learned Paraphraze on the Psalmes is permitted to any one that hath the gift, and is commendable; but another Metaphraze is never convenient, but ever prejudiciall to that which is used in the Kirk, and serveth only to make people glaick. Next, the allowing it to be read in privat, imports the allowance of the error mentioned. 3ly, It may be justly feared, that in short process of time it may pass from privat to publick use; for have not some already used this

new Metaphraze, when the Congregation were Singing the old. A door should not be opened to such light heads and profane hearts.

This Paper ends with a Caveat for the Burghs, as followes:—

We cannot deem that the Burrowes will committ such an absurdity. As for the recommendation of usurping Bishops, meddle not with that, which the Three Estates of Parliament would be loath to meddle with, and which belongeth to a right constitute and free G. Assembly. Can they appoint some to try? or whom will they appoint? or will they receive without tryall? Then may they look for the new Service to be recommended to them next day, the Organs, &c. But we look for better things.

The Primat Crowns the King, 1633.

This is all I have met with as to this new Version of the Psalmes. By some hints I have seen, it seems probable the Primate was not very keen for them. And this brings me back again to him. Nothing offers till next year, 1633, when the King comes down to be Crowned, and to hold a Parliament. In course, the King fell to have the Crown sett on his head by the Primate; and the Writter of his Life, before his History, after he hath told that the Archbishop set the Crown on the King's head, runs out upon the Scots Crucifying him after their Hosannas at his Coronation. Mr. Craufurd observes on the Bishop's Life, that he set the Crown on the King's head, and performed the chief Ceremonies; and B. Lindsay of Brechin Preached the Sermon in the Abbay Church of Hallyroodhouse, on those words, "And all the people said, God save King Solomon." The pomp and magnificence of the Coronation was as great as Scotland could furnish; and many run themselves in debt by the stretches they made at this Solemnity, and during the King's stay here. The Coronation Meddalls which were spread had the King's Head on the one side, and on the reverse, a Rose growing out of a Thistle, with this Legend—*Hinc nostræ crevere rosæ.*

That day the Chancelour refuseth to yield the Precedency to the Primat, and B. Laud turns out the A.B. of Glasgow from the King's left hand, and puts in B. Maxwell.

The day of the Coronation offered two pretty remarkable incidents, which it will not be out of the road to hint at here. The one hath been noticed already from the first hand. The Primat was fond of the precedency of the Chancelour, especially at this Solemnity, and put the King upon asking it as a favour for that day. The Chancelour's positive denyall hath been already sett down. The other relates rather to the Bishop of Glasgow than the Primat, but I'le sett it down here, since it lets

us see the Primate's gorgeous rayment on this solemn day. Rushworth, in his Collections, gives it thus:—"In the time of the Coronation, it was observed, that Doctor Laud, then Bishop of London, who attended the King, being a stranger, was high in his carriage, taking on him the management and order of the Ceremonys and Coronation. And for one instance, Spotswood, Bishop of Saint Andrews, being placed on the King's right hand, and Lindsay, then A.Bishop of Glasgow, at his left, B. Laud took Glasgow and thrust him from the King, with those words, 'Are you a Churchman, and wants the Coat of your Order?' (which was an Embroidered Coat, and that he scrupled to wear it, being a Moderat Churchman), and in place of him put the Bishop of Ross (Maxwell) at the King's left hand."

Conference between B. Spotswood and the rest of the BB. with Bish. Laud, on the bringing in the Lyturgy, with what passed.

The Earle of Clarendon remarks justly enough, I suppose, that the King, when he went to Scotland, carryed with him not only the views of the solemnity of a Coronation, but a resolution to settle the Liturgy in Scotland, and finish that important matter in the Church at that time. Accordingly, Doctor Laud, who had this matter as much at heart as the King could have it, Preached the Sabbath after the Coronation to the King, in the Abbay Church, and insisted mostly on the benefites of Conformity, and reverence to the Ceremonies of the Church. After which, Mr. Crawfurd tells us, he had a Conference with the Scots Bishops, where he complained of the nakednes of the form of the Scots Worship, chiefly for want of Liturgy and Canons, which he conceived would supply all their defects. Spotswood and the old Bishops replyed, that in King James' time there had been a motion made for a Lyturgy, but that the forming of it was deferred, in regard that the Articles of Perth, then introduced, proved so unwelcome to the people, that they thought it not safe nor fitt at that time to venture on further Innovations; and they were still under some apprehensions, that if it should now be attempted, the consequence of it might prove very dismall. But, adds Mr. Crawfurd, from a MS. Supplement to Spotswood's History, Doctor Maxwell, now Bishop of Ross; Doctor Lindsay, formerly Brechin, now Bishop of Edinburgh; Bishop Sydserf, of Brichen; and Doctor Wedderburn, of Dumblain, and some others,

pressed that it might be undertaken, declaring there was no danger in the attempt. Whereupon Bishop Laud immediately moved the King to declare it to be his will, that there should be a Liturgy in the Church of Scotland. The old Bishops were for a Liturgy different from that of England, for the reasons given above. The King and Bishop Laud were for the English. But the importunity and argument used by the elder Bishops, that what was agreed on at Westminster would never go down so well in Scotland, and would be opposed, left a deep impression on the King; and so it was agreed, that one, with a Book of Canons, should be framed in Scotland, and examined by B. Laud, now of Canterburry; B. Juxton, B. of London; and Doctor Wren, B. of Norwitch. It was some time in preparing, and we shall hear of it again.

The Diocess and Bishoprick of Edinr. erected out of that of St. Andrews, with the Primat's consent, 1633.

This year, when the King was in Scotland, the new Bishoprick of Edinburgh was erected. The Earle of Clarendon gives the honnour of this to the King; and since he found things not ripe for settling a Lyturgy, he resolved to leave a monument of his love and esteem for the Church; and, with the consent of the Bishop of Saint Andrews, he erected Edinburgh, the Metropolis, into a Bishoprick, assigned it a competent Jurisdiction out of the nearest limits of the Diocess of Saint Andrews, gave the fair Church of St. Giles for its Cathedrall; and for a competent Revenue, the King purchased lands from the Duke of Lennox, which formerly belonged to the Priory of St. Andrews. All this was done to raise a reverence for Episcopacy, and prepare for the Liturgy. But, as Mr. Crawfurd observes, this had little effect. The people thôt they had too many Bishops already, and the encreasing the number was not like to be gratefull to them. I doubt not but this project came originally from B. Laud, and the King upon his motion. However, the honnour of it is, by the Writter of the Bishop's Life before his History, attribute to the Primat. "As he enriched the See of Glasgow, so he did the like for Saint Andrews, procuring the Revenues of the Priory, being then in Lay hands, to be added to his Church. But having compassed this, to shew it was done rather for the Churche's interest than his own, he dealt, by way of humble Petition, with

the King, that of his large Diocess of Saint Andrews, so much as was on the South side of Forth might be dismembered, for erecting of a new Bishoprick; which accordingly was done, and being amply endowed, was seated in their prime City of Edinburgh."

The Primat did not meliorat the See of Glasgow, what ever he did to that of St. Andrews.

Here and formerly, the Writter of B. Spotswood's Life sayes that he enriched the See of Glasgow, the Revenue of which he found so dilapidat, that there was not a 100^{d} Pound Sterling left to tempt to a new Sacriledge. Mr. Crawfurd thinks there is a mistake here, and does not reckon that B. Spotswood ever recovered any thing alienated by his Predecessors, thô indeed he repaired the Archiepiscopall Palace, and began the noble Leed Roof now upon the Cathedrall. He observes, that indeed the Sees of Dumblane, Murray, and the Isles, and he might have added Orkney and Galloway also, had scarce a competency left them. But this was not the state of Glasgow. Bishop Bothume, in view of the Reformation, did alienat the 48 Pound Land of Carstairs to Sir James Hamilton of Evandale; and A.Bishop Boyd fewed out the Lands of Bedlay to the Lord Boyd, the Lands of Gorballs to George Elphingstoun of Blythswood; and by a Speciall Commission from the Crown, the Prior of Blantyre, then Lord of Privy Seal, fewed out most of the Barrony of Glasgow to the old Rentallers themselves, when the King had little view of seeing Episcopacy revived with any kind of lustre in the Church. He thinks Bishop Boyd, whom he justly calls an excellent and pious man, did this to reconcile the minds of the Nobility and better sort of people to the interest of Episcopacy. Were I here to make remarks, a very obvious one offers, and I wonder Mr. Crawfurd did not consider those alienations in this light. The Tulchan Bishops were brought in by the Nobility, in the King's minority, that the Temporalitys might be thus secured to themselves. And thô what the last Popish Bishop did was a proper alienation, yet what was done under Bishop Boyd ought to be considered rather as a bargain made by the Nobility, who had the Temporalitys granted by the Crown, and put in those nominall Bishops, with such limitations and reservations to themselves as they saw proper. I agree with my friend Mr.

Crawfurd in the Bishop's character, but not that he did those things to secure the interests of Episcopacy; for this kind of Episcopacy was brought in to secure the Nobility's interest in the Temporalitys and Church Lands. And Bishop Boyd, as may be seen in his Life, was far from any views of rivetting proper Episcopacy. Mr. Crawfurd adds, there was still a competent provision left of the Archbishoprick of Glasgow; for the reserve of the old reall Rent, turned to a Yearly Duty by the Vassalls of the Regality, and other branches of the Episcopall Revenue, amounted to upwards of 500^{d} Pound Sterling at this time, thô once it had been vastly larger.

But augmented the Rents of St. Andrews considerably.

Indeed, as to that of Saint Andrews, if we may believe Mr. Martine, in his *Reliquiæ Sancti Andreæ*, MS., who understood perfectly the state of things there, the Bishop, through the bounty of King Charles the 1st, whose mind was so much set upon exalting Prelacy and Ceremonies in Scotland, he got much done for the meliorating the See of Saint Andrews. He recovered to the See of Saint Andrews 300^{d} Pounds Sterling yearly, of the Revenues thereof formerly uplifted by the Exchequer, as annexed to and incorporated with the Crown Rents; and by the King's gift, and assignation of the Priory and Lordship of St. Andrews, which he bought from the Duke of Lennox, in lieu of what came off to the new Bishoprick of Edinburgh, he acquired 1000^{d} Merks yearly, and the whole Rents of the Priory, save what was to go to the repair and beautifying the Cathedrall, and what he was to account for to the Exchequer. Those were great acquisitions, and the Writter of his Life had the less reason for the complement, that his recovering the Priory was rather for the Churche's interest than his own.

Bishop Spotswood's Petition for the Erection of the Bishoprick of Edinburgh.

Because there is not much generally knowen as to the Erection of the Bishoprick of Edinburgh, I shall, from Mr. Martine's MS. just now cited, give an abstract of the Bishop's Petition to the King for this new Erection, and the Erection it self, which I reckon will not be disagreeable to the inquisitive part of my Readers. The Petition sheweth, "That the Diocess of Saint Andrews was so large and ample, that the Bishop and his Successors could not well govern all the Churches therein. The

Firth was interjected, by q^ch the Archbishop, who had and was oblidged to have his residence at St. Andrews, the Metropolitick Church, being the Cathedrall of the See, could not, by reason of tempests, contrary winds, &c., at all times have passage to the Synod and other Meetings of those Churches besouth the Firth. Also considering that the Burgh of Edinburgh was the most eminent and head Burgh of the Kingdom, yet sited within the Diocess of Saint Andrews." And therefore crave the Erection of a Bishoprick at Edinburgh.

Abstract of the Erection of the Bishoprick, Sept. 29, 1633.

The Charter of Erection, after specifying the above Petition, runs—

Therefore his Majesty, for the glory of God, the encrease of Divine Worship, and the better Government of all the Churches within the Diocess of Saint Andrews, besouth the River Forth, and especially the Churches of Edinburgh, by this Charter of Erection and Mortification, under the Great Seal, of the Date of Sept. 29, 1633, *anno regni nono*, and with advice and consent of his Majesty's Thesaurers, Principall and Deput, and remanent Lords of his Majesty's Council and Exchequer of Scotland, DISSOLVES, SEPARATS, and DISUNITES from the Archbishoprick of Saint Andrews, Diocess and Jurisdiction thereof, all and sundry Lands *bondas ecclesiasticas*, and Paroches besouth Forth, whilk formerly belonged to the Diocess of Saint Andrews, comprehending all Churches and Paroches within the principall Sherriffdome of Edinburgh, and Edinburgh; within the Constabulary of Haddingtoun, the Sheriffdome of Linlithgow, Stirling, Berwick, and Bailliary of Lauderdale, which formerly belonged to the Diocess of Saint Andrews. Excepting alwise and reserving alwise to the said Archbishop and his Successors, all Lands, Barronies, Milnes, Woods, Fishings, Jurisdictions, Regalitys, Churches, Teinds, Personage and Viccarage, and Rights of Patronage, within the bounds aforesaid, whilk pertains or did pertain to the Patrimony of the said Archbishoprick, and whereunto the said Archbishop had right as proper Patrimoniall Lands, Barronies, Churches, and Teinds of this Archbishoprick. And with advice and consent forsaid, his Majesty ERECTS all the said Lands, Bounds, Churches, and Paroches, formerly pertaining to the Jurisdiction of the Archbishoprick of Saint Andrews, besouth Forth, and especially the Sheriffdome of Edinburgh, principall Constabulary of Haddingtoun, the Sherriffdom of Linlithgow, Stirling, Berwick, and Bailliery of Lauderdale, in an haill, free, and distinct BISHOPRICK, Dioces, and an Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, with all libertys, priviledges, dignitys, honnours, immunitys, and other benefites, commoditys, and emoluments whatsomever, pertaining to a free and distinct Bishoprick, Diocess, and Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, be the Lawes and Conswetude of this Kingdome; with as full, free, ample power, authority, and Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, within the haill forsaids Bounds, Churches, and Paroches, as are competent to any Bishop within the Kingdome. And specially, but prejudice of the generality forsaid, with liberty, priviledge, and Jurisdiction of Commissariot within all the forsaid Sheriffdomes, Constabulary, and Bailliary besouth Forth, with admission

and deprivation of Commissars, and other members of Courts, the lifting of Quotts of Testaments, and other casualities formerly belonging to the said Archbishoprick of Saint Andrews, in the same manner and as formerly belonged to the said Archbishop, by the Law of ye Kingdom. Reserving and suspending alwise the use of Commissariot, Jurisdiction thereof, admission and deprivation of Commissars, and other members of Courts, the lifting of Quotts of Testaments within the said Bounds, and continowing the same in the person of the said Archbishop of Saint Andrews and his Successors, untill his Majesty shall found to them a Rent in Lands and Teinds equivalent to the Rents and Emoluments arising to them by the said Commissariot within the Bounds besouth Forth; and but prejudice, and reserving to the present Commissars of Edinburgh their Offices and Fees for their time, according to the gifts and decreets in their favours. And reserving to the Archbishop and his Successors their Patrimoniall Lands, Barronies, Churches, Teinds, and others forsaids, in manner above written.

Further Clauses of the Charter. Town of Edinr. a City.

There follows further in the Charter of Erection, first, the Erection of the Burgh of Edinburgh into a City, and the gift of the priviledges of a City thereunto, ordaining the same to be the Principall and Capitall City of the Kingdome, and of the said new erected Bishoprick, providing the Burgh rights be neither augmented or diminished thereby, in any sort, but they to continue in the same state and condition they were in at the Date of the Charter. And for that effect, the King Erects Saint Giles' Church in a Cathedrall Church, ordaining the same to be the Cathedrall Church of the new erected Bishoprick; and gives thereunto all libertys, priviledges, and prerogatives incumbent to the Cathedrall of the said Bishoprick. 2d, The King ordains this Bishoprick to be called "The Bishoprick of Edinburgh," and the Diocess to be called "The Diocess of Edinburgh," comprehending therein all Lands, Bounds, Churches, and Paroches above written, which before pertained to the Archbishoprick of Saint Andrews besouth Forth; and that the person to be promoted to the said Archbishoprick be called the Bishop of Edinburgh, and to bruik and enjoy all honnours, dignitys, priviledges, authority, jurisdiction whatsomever, competent to a Diocesian Bishop, by the Lawes and Conswetudes of this Realme. Item, that the Bishops of Edinburgh be SUFFRAGANS to the Archbishop of Saint Andrews and his Successors; and in respect of their many and weighty affaires, that they continually assist the Archbishop of Saint Andrews; and that the Bishops of Edinburgh have Precedency of order, and give Vote in Parliament and Publick Conventions immediatly after the Archbishops of Saint Andrews and Glasgow, and before the rest of the Bishops of this Kingdom. 3tio, Ordains the Bishop of Galloway to be Suffragan to the Archbishop of Galloway, and to be next to Edinburgh, notwithstanding any Act or Custome to the contrair. 4to, Follows the Constitution of ye Chapter of Edinburgh, to consist of a Dean and 12 Prebends; the Dean to be the principall Minister of St. Giles, and the rest as is contained in the Chapter, to be the constant Prebendaries and Chapter in all time coming. 5to, Power is given to the Bishop to have a Seal for Privat Deeds, and another Chapter Seal for Deeds requiring their consent. 6to, The King Gifts, Grants, and Mortifys to the Bishop of Edinburgh and his Successors, for their Rent and Patrimony, and to uphold such a honourable Office and burden, the Houses, Precincts, and Yeards of Hallyroodhouse, and formerly belonging to the Abbacy of the same, with the right of Superiority, Feu Farmes, and Rents pertaining of

St. Giles a Cathedrall Church.

Name of the Bishoprick and Diocess.

Of the Bishop.

He is Suffragan to the BB. of St. Andrews.

His Precedency with that of ye B. of Galloway.

The Chapter.

His Seal.

Revenues.

old thereunto, viz., the Barronnie of Dunrod, Oldhame, alias Whitekirkford, with the right and priviledge of Regality within the Lands and Barronny of Whitekirk, and all other priviledges, profites, and immunitys belonging thereunto. Item, the Paroches therein rehearsed, with the Manses, Gleibs, Church Lands, Fruits, Rents, and Dutys pertaining thereunto, and haill Teinds, Personage, and Viccarage pertaining unto ye said Abbacy, with all Patronages pertaining thereunto. Item, the Abbacy of New Abbay, with all Lands, Barronies, Churches, Teinds, Patronages, Temporalitys, and Spiritualitys thereof. 7timo, The Charter contains an Erection of all the Lands, Barronies, and others forsaids, Founded and Dedicated, and to be Founded and Dedicated to the Temporality of the said Bishoprick, in an free Barronie, with the liberty and Jurisdiction of a free Barron, within the haill Bounds thereof, as any other free Barron within the Kingdom, with the priviledge of Barron Courts, and the Ish of Escheats, Amerciaments, and other Commoditys. And ordains the Bishop and his Successors to be immediat Superior to the Vassalls of those Lands, Barronies, and other Temporall Lands, in place of his Majesty and his Successors. And that the Bishop shall have the sole and undoubted right of the Superiority of the Vassalls and their Heirs, of and within the saids Abbacies of Hallyroodhouse and New Abbay, whom they may enter by Breifes, or Precepts of *clare constat*. Lastly, the Charter Mortifyes the Lands, &c., above, *Tenendas omnes et singulas, dictarum terrarum Barronias, Superioritates, Ecclesias, Decimas, Patronatus, &c., prædicto Episcopo de Edinburgh, ejusqȝ successoribus*, of his Majesty and Successors, in free Benefice and Bishoprick, with all and sundry priviledges, honnours, dignitys pertaining thereunto, *prout jacent in longitudine, &c., reddend.* To the King and his Successors, *fidelitatem et homagium, pro temporalitate dicti Episcopatus*, at the entry of each Bishop, in the same manner as other Bishops in the Kingdom of Scotland, according to the Act of Parliament thereanent. Item, sustaining the Ministers, and paying the Prebendarys therein named the Summs therein expressed, *ac etiam faciendo et prescribendo fidelis Episcopi officia, vigilando et diligenter ac fideliter attendendo, Ecclesiis dictæ Dioceseos, verum curæ commissis, prout ille Deo et nobis ac nostris successoribus desuper respondebit.* All is concluded with the King's promise to get all ratifyed by his next Parliament.

Lands Erected in a Barronnie.

Manner of holding.

Every one knows matters altered betwixt and then, however this ratifyed after the Restoration. I have been the larger upon this, because the Erections of new Bishopricks are rare cases, and this is the only instance for some ages in Scotland.

The Primate's share in my Lord Balmerinno's Process, 1634.

Next year, my Lord Balmerrinoch's Process came to be raised, for a Paper alledged to be his hand write, got out of his closet by accident. His appearances for the grievances of the Countrey and those in the Church, with his acting in Parliament last year, had rendered the Bishops, especially the Primate, very much his enemies. If I write that Nobleman's Life, as I incline to do, if I can find materialls, those things will come in at some length. I shall only observe here the share Bishop Spotswood had in the

invidious and very hard prosecution raised against that Nobleman, as I find it in Sir James Balfour's Annalls. After he has given a hint of Balmerinno's Tryall, and the Assize bringing him guilty by one Vote, ye Earle of Traquair's, who durst scarce Vote otherwise, the pronouncing of the Sentence was delayed till the Copy of the Process was sent up to the King, which stop made the Primat very angry. The King declared, upon perusing the Tryall, he would never take any man's life, far less a Nobleman's, upon so narrow a return of one Vote. And by my Lord Traquair and others' influence, Balmerinno was soon after Pardoned, to the great displeasure and miscontent of the Bishops. His Lybell run upon an infamous Paper against Church and State, written, as was alledged, by him. S^r^ James adds—

> The first Publisher of this Paper, which made so much noise, was one John Dinmure, a common Scrivener in Dundee, who, being used by my Lord Balmerinno with much familiarity, had so much credit as to be admitted to look any Books he wanted in my Lord's study. This scribled paper, upon which my Lord was Lybelled, in his judgement, he reckoned of no concern, but, as he thought, a Declaration of his Majesty and the Bishops their carriage at the Parliament, 1633, he put in his pocket, and when he went home, he shewed it to Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton, a sworn servant of the Hierarchy, and one who much maligned the said Lord. Mr. Hay borrowed it of the said Dinmuir, as he pretended, only to Copy it, being a Paper containing, as he said, nothing but truth, and being so well written. But contrary to his faith and promise, furthwith he carryed the said Paper to A.B. Spotswood, who immediatly sent it by an express to Court, aggravating the matter to his Majesty, and asserting, that if he suffered such an affront and indignity, he might become not only ridiculous to his subjects, but his Government would surely be vilipended. His Majesty being thus irritate by a wicked Bishop, directed a Warrand to the Councill, to call the said Lord before them, and commmitt him to Prison; Haig, the penner thereof, escaping to Holland, leaving my Lord to ride out the storm.

Change in the Exchequer, Oct., 1634.

In the end of October this year, there was a great change made in the Exchequer, by the interest, as was thought, of the Bishop of Saint Andrews. The Writter of the Edinburgh Collections sayes, "The Chancellour, the Earle of Marr, Haddingtoun, Wintoun, Roxburgh, Lauderdale, and Southesk, with severall others of inferior rank, were turned out; and the Bishops of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Ross, and Edinburgh, put upon the Exchequer, with 4 Lords of the Session, some Barrons, the Principall Thesaurer, the Deput, the Advocat, and Clerk of Register."

The A.Bishop made Chancelour, January, 1635.

In January, 1635, Bishop Spotswood was made Chancellour. Sir James Balfour, in his Annalls, sayes, "George Hay, Earle of Kinnoul, Viscount of Duplin, and Chancellour of Scotland, departed this life, of an appoplexy, after he had lyen speechless 14 dayes at London, Decr. 16, 1634. His corpse were embalmed, and brought down next year to Perth; then they were interred in a fair Monument built by himself, August 19. In January, 1635, the A.Bishop of Saint Andrews was created Chancelour of Scotland, and as such he received in Council the Badges [of] Office, the Broad Seal, Mace, &c., January 16." The giving of this great Office to a Churchman was very displeasing to many. Mr. Row, in his MS. History, sayes—

> It was what no body expected; and many people thought that he being now an old infirm man, and very unmeet for such Charges, both in Kirk and Commonwealth, this was only done for a preparative, that some aspiring Bishop off younger years, as Bishop Maxwell, whose Motto might well be, *Asperius nihil est humili dum surgit in altum*, might succeed him. This Anti-christian deportment, how unlike is it to the Apostles' carriage, who, being called immediatly by Christ himself, and gifted extraordinarly, so as they never had any to succeed to them as Apostles, their Charge being the whole world, yet they found it not reason to leave the Word to serve Tables, which notwithstanding was an Ecclesiasticall Office. They must needs give themselves to Prayer and the Ministry of the Word; yet wicked, worthless, graceless, giftless men, when compared to ye Apostles, have shoulders broad enough, even in their decripped old age, has shoulders broad enough to bear the burden both of Kirk and State, and take to themselves *jus utriusq3 gladij*. And now the Bishop's pride being come to a hight, *neq3 progrediatur habet*, it may be hoped it is near a fall.

Earle of Clarendon's Account of this.

I will not grudge to Transcribe here the Earle of Clarendon's remarks upon this step of making the Primat Chancelour, with some of Mr. Crawford's upon citing him. This noble Lord was not unfriendly to the Scots Bishops, and the great patron of Prelacy, and its restorer at the Restauration; and so his Accounts of the Primat and the rest of the Scots Bishops will have the more weight. The Earle observes, "That the Bishops of Scotland had indeed very little interest in the affections of that Nation, and less authority over it. They durst not contest with the Generall Assembly in point of Jurisdiction, so that there was little more than the name of Episcopacy preserved in that Church." To redeem them from contempt, and give them

weight in the State, however little they had in the Church, A.Bishop Spotswood was made Chancelour for life by the King's Commission, under both Seals, Jan. 14, 1635. This greatest Office in the Kingdom had never been in the hands of a Churchman since the Reformation, and suppressing the Pope's authority. Besides, 7 or 8 other Bishops were put on the Privy Council, the King presuming that their power in Civil Government and Judicatorys would make them the more reverenced, and the better enable them to settle the affaires of the Church. But, as Clarendon observes, "This accumulation of honnours upon them, to which their functions did not intitle them, exposed them to the envy of the whole Nobility, many of whom wished them well as to their Ecclesiasticall qualifications, but could not endure to see them possessed of those Offices and Imployments which they looked upon as naturally belonging to themselves. This did not only sharpen the edge of malice and envy against the Archbishop, but really alienated many from the Established Church it self, q^{ch} they looked on as the gulph ready to swallow up all other great Offices. The number of the Bishops was thought too great, so that they overballanced many debates; and some of them, by want of temper or want of breeding, did not behave themselves with that decency in their debates, towards the greatest men in the Kingdome, as in decency they ought to have done, and others reasonably expected of them." So that instead, as Mr. Crawford adds, of bringing any advantage to the Church, and facilitating the intentions of the King, in settling and promotting Episcopall Government, it produced a more generall prejudice to it, thô for the present there appeared no signe of discontent or ill will to them, but an intire acquiescence in all that the Bishop thought fitt to doe, which some interpreted to proceed from a conversion of their judgements, at least a submission to authority; whereas, as the forsaid Authority adds, "It appeared afterward to be from the observation they had made of the temper and indiscretion of those Bishops in the greatest authority, they were like to have more advantages administred to them by their ill managerie than they could raise by any contrivance of their own."

His Sermon before the Synod, Apr. 15, 1635. An Answer to it.

In Aprile, this year (if I do not mistake it), the Bishop held a Synod at Saint Andrews, where he had a Sermon at the opening of it which was very much taken nottice of, and made no little noise. He Preached it Aprile 15. I know no more of it than is in an Answer to it, which I have in an MS. written about that time, containing the remarkable Papers that were going, severall of them Mr. David Calderwood's. It was Collected by Mr. John Fergushill, Minister at Air, and is entituled "An Answer to the Bishop of Saint Andrews' Sermon;" but by whom it was written, I know not, or whether by Mr. Calderwood. It contains a serious Address to the old Bishop, and severall things of importance as to ye state of the Church at this time; and I thought it worth preserving, and have cast it into the Appendix N. (Copy.)

App. N.

Some Account of the last period of his Life.

I have little more during the four last years of the Bishop's life, he being now, as the Bishop of Winchester (the reputed Author of his Life before his History) sayes, in the Psalmist's grand climacterick, 70 years of age, but what the Readers will easily gather from the principall Papers that I shall sett down, which I incline to give at length, because they tend to enlighten this part of our Church History, which no body hath as yet given us regularly, since King James his Death.

His Letter, and the rest of the Bishops, to the A.B. of Canterburry, Aprile 2, 1635, on the Scots Liturgy.

The great matter now in hand was our Scotts Liturgy, which was now a framing. Some Writters, I find, assert that the great weight of making it and the Canons lay upon the Primate. Indeed, the work was not very great. There were only a few alterations made upon the English Book, which I reckon were generally made at the Bishop of Canterburry's direction; and as Mr. Kirktoun, who saw the originall Book corrected by B. Laud's hands, sayes, they were mostly removes backward to Popery and the Romish Missall. Be this as it will, there was a Meeting of the Bishops at Edinburgh, in Aprile, this year; and the Primat, with them, writes the following Letter to his Brother of Canterburry, and send up Doctor Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, to concert matters with him, and receive his directions. The Letter runs thus from Rushworth's Collections:—

May it please your Grace,—We have put our Brother, the Bishop of Ross, to the pains of a long journey, for aiding the Liturgy and Canons of the Church; and as we have found your Grace's favour, both to our Church in generall and to our selves, in diverse particulars, for which we are your Grace's debtors; so we are to entreat the continuance thereof in this, and our common affairs. We all wish a full Conformity in the Churches. By your Grace knoweth that this must be the work of time. We have made, blessed be God, a further progress than all have here expected in many years, by his Majesty's favour and your Grace's help; and hope still to go further, if it shall please God to continue your Grace in health and life, for which we pray continually. And so remitting all things to our Brother's relation, we take our leave,

Your Grace's affectionat brothers and servants,

ST. ANDREWS.
GLASGOW.
J., B. OF MURRAY.
AD., B. OF DUMBLANE.
THO. BRECHINE.

Aprile 2, 1635.

Designe to restore the State of Abbots in Scotland this year.

Every thing that passed in Scotland went through the Bishop of Canterburry's hands. However, the affair of Lundores, the subject of the following Letter, was a matter of consequence. Whether it came from our Primat or him of Canterburry, who was fond enough of every thing y_t tended to advance the splendure and influence of the Prelates, and bring us to a Conformity to Rome, I know not. But our Bishops had formed a project gradually to introduce the old Popish state of Abbotts, who sat in Parliament as well as Bishops, and were beginning the experiment w^t endeavouring to get a Minister of their kidney made Abbot of Lindores. This had been laid before the King, and the Bishop of Brechin took a journey to Court for this end. But the Nobility, who were already sufficiently narrowed by the restoring of Bishops, opposed this scheme. Upon this occasion, B. Laud writes what follows to Bishop Spotswood, as the King's will in this matter.

A.B. Laud's Letter to the Primat, Nov. 10, 1635, about the Abbacy of Lindores.

My very good Lord,—For the particulars entrusted by the Church to the Lord Bishop of Brechine, and namely about the Abbacy of Lindores, you must expect them from the L. Bishop himself, and by such relations as you will receive by my Lord and the Earle of Traqueir. Now at this time you shall receive nothing but that which is commanded by the King, and must be my part to act in the present and the future bussiness for the Church of Scotland.

My Lord, the King for the present is resolved, upon some great reasons of State which have prevailed with him, not to meddle with the Abbacy of Lindores, or any other of that nature, as yet; but to leave them in that state

wherein they now are, till such time as he may consider the Decrees and the Act or Acts of Parliament which may concern them; and till he can find a way to order them better, both for his own profite and the contentment of his people there. Assuring you in the mean time, that both in this and all other bussines, he will be very carefull both of the credit and maintainance of the Church; whereof, if either your self or any other Clergyman doubt, I am commanded to tell you, that therein you will not only do his Majesty wrong, but hurt your selves, and the Church which you seek to benefite. And in this very particular, you are to know, and make knowen to others, that it is not the dislike of any person or persons, or of the thing itself, that causes this present stay, but reason of State only, and the care which the King hath that all proceedings may go on according to Law. As for the Bishopricks, his Majesty will take their wants into as provident care as he can, and hath setled Arbroath on the Brechin; but in what form, I am not able to tell you, as not being so well acquainted with the Customes and Constitutions of that Kingdome; and therefore, lest I should mistake in any circumstance, I leave that wholly to the Bishop's own relation. For all the bussines of that Church which must come before the Exchequer for the future, or any other publick audience, or any other bussines that may reflect upon the Church, or any thing belonging to the King's Service in which Churchmen are intrusted, you are immutably to hold this rule, and that by his Ma$^{ty's}$ most strict and speciall command, namely, that your self, or the Lord Ross (the Bishop, as I take it), or both of you together, do privately acquaint the Earle of Traqueir with it, before it be proposed in publick, either at the Council Table, or the Exchequer, or else where; and the Earle hath assured the King in my presence, that he will strictly observe and hold the same correspondency and course with you. And furder, that he will faithfully and readily do all good offices for ye Church that come within his power, according to all commands he shall receive, either immediatly from the King or otherwise by direction of his Majesty from my self. And if at any time your Lordships and my Lord Traqueir shall, upon any of the forementioned bussiness, so differ in judgment that you cannot accord among your selves, let it rest, and write up, either to his Majesty or my self, to move his Majesty for further direction; which once received, you are all to obey: that so this little unhappy difference which lately arose about Lindores may be laid asleep, and that no other thereafter may rise up in the place of it, to disturb either the King's or the Churche's service, or disorder any of your selves, who are knowen to be such carefull and direct servants to both. And to the end that this bussiness may go on with better success, his Majesty precisely commands, that this relation betwixt the Earle of Traqueir and you be keeped very secret, and made known to no other person, whether of Clergy or Layity; for the divulging of those things cannot but breed jealousies amongst men, and disservices in regard of the things themselves. And therefore the King bids me tell you, that he shall take it very ill at his hand, who ever he be, that shall not straitly observe those instructions. This is all which I have in command to deliver to you, and I shall not mingle with it any particulars of my own. Therefore, wishing you all health and happines, and good speed in your great affaires, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

No Church Bussines to be proposed in Council or Exchequer without acquainting the Earle of Traqueir.

Your Grace's very loving friend and brother,

Nov. 10, 1635. W. Canterburry.

It seems pretty evident from this Letter, that Bishops Spotswood and Maxwell of Ross were the two persons the King left the direction of Church affaires in Scotland upon, under the conduct of the A.B. of Canterburry; that these two had brought in the affair of Abbotts and that of Lindores to the Council without concerting with Traqueir, who had, it seems, opposed it at Court, and his instances, with those of the Nobility, who were all against it, as what would in many cases affect their interest, and weaken their weight in their Votes in that high Court. Traqueir carryed his point with the King, and for some time, at least, there was no more done about it. However, this was a very unpleasing direction to the two Bishops, restricting them to a concert with Traqueir, whom they did not reckon over friendly to them, especially to Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, who was forking to be Treasurer in the Earle's room. Remark on it

Fasts were not very acceptable to our Scots Bishops. How the Bishop of Aberdeen came to authorize one, I know not. They were, it seems, distastefull to B. Laud, and the King, by his means. The Commons of England, 1628, considering the many tokens of wrath, particularly the growth of Popery and Arminianisme, Petitioned the King to appoint a Fast. Laud directed him to answer to the House of Commons' Petition, that he granted it at this time, but thought Fasts were too frequent, and wished them not to trouble him again with such demands. It's a strange pitch of insensibility people, especially Churchmen, are come to, when they turn enemies to applications to a holy God by publick Fasting and Prayer. The next Letter I meet with, a few weeks after the former, to the Archbishop, relates to this subject, and I give it from Mr. Rushworth. Another Letter of his against Fasts on the Sabbath, or any other day not appointed by the King, Decr. 1, 1635.

My very good Lord, Salutem in Christo.—I have but one thing at this present to trouble you with, but that hath very much displeased the King, and not without very just cause; for now when the King is settling that Church against all things that were defective in it, and against the continowance of all unwarrantable Customs, unknown to and opposed by the ancient Church of Christ, the now Bishop of Aberdeen hath given way to, and allowed a Publick Fast throughout his Diocess, to be keeped on the Lord's Day, contrary to the Rules of Christianity and all the ancient Canons of the Church. I was in good hopes that Church had quite laid down that ill custome; but since it appears that the now Bishop of Aberden hath

continued it, and perhaps others may follow his example, if this pass without a check: therefore his Majesty's express will and command to your Grace is, that you and my Lord Glasgow take order with all the Bishops in your severall Provinces respectively, that no man presume to suffer or command any Fast upon that day, or indeed any Publick Fast on any other day, without the speciall leave and command of the King, to whose power it belongs, and not to them. And further, his Majesty's will and pleasure is, that if the Canons be not already Printed, as I presume they are not, that you make a Canon purposely against this unworthy Custome, and see it Printed with the rest; and that you write a short Letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen, to let him see how far he hath overshot himself, which Letter you may send with those of mine, if you so please. This is all which, for the present, I have to trouble you with. Therefore leaving you to God's blessed protection, I rest

Your Grace's very loving friend and brother,

Decr. 1, 1635. W. Canterburry.

Observe on it.

It must be ouned, that this Custome of appointing Public Fasts upon the Lord's Day was in use in the Church of Scotland since the Reformation, and since the last establishment of Episcopacy, as well as under Presbitry. But, then, generally speaking, there was, besides the Sabbath wherein the Fast was, as it were, begun and intimat, a week day, ordinarly the Wednesday following, whereupon the Fast was strictly and directly keeped. I believe this came in insensibly at first, that their Fast Dayes were pretty frequent, Ministers had no mind to substract too many of the working dayes, and hinder the people from their proper lawfull bussiness. Indeed, to me the practice of Publick Fasting on the Sabbath, save on very extraordinary occasions, is not tenible; not so much as contrary to the ancient Canons, some of which are too idle and superstitious, but as pretty inconsistent with the nature and great ends of the institution of the Sabbath; thô perhaps some things may be said to shew that Fasting upon extraordinary occasions is not altogether inconsistent with the Sabbath. But, then, thô this be pretended as the chief thing blamed in the B. of Aberdeen, yet the truth soon appears. Fasting on the Sabbath was made a handle of for the reproof, but Fasting without the King's allowance is what was chiefly intended; and I am pretty sure B. Laud, with all his acquaintance with the ancient Canons of the Church, could never support the unlawfulness of a Public Fast without the interposition or appointment of the King. That was a Doctrine unknown to the Christian Church

till Henry the 8th his time; and I may say, in Scotland at least, the most of our Prelats shewed a great aversion to Fasting and Prayer in this period, being conscious, I suspect, that the corruptions they themselves brought in were matter of mourning to the most part of such who loved this usefull and necessary exercise of Fasting and Prayer.

The Canons Ecclesiasticall for Scotland, Printed 1636.

Last year, and this 1636, the Archbishop was much taken up w^t^ the forming of the Canons for the Church of Scotland, and changing and modelling the English Liturgy for the use of Scotland. The Canons were finished, and Printed at Aberdeen this year. Mr. Crawford, on the Life of B. Spotswood, thinks the Bishop began w^t^ the Canons because they were the shortest part of the work. I am ready to think the alterations and differences between the Liturgy in England are little larger than the Canons, and the most remarkable changes were formed to their hand by the Bishop of Canterburry. Be that as it will, the Canons were first Composed and Published, thô this was preposterous a little, they containing severall references to the Liturgy, which was not ready for a year or thereby. The Bishop of Saint Andrews sent them to the King, and he committed them to the corrections of the Bishops of Canterburry, London, and Norwich, all of them very high flyers. Some amendments were made, which, when agreed to by the Scotts Bishops, they were put in the King's hand, who, unadvisedly enough for his own purposes, ordered them to be Published without delay, being earnest to have the work of Uniformity with England once fairly begun.

Reasons for the Publishing them.

The reasons given for Publishing those Ecclesiasticall Canons were, "That there might be a fixed measure and rule for stating the power of the Clergy and the practice of the Laity. That the Acts of Assemblys were only in Manuscript, and so bulky and voluminous, that the Transcribing them was almost impracticable. That the Authority of the Copies could not be well stated, and it was hard to distinguish between the genuine and interpolat passages. That this reducing Church Regulations to so narrow a compass, and exposing them to publick view, would render them the more usefull. And lastly, that not one in the Kingdom governed himself by the former Acts of Assemblys."

Blunders in the management of the Scots Bishops as to the Canons.

My Lord Clarandon and other Writters nottice several blunders in the present management as to those Canons. It was reckoned a very far wrong step that those Canons, neither before nor after they were sent to the King, had ever been communicat to any Assembly or Convocation of the Clergy, who were so much concerned in them, nor even to the Privy Council. The Earle remarks, that all new Constitutions, and new setts of Discipline in the Church, concern the Government of ye State, and relate nearly to the Municipall Laws. B. Laud had still warned the Scotts Bishops not to propose any thing contrary to Law, and to communicat all to the Privy Council. The young Bishops whom B. Laud brought in made the King to believe that the Canons proposed would be gratefull to the most considerable among the Clergy, Nobility, and to ye people; and thought to carry their point by making those Canons come down backed with the King's name and authority. But as the Earle well observes, they never durst submitt those Canons to any other observation than what the King should direct in England. The generall aversion to Innovations, and the matter of the Canons, perhaps, made those ommissions some way necessary; and their only refuge was the King's name and authority. But it was perfectly unaccountable, that the Canons were Published a year before the Liturgy, to which they had so plain a reference, severall of them particularly relating to it. The Clergy were required to Swear submission and obedience to all in it, before they could possibly know what was in it.

Further objections against them.

Indeed, the Canons came out in the shape of so many new Lawes imposed upon Scotland, under all those disadvantages; contrived by strangers, or persons here of whom the most part had no good opinion; and they were reckoned so many badges of subjection to England. Besides, they were so far from being confyned to the Church, that generally they were looked on as invading the Civil Government; and persons of all qualitys esteemed themselves lesed by them; and they were reckoned very much verging towards Popery. The Earle Clarendon himself sayes, "There were some things in some particular Canons, how distant in themselves from inclining to Popery, which yet

gave too much advantage to those who maliciously watched the occasion to perswade weak men that it was an approach and introduction to that Religion." And the same or greater advances towards Rome were observed in the Liturgy when it came to be Published, as we shall see just now.

Particular objections as to their contents and matter.

There were, in the last place, many things in the matter of the Canons that could not but raise a dislike to them in Scotland. They defined and determined that such an unlimited power and authority was in the King as the Kings of Israel had, and such a full supremacy in all cases Ecclesiasticall as had never been pretended to by our former Kings, nor submitted to by the Clergy and Nation. It was likewise enacted, that no Ecclesiasticall persons should become Surety or Bound for any man. That Nationall or Generall Assemblys should only be called and convocate by the King's authority. That all Bishops and Ecclesiasticall persons who die without children should be oblidged to give a good part of their Estates to the Church; and thó they should have children, that they should leave somewhat to the Church and for advancement of Learning. That none should receive the Sacrament but upon their Knees. That the Clergy should have no Privat Meetings for Expounding the Scripture, or for consulting on matters Ecclesiasticall. That no man should cover his head in the time of Divine Service. That no Clergyman should conceive Prayers *ex tempore*, but be bound to Pray only by the Form prescribed in the Liturgy. That no man should Teach a School, or in a privat house, without a Licence from the Archbishop or the Bishop of the Diocess. The old Termes of the Church were applyed, the *quatuor tempora* mentioned, and all Ordinations restrained to those 4 seasons of the year. A Font is ordered in every Church for Baptisme; particular places are appointed for the Table, and Font, and decent Ornaments. Excommunication was not to be pronounced, nor Absolution given, without the approbation of the Bishop. Confession was recommended; and all Presbiters were required not to reveal what he had in Confession, save in such cases as by the Law of the Land his own life was to be forfaulted. And lastly, it was ordained that no person should be received in to Holy Orders, or suffered

to Preach or administer Sacraments, without first Subscribing those Canons.

The Canons Printed, 1636.

This is but a short hint at some of the Canons which were most excepted against; and they are such innovations, and in their matter so suspicious, that it's no wonder they made a great noise. All those, and much more, will appear best from the Canons themselves, which are not very long, and not in the hands of very many, and therefore I'le give them in the Appendix, from the Edition Printed this year. App. N. (Copy 4to Pamphl., Vol. 52, N. 1.) And because I have the Original Copy in my hands, prepared by Mr. Laurence Charters, named for this work by the Bishops, after the Restoration, who were making a push against B. Spotswood's Predecessor, Bishop Sharp, I shall add the Rectifications proposed to be made in the Canons by a Nationall Assembly, of which I have said somewhat upon the History of our sufferings in this Church. It stands App. N. (Copy 4to MS. v.)

App. N.

With Alterations proposed to be made on ym.

App. N.

The King's Declaration touching the Alterations made by Bishop Laud in the Scots Liturgy, April 19, 1636.

The great thing in dependance, next year, was the Liturgy for Scotland, so much upon Bishop Laud's heart. It seems, two years before, the alterations to be made upon the English Book of Common Prayer, in order to its being adapted to Scotland, by the King and our Scots Bishops, no doubt in concert with the Bishop of Canterburry. But if I may make a conjecture from what we have above from Mr. Kirktoun, Bishop Laud, when he found Bishops Maxwell, Whiteford, Sydserfe, and others of ye younger Scots Bishops, perfectly plyable to his designes, made further rectifications in the Liturgy, and brought it nearer the Romish Mass Book, and prevailed easily with an obsequious King in thir matters to preferr them to those agreed on before, and recommend them to the Scots Bishops. Accordingly, I find in Rushworth the King's Declaration of his pleasure concerning the Scottish Liturgy. Aprile 19, 1636. CHARLES REX. "I gave the Archbishop of Canterburry command to make the Alterations expressed in this Book, and to fitt a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland; and wheresoever they shall differ from another Book Signed by us at Hamptoun Court, Sept. 28, 1634, our pleasure is to have those followed, rather than the former;

unless the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and his Brethren who are upon the place, shall see apparent reason to the contrary."

Instructions to the A.Bish. and Bishops of Scotland as to the Liturgie, Oct. 18, 1636.

It seems this matter of the Liturgy was settled and ended by October this year; and then the King sends doun his instructions to the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops, as to the Publishing of that Book, which deserves a room here, from Rushworth's Collections. Their Title runs—

INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS SACRED MAJESTY TO THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND. CHARLES REX.

That you advert that the Proclamation authorizing their Service Book derogate nothing from our Royall prerogative. That in the Kalendar you keep such Catholick Saints as are in the English; that you pester it not with too many; but such as you insert of the peculiar Saints of that our Kingdom, that they be of the most approved; and here to have regard to those of the Blood Royall and such Holy Bishops in every See most renouned. But in no case ommitt Saint George and Patrick. That in your Book of Orders, in giving Orders to Presbiters, you keep the words of the English Book, without change, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c. That you insert in the Lessons ordinarly to be Read in the Service, out of ye Book of Wisdome, the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 Chapters; and out of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, the 1, 2, 5, 8, 35, and 49 Chapters. That every Bishop in his own family, twice a day, cause the Service to be done. That all A.Bishops and Bishops make all Universitys and Colledges within their Diocesses to use twice a day the Service. That the Preface to the Common Prayer, Signed by our hand, and the Proclamation authorizing the same, be Printed, and inserted in the Book of Common Prayer.—Given at Newmarket, Oct. 8th, 1636, and of our Reigne the 11.

The Primate Baptizes the Ld. Dowglas' son after the manner of England, the King being Godfather, Feb. 9, 1637.

The next year, 1637, brings in a great change of matters in Scotland; and I shall only give a few hints concerning the Archbishop that are less notticed, and some of them not at all observed by the Writters on this great turn of affairs—to introduce the Liturgy, which was now soon to be more publickly sett up, in Feb., 1637. There was a great Solemnity in the Chappell Royall at the Baptisme of a son of the Lord Dowglass, eldest son to the Marquise of Dowglass, upon the 9th of February. There was a great concourse of Nobility, and Ladyes, and Gentry. The King stood as Godfather to the child, who was named Charles, being represented by the Lord Treasurer, who, by orders from Court, acted as if the King himself had been there. All the King's Officers attended him in time of dinner, as the Master Housholder, Carvers, Cup-bearers, Stewards of the House. The

Treasurer eat at a table by himself, and was served with the same State as if his Majesty in person had been there, with aboundance of the richest dishes, in silver plate, guilded work, and all manner of confections, wett and dry. He sat under a Canopy, as our Kings used to do, and all persons in the house uncovered. When he went in to the Chappell Royall, he was attended by a great number of the Nobility; and the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, now Chancelour, went before him, discovered, carrying in his hand the Purse which used to be carryed before himself. This was thought below the Chancelour of Scotland. The child was Baptized after the manner of England, by the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, in his white Surplice, the Collects were read, Quiristers sung, and ye Organs played.

The Bishop gives Warrands to Marry persons who are not Proclaimed, June, 1637.

One thing now very soon laid to the Bishop's charge, upon ye turn this year, was his granting Warrand to many persons without Proclamation of Bands, as the Law of Scotland expressly requires. What power was pretended by them for dispensing with this Law, I do not know. It might be of the worst consequence to the best familys in the Kingdom. I have before me two Holograph Warrands for this manner of proceeding, given by the Primate this year, which, because they are singularitys in their kind, I shall here insert from the Originalls. The first is directed "To my loving Brother, Mr. Herbert Glaidstanes, Minister at Traquier; or in his absence, to Mr. Thomas Melvil and Mr. George Glaidstanes, Ministers. This to be delivered."

Loving Brother,—Understanding that Alexander Greirson, brother to the Laird of Lagg, is contracted in Marriage with Margaret Glen, daughter to William Glen, Burgess of Dumfreice, and that they are desirous to be Marryed without Proclamation, for reasonable causes: therefore desireing you to Solemnize their Marriage, when they shall require the same, whereunto this shall be unto you a Warrand.

Your loving Brother, SAINT ANDREWS.

Given at Edinburgh, the 16th of June, 1637.

Another, Sept. 21, 1637.

The other is directed "To his loving brother, Mr. Har. Phairris, Minister at Tyndell; and in his absence, to Mr. George Black, Minister at Dunscore," and runneth—

Loving Brother,—As I am informed there is a promise of Marriage between William Greirson of Bargalcomie and Elizabeth Murray, relict of

umphile Mr. John Greirson, which is done with consent of all parties having entress: therefore I desire you to joyn them in Marriage, though they be not Proclaimed according to ye Order; whereanent thir Presents shall be to you a Warrand. Your affectionat Brother,

SAINT ANDREWS.

Given at Edinburgh, the 21 of September, 1637.

The A.Bishop, by Act of Council, ordered to take the Precedency of the Chancelour and all other subjects.

The Writter of the Collections from 1589-1641, which I cite sometimes by the name of Edinburgh Collections, remarks, that upon the 4th of July, 1637, the Secret Council made an Act, upon the Lord Treasurer's verball declaration that it was his Majesty's will, that the Bishop of Saint Andrews, and his Successors, should be held the first and prime subject of this Kingdome, and that they should have the precedency in all places and Councils of the Lord High Chancellor, who before this had the precedency of all subjects. This was accordingly enacted and declared. We have seen before, that his Predecessor, Chancelour Hay, would never yield the precedency to the Primat. One would think that it was not so very generous in the Archbishop, when he had the extraordinary honour, as being Chancelour himself, to throw up the alledged rights and prerogatives of that very honourable Office to his Successors. I have remarked in ye History of the Sufferings of this Church, Vol. I., the Warrand which, after the Restoration, came down to Archbishop Sharp, renewing the precedency here allowed, and how heavily the Earle of Glencairn, then Chancelour, took it. As to Bishop Spotswood, he enjoyed this honour he procured for his Successors very short while. This very moneth, the confusions began which forced him to leave the Kingdome, instead of being the first subject in it. I shall not apply the known passage of the Latine Poet—

"Tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu graviore ruant."

The Tumult in Edinr., July 23, 1637.

The beginning of the generall turn which happened in the end of this year, was the Tumult which hapened on the 23d of this same moneth. Upon severall of the Lives I am writing, I have given Accounts of this unconcerted and undesigned tumult. We had just now Mr. Kirktoun's short hint concerning it, and I shall add no more here as to that. The Bishops, and particularly the Primate, by his driving matters so very high, and perhaps

higher than he himself inclined to, had it not been for the furious driving of Bishop Laud, now at ye head of affaires, brought on the generall mislike of the methods now so fast run into. The Mob began in a manner which no body who loves order will commend; and the Nobility and Gentry, who for many years were sufficiently disgusted at the management of the Bishops, for some time stood neuters; and when matters in England were every day more and more inflamed by B. Laud and Strafford's violent measures, they stood up in defence of our libertys in Church and State. The conduct of the Primat and Bishops upon this matter of using publickly the Liturgy, and especially after the tumult in St. Giles' Kirk, laid them open to many censures; and even their friend, and he who pushed this affair, spares them not, but blames their conduct in 5 or 6 instances. Those censures fell heaviest upon Bishop Spotswood, and therefore it will not be improper to give some of the many Letters which passed at this time, from Rushworth's Collections and Bishop Burnet's Memoires, which, thô some of them are not to him or from him, yet they nearly concern his and his brethren the Bishops their management at this time; and they are not in the hands of many, therefore I'le venture to give them here.

Earle of Traquair's Letter to the Marquise of Hamiltoun, where he layes the cause of the present stirrs on the Bishops.

The Earle of Traquair's Letter to the Marquise of Hamiltoun, August 7th, which B. Burnet hath preserved to us, fairly enough lays ye blame of the confusions at present upon the Bishops. It's worth inserting here.

My noble Lord,—At the Meeting of the Council here at Edinburgh, upon the 23 instant, who found so much appearance of trouble and stirr like to be amongst people of all qualitys and degrees, upon urging of this new Service Book, that we durst no longer forbear to acquaint his Majesty therewith, and humbly to represent both our fears and opinions how to prevent the danger, at least, our opinions of the way we would wish his Majesty should keep therein, or before he determine what course to take for pacifying of the present stirr, or establishing of the Service Book hereafter. Wherein all I will presume to add, after what the Council have written, is to entreat your Lôp to recommend to his Majesty, that if he be pleased to call to himself any of the Clergy, he would make choice of some of them of the wisest and most calm disposition; for certainly some of the leading men amongst them are so violent and forward, and many times without ground and true judgement, that their want of right understanding how to compass a bussines of this nature and weight doth often breed us many difficultys; and their rash and foolish expressions, and sometimes attempts, both in privat and

public, have bred such a fear and jealousy in the hearts of many, that I am confident, if his Majesty were rightly informed thereof, he would blame them, and justly think that from this and the like proceedings arise ye grounds of many mistakes amongst us. They compleaned that the former ages have taken from them many of their Rents, have robbed them of their power and jurisdiction; and even in the Church it self, and Form of God's Worship, have brought in some things that require reformation. But as the deeds of those times, at least the beginning of them, were full of tumultuary and notour disorder, so I shall never think it will prove for the good, either of God's service or the King's, by ye same wayes or manner of dealing, to press to rectify what was then done amiss. We have a wise and judicious master, who will or can urge nothing in this poor Kingdome which may not be brought to pass to his contentment; and I am most confident, that if he will be graciously pleased to hear his faithfull servants inform him of the truth, he shall direct that which is just and right; and with the same assurance I do promise him obedience. The interest your Lôp hath in this poor Kingdom, but more particularly you ow to his Majesty, and the true respect I know you have ever carryed to his Majesty's honour and the good of his service, makes me thus bold to acquaint your Lôp with this bussiness, which in good faith is, by the folly and misgovernment of some of our Clergymen, come to that height, that the like has not been seen in this Kingdom of a long time. But I hope your Lôp will take in good part my true meaning, and ever construct favourably the affections of

Edinburgh, August 27, 1637. TRAQUAIR.

Remarks upon it.

It is probable that the Earle wrote this Letter to the Marquise after he had received the following from the A.B. of Canterburry, who in his way blames the Bishops very loudly for their mismanagements at this juncture, and in some things not with so just cause as the Earle of Traquair; otherwise, it may be, he would not have written so plainly upon the conduct of the Bishops as he does to the Marquise. It's very common, when men are going down the hill, there are many to push them downward, and the way is easy. Whether the Earle points at Bishop Spotswood, when he speaks of the *leading men* amongst them, I am not so certain; it may be he had rather Bishop Maxwell, and some others of the more fiery sort, in his eye. It's certain, that the Primat, and others of the elder sort, were not very keen for a Liturgy and the whole of the English usages. And yet the Primat, when once engaged in a matter, had aboundance of spirit and mettall to go through with it. And I doubt but his brother of Canterburry had him in his eye in the particulars he blames, as being at the head of the Church, and one whom he expected would have ordered things some better. Thô I am ready to think

it was former things, wherein the Bishop of Canterburry had a very deep share, were much more at ye bottome of the present confusions than any of those things B. Laud condescends on here.

A.B. Laud's Letter to the Earle of Traquair, Aug. 7, 1637.

I'le give his Letter to the Earle of Traquair, Dated the 7th of August, probably after he had received one from the Earle, signifying he was necessarly from Edinburgh when the Tumult hapened. It stands thus in Rushworth:—

My Lord,—I think you know my opinion, how I would have Church bussiness carryed, were I as much a master of men as, I thank God, I am of things. It's true the Church there, as well as elsewhere, hath been ever born by violence, both in matter of maintainance and jurisdiction; but if the Church will recover in any of those, she and her governours must proceed, not as she was proceeded against; but by a constant temper, she must make the world see she had the wrong, but offer none. And since Law hath followed in that Kingdome, perhaps to make good what hath been ill done, yet since a Law it is, such a reformation and restitution should be sought for as might stand with the Law, and some expedient be found out how the Law may be, by some just exposition, helped, till the State shall see cause to abolish it.

His Majesty takes it very ill, that the bussiness concerning the stablishment of the Service Book hath been so weakly carryed; and hath great reason to think himself and his Government dishonoured by the late Tumult in Edinburgh, July 23; and therefore expects that your Lôp and the rest of the honourable Council set your selves to it, that the Liturgy may be established orderly and with peace, to repair what hath been done amiss. For his Majesty knowes well enough, that the Clergy alone have not power enough to go through with a bussiness of this nature, and therefore is not very well satisfyed with them, either for the ommission in that kind to advise for assistance of the Lords of the Couucil, or for the preparation or way they took. For certainly, the publication a week before, that on the next Sunday the Prayers, according to the Liturgy, should be Read in all the Churches of Edinburgh, was on the matter to give those that were ill affected to the Service time to communicat their thoughts, and to premeditat and provide against it, as it is most apparent they did.

Nor is his Majesty well satisfyed with the Clergy, that they which are in authority were not advertised, that they might attend the countenancing of such a Service, so much tending to the honour of God and the King. And I am verily perswaded, that if that accident of your kinsman's Marriage had not carryed your Lôp out of the City that day, some things would not have been altogether so bad, and my Lord Privy Seal would have had better assistance.

Neither was this the best act that ever they did, to send away their Letters apart, without acquainting the Council, that their advertisements might have come by the same messenger, together with their joynt advice, which way was best to punish offenders, at least the prime and chief of them, and which to prevent disorders. And after so long time of preparation, to be to seek who should Read the Service, is more than strange to me, unless they think such a bussiness can do it self. But his Majesty, out of his

piety and wisdom, gave by the messenger which the Bishops sent, such full directions, both to the Lords of ye Council and the Lords of the Clergy, as I hope will settle the business from farther trouble. But the Proclamation which you have now sent up to the King, I have not seen.

Of all the rest, the weakest part was the interdyting of all Divine Service till his Majesty's pleasure was further known. And this, as also the giving warning of the publishing, his Majesty, at the first reading of the Letters and report of the fact, checked it, and commanded me to write so much to my Lord of Saint Andrews, which I did; and your Lôp, at the Council, July 24, spoke very worthily against the interdicting of the Service; for that were in effect as much as to disclaim the work, and to give way to the insolency of the baser multitude; and his Majesty hath commanded me to thank you for it in his name. But the disclaiming of ye Book, as any act of theirs, but as it was his Majesty's command, was most unworthy. It's most true, the King commanded a Liturgy, and it was time they had one. They did not like to admitt of ours, but thought it more reputation for them, as indeed it was, to compile one of their own. Yet as near as might be, they have done it well. Will they now cast down the milk they have given, because a few milkmaids have scolded at them? I hope they will be better advised. Certainly they were very ill advised when they spoke thus at the Council Board. By my Lord, of this there was not one word in the Letter, so I hope they have done with that.

August 7, 1637. W. Cant.

A.B. of Canterburry to B. Spotswood, Sept. 4, 1637.

By this Letter, we see that the Archbishop of Canterburry had writt to B. Spotswood, and in the King's name blamed him for some things. This would, no doubt, draw an apology from our Primate. I am sorry I have neither of those to give my Reader, but B. Laud's return I find in Rushworth, and it runs—

Touching the Tumult, I can say no more than I have said already. And for the casting any fault on your Grace, as if the thing were done precipitantly, I think few men will believe that. But that which is thought here is, that though you took advice among your selves, yet the whole body of the Council was not acquainted with all your determinations, nor their advice taken, nor their power called in for assistance, till it was too late; and that after the thing was done, you consulted apart, and sent up to the King, without joyning the Lay Lords with you; whereas all was little enough in a bussines of this nature, and so much opposed by some factious men, gathered, it seems, purposely at Edinburgh, to disturb this bussines. And indeed, my Lord, in this particular you could not have engaged the Lay Lords too far. And if any Lord here speak too much, when he thought the Service might have been received throughout all that Kingdom in one day, I hope your Grace falls as much short on the other side; for I hope it will be setled in far less time than seven years. And whereas you write, that the fault is most in your Ministers, I easily believe that to be true; but then they should have been dealt with before hand, and made plyable, especially in Edinburgh, or else some others appointed in the room of such as disliked. And since your Grace is of opinion that a sharper course would have done good, and that you would have taken such with Mr. Ramsay, if my Lords

had not altered your opinion, his Majesty leaves you to take that course, both with him and others, as you shall find fittest for his service and the Churche's. As for the Postscript, I am sorry, as well as you, for Mr. Rollock, and this is all I have to say of him. So desiring God to bless you through those troubles, I leave you, &c.

Sept. 4, 1637. W. Cant.

Remarks on it.

It's pity we want the former Letters this referrs to, which would open out this matter a little further. The Primat of all England writes here to his brother in a kind of frett. It would seem that Bishop Spotswood insinuat as if the Service Book would not be yet setled in every Congregation in Scotland for seven years, which, for all B. Laud's hopes, proved true; and from this one may gather, thô the old Bishop remained in his former sentiments, that the Liturgy would not settle in Scotland without convulsions. He, it seems, designed greater severitys on Mr. Andrew Ramsay than the Council would go in to. His treatment, as we will see on his Life, was pretty harsh: he was confyned to his house, and prohibite Preaching for a good many weeks, till matters changed so far that it was found necessary to relieve him.

B. Laud's Letter to Traquair, Sept. 11, 1637.

Let me only add, because it relates to this same matter, A.Bishop Laud's Letter to the Earle of Traquair, a few dayes after this, likewise from Rushworth.

My very good Lord,—I have received your Letter of August 20, and am very glad to read in them that mine came safe to your hand by your servant. For the bussines, I had some little inkling given me by my Lord Striviling about the stay of the Service Book; but till I read your Letter, I did not believe it possible that way should be given to an Interdiction, especially considering how strongly you had ever opposed it, and withall, how weak and uncounsellable, at least in my judgement, the thing it self was. For they could not but forsee, that that course would add a great deal of heartning and encouragement to the Puritan party; and therefore it's no wonder such aid others as were ill affected to the Liturgy, were easy in giving way to that counsell, which they could not but see would advance their own ends; but that my Lord of Ross should give the advice, and my Lord of Saint Andrews follow it with such stiffness, may be a wonder to any man that knowes them and the bussines.

My Lord Saint Andrews hath lately written to me, that my Lord of Ross was gone to his Diocess; but for my part I did not think that all the rest would have gone away and left ye bussines, for they cannot but think that the adverse party would make use of the present time to put further difficultys upon ye work, and therefore they should have been as carefull to uphold it, my Lord of Ross especially, whose hand hath been as much in it

as the most. But since they are gone, his Majesty takes it extremely well that my Lord of Edinburgh, Galloway, and Dumblain have stayed, and attended the bussiness as they can; and he hath expressly commanded me to give your Lôp thanks for staying with them, and keeping them so well in heart. For as the bussiness is now foiled, if you do not stick closs to God's and the King's Service in it, it will certainly suffer more than it's fitt it should.

His Majesty takes it exceeding well from your Lôp, that you have dealt with the City of Edinburgh for maintainance for such as take upon them to read the Liturgy; and takes it well from the City it self, from whom I have received a fair and very discreet Letter, which I have shewed his Majesty, and wrote the City an answer by this return, and given them his Majesty's thanks, which indeed he commanded me to do very heartily; and in truth they deserve it, especially as ye times stand.

As for the Ministers of Edinburgh, I know the refusall of Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Rollock; but that any other of them stuck at it, or that any Bishops seem not to be forward, is more than I heard of till now. But for that of Mr. Ramsay, or any of the Bishops who would have somewhat amended, if that should be yielded unto now, unless they could give such reasons, as I know they cannot, it would mightily dishonour the King, who, to my knowledge, hath carefully looked over and approved every word of this Liturgy. And I doubt it would utterly destroy the Service it self; for when one man, out of an humor, dislikes one thing, and another another thing, by that time every man's dislike were satisfyed, there would be little left to serve God with. Besides, it is not improbable but some men would be as earnest to have the self same thing keeped in, which others would have so fain thrust out, what ere it be; and that may make it grow up to a formall contestation upon some particulars, and quite distemper the Service. But whereas you write, that some Bishops speak plainly, that if their opinions had been craved they would have advised the amending of something. Truely for that, and in that way, I would with all my heart they had seen it. And why my Lord of Saint Andrews, and they which were entrusted by the King, did not discreetly acquaint every Bishop with it, considering that every Bishop must be used in their severall Diocesses, I know no reason; and sure I am, there was no prohibition. And since I hear from others, that some exception is taken because there is more in that Liturgy, in some few particulars, than in that of the Church of England, why did they not admitt the Liturgy of England without more adoe? But by their refusall of that, and their dislike of this, it's more than manifest they would have neither, perhaps none at all, were they left to themselves. But, my Lord, to your self only, and in your ear, a great favour you will do me, if you will get my Lord of Galloway to set down in brief propositions, and without further discourse, all the exceptions that are taken against the Liturgy, by Ramsay, Rollock, or any other. And I would be content to know, who the Bishops are who would have amended something had they been advised with, and what that is they would have so amended.

Sept. 11, 1637. WILL. CANT.

Remarks upon it.

By this Letter, it appears that the Earle of Traquair was very much a confident of Bishop Laud's at this time; that in Council he had appeared against laying aside the Service Book,

and for all warm measures; and yet in his Letter to the Marquise of Hamiltoun he seems to write in a quite other strain. It seems the Bishop of Saint Andrews had the forming of the Liturgy committed to him by the King, and the Primat of England, joyntly with the Bishop of Ross. How they came to be the proposers of laying aside the Service, and B. Spotswood to be stiff upon it, in Council, I cannot tell. It's probable that the opposition to it being coming to a great head, and they seeing things running to confusion, the Archbishop returned to his cool and first sentiments on that head; and the Bishop of Ross was willing to roll off the odium from himself, by proposing to lay it aside. The story of peoples being gathered together, on the 23 of July, from ye Countrey, to oppose their Service Book, is without all foundation, as far as I can find, the opposition being unpremeditated, and perfectly tumultuary. The Letter the B. of Canterburry speaks of, from the Town of Edinburgh, stands in Rushworth's Collections, vol. 2, p. 393. And the torrent run so high, that they change their note in their next Letter to him, Septr. 26 (Rushworth, p. 399), and tell him, that the confluence of persons from all quarters is so great against the Service Book, and by their suggestions they have so far razed out the dutifull regards among the people of their City to obey the King, as to the Service Book, that they can no longer answer for them; and they have been forced to supplicat ye Council to be left in the same state with the rest of the Kingdom, that is, not to have the Service Book at present urged upon them.

The chief objection against ye Scots Liturgy from its variation in Communion Service from the English, and its agreement with the Mass Book.

Let me only add, since it's one thing B. Laud referrs to in his Letter, that the great thing that stumbled many as to the matter of the Service Book, was the very considerable change which was made in the Scots Liturgy, in the words to be used at the distribution of the Elements, from those in the English Blood [Book?], and the intire dropping of "Doing this in remembrance that Christ Dyed for thee, and feed on Him by faith in thine heart by thanksgiving," as to the Bread; and as to the Wine, those words were dropped, "And drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankfull." This so much favoured the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and brought

the Scots Book back to the very words of the Roman Missal, that every body saw it a step, and a very wide one, back to Popery. The Bishop of Canterburry, from whom this and severall other alterations originally came, and yet, for any thing I can find, were frankly enough gone into by Bishop Spotswood and others, needed not have been so earnest to know what Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Rollock, and, as he was told, some of the Bishops themselves, would have had amended. As to those two worthy Ministers, I am ready to think, by this time, it was not amendments would satisfy them, and the generality of the Ministry in Scotland. They saw the evil now of yielding so far as they did to the Articles of Perth, and were against the Liturgy altogether, as Bishop Laud, not without reason, argueth in his Letter. This being the chief point that made the greatest noise at this time, I shall give the words of Distribution as they stand in the English Liturgy, and then as they are in the Scotts Book, and lastly, as they stand in the Romish Mass Book, that the Reader may see that the outcry which at present was made upon the urging the Service Book (which had not only this but many other alterations to the worse, from the English) was not so unreasonable as many of the Prelatick Writters make it. Such as would see this at full length, may consult the learned Mr. Baillie's "Paralell betwixt the Liturgy and Mass Book."

English Liturgy.

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. And take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ Dyed for thee; and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. Amen.

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life. And drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankfull. Amen.

Scots Liturgy.

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, that was given for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life. To q^{ch} the party shall say Amen.

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy soul and body to everlasting life. Amen.

Roman Missall.

Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.

Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.

B. Spotswood retires, and is little in Edinr.

I shall say little further of the Lyturgie, but leave the various turns things took to such as write a distinct account of this year's transactions, for which we have abundance of materialls, and return to what hints I can gather as to B. Spotswood. The Writter of ye Edinburgh Collections, upon November this year, remarks, that the Archbishop now chose to abide at Saint Andrews; and neither he nor the Provost of Edinr. came to Toun, but seemed to lye quite aside, and overlook matters. Mean while they were very bussy in dealing at London for carrying on the Service Book; and the Earle of Roxburgh, a very witty man, was expected with a Commission from the King to settle all matters; thô it was said, that the B. of Saint Andrews, Galloway, and Dumblain, in their last Conference with the Counsellours, agreed to lay the Lyturgy aside.

He comes to Leith, Nov. 24, and allows the old Prayers to be read.

Upon the 24 of November, the Bishop of Saint Andrews came over the watter to Leith, and stayed there some dayes. The Provost of Edinburgh, John Hay, who was friendly to the Bishops, some of the Baillies, and severall of the Bishops, had their Meetings with him. In order, as he professed, to gratify the Town, he granted allowance that the ordinary Prayers should be read morning and evening, in the Great Kirk, as before. The Reader, James Fisher, began to read, Munday the 27 of November, and read not two Chapters of the Bible, as he used formerly. He passed over some of the Prayers, and read the last first, and first last. He pretended he had orders for this from some of the Ministers of Edinburgh. Mean while the Great Kirk of Edinburgh was still repairing, the Windows enlarging, and every thing making ready for the pompous Service which was designed in it.

December 14, he is in the Council at Dalkeith, and leaves it, and retires.

In December, the Earle of Roxburgh came down from London. The Councill was removed from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, and the Session prohibit to meet at Edinburgh. The Nobility, and Commissioners from Shires, and the Ministry, continued to offer their Supplications to the Council, and grew in their demands; and now they expressly declined the Bishops as their Judges, either

in Civil or Sacred things. The Counsellours used all means to divert them from this, to divide y^{m}, and bring them to give in their Supplications separately, and above all, to drop their declining of the Bishops; but in vain. Upon the 14 of December, the Bishop of Saint Andrews was in Councill, and then the Petitioners insisted upon their Petitions being read. He, and the Earle of Traquair, and Roxburgh, went out of the Council at Dalkeith by a back door, and the rest declined to act that day. More than once the Petitioners were thus baulked, by ye Councill's dismissing while they were attending for an answer.

His son goes up to Court, Decr., 1637.

I take those hints from the Writter of the Edinburgh Collections, and he adds, that Sir Robert Spotswood, President of the Session, was sent up by his father, the Chancellour, about the end of December, to ye King. The Lords of the Privy Council hearing of this, signifyed to the President that this was not yet a proper time for him to go up to the King, and even forbade him to go to Court. Yet he went off privately, and gave the King such informations of the state of Scotland, both as to Church and Civil matters, and that his Majesty's will and express commands were slighted and contradicted, as put the King in very great choler; and Bishop Laud, and other Bishops in England, were made to believe that their cause was struck at; and their interest led them to espouse the Bishops in Scotland. And upon the 18 of January next, the Thesaurer went up to Court with the Petitions given in by the Noblemen and other Commissioners. The Petitions at this time are, most of them, in Print.

Hints of him, 1638.

The next year, 1638, opened a quite new scene, and the Primate found it necessary to retire to England; and the Generall Assembly Conveened in the end of the year, where the Bishops were cited, and many of them Excommunicat. It's only a few hints I can meet with which particularly concern the Bishop: his case was common with the rest.

Instructions, Feb. 5, 1638, to the Justice Clerk, and Subscribed by the Bishops.

The Letters to the Council, and Proclamations Published by them in the King's name, last year, and particularly the Proclamation, Feb. 19, 1638, were so far from satisfying the Commissioners and Nobility who opposed the Innovations, that they

entered their protestations against them, and continued their Meeting during the moneth of February with the greater zeal. And as we shall hear just now, they resolved to renew the Nationall Covenant. Upon this, a solemn Meeting of the Council was called at Stirling, March 1. The Bishop of Saint Andrews made his excuse. None of the Bishops came, save Brechin, who was just now on his wing to London. The Council write a Letter to the King, and send up S^{r} John Hamilton, Justice Clerk, with it. The Bishop of Ross, as I take it, was at London by this time, and Brechin soon followed, before the Justice Clerk reached the King. The Instructions given by the Council, after 4 dayes' debate, to the Justice Clerk, deserve a room here, because consented to by the Primat and Bishops who were with him. In short, they contain a proposall to the King, "That considering the present combustion, the King would hear the Grievances of his subjects; and in the mean time declare, that he will not press the Canons, Service Book, and High Commission upon his subjects untill he hear their Complaints against them." That the Reader may see the whole of them, they stand in the Appendix N. (Copy Rushworth, v. 2, p. 742, 3.)

App. N.

Traquair and Roxburgh's Letter to the King, with it.

Joyntly with those, the E. of Traquair and Roxburgh write up a Letter to the same purpose. They were the two Noblemen most favourable to the Innovations, and most trusted by the King; and, as the Letter seems plainly to intimate, they were apprehensive the King had contrary informations, as I take it, by the Bishop of Ross; and they were apprehensive that through informations and separat applications from the Bishops, the King should be imposed upon; and therefore beg both sides may be called and heard. This Letter I have likewise added in the Appendix N. (Copy Rushworth, v. 2, p. 744.) The consequence of this, and many pickerring at Court, betwixt the Bishops, who soon after this flocked to London, as we shall hear, was the sending down the Marquise of Hamiltoun as the King's Commissioner to Scotland.

App. N.

Covt. renewed, March 1, 1638. Bish. Spotswood's remark.

The opposers of the Service Book and other Innovations, finding that their Petitions to the King were very little regarded, and met with nothing but dilatours, they, in the beginning of

this year, agreed to renew the National Covenant and the Band of Mutuall Defence against Popery, taking the Nation at present to be in great hazard of it. And this Covenant had authority upon its side, being Subscribed by the late King, and recommended by the Council. And this they reckoned could give no offence to any that wished well to the Protestant interest. However, they added their own sense of the old Covenant, and that under the words Popery, Hierarchy, Superstition, and Heresy, they renounced the Liturgy and Canons, yea Prelacy, and the 5 Articles of Perth, thô ratifyed in Parliament. Mr. Crawford, in his Life of Bishop Spotswood, after his saying what is above, adds a passage from a MS. Supplement to Spotswood's History, in his hand, that this Covenant, 1638, wanted a Clause "for the defence of the King's authority, as well as his person," which remark does not agree with truth; and the Covenanters very fully declared themselves on that point, as we shall see just now. I cannot think but Mr. Crawford saw the groundlessness of that remark. He adds, that the Covenant, in this sense, was Subscribed in the Grayfriers' Church Yeard, March 1, 1638; and the old Archbishop and Chancelour, coming to Edinburgh that day, and hearing what was done, said, "Now all that we have been doing those 30 years past, is thrown down at once." He adds, from Mr. Baillie's Letters, in MS., "That fearing violence to his person, he immediatly retired to Newcastle." I cannot find this in my Copy of Mr. Baillie's Letters: I doubt it's cited in a mistake. With him, all the rest of the Bishops retired to England, save four—Bishop Guthry of Murray, who would never desert Episcopacy; and Bishop Lindsay of Dunkeld; Grahame of Orkney, and Fairly of Argyle, who abjured their functions rather than suffer. The Bishops of Ross and Brechin went up to Court sometime before, and the Bishop of Galloway left Edinburgh the 6th of Aprile.

He leaves Scotland, and retires to Newcastle.

The Bishop of Ross went up with the Bishop of Brechin, in concert with the Primat and the rest of the Bishops. The Writer of the Edinr. Collections says, it was believed the Bishop of Ross gave very warm informations of things in Scotland, that the Nobility, Barrons, and others who Signed the Covenant, were

Mutual complaints of the Bishops and Nobility before ye King.

but few in respect of those that refused; that if his Majesty would prosecute them, they were not able to make a party, and they might soon be crushed; and if any had informed his Majesty otherwise, they were lyars. This incensed the King highly. However, he wrote for the Justice Clerk, who had given him a much different information from the Bishop's, and much truer, to come up to Court. Upon the 15 of May, the Thesaurer, Lord Lorn, and Justice Clerk, returned from London to Dalkeith. My Author sayes, that it was firmly believed that the Bishops at Court had accused severall of the Counsellours, as the M. of Hamiltoun, the E. of Traquair, and others, of sundry malversations, in order to incense the King against them; and that the Thesaurer, Traquair, had charged the Bishops with severall foul crimes, as adultery, incest, &c., especially the Bishops of Saint Andrews and Brichen. The King shewed his displeasure at both sides, and ordered them home to Scotland, till he should send his orders, which came by the M. of Hamiltoun. And there is a pretty large Account of his instructions and procedure in B. Burnet's Memoires, and Rushworth, and so I shall confyne my self to the Primat.

Bishop of Saint Andrews goes to ye King, in Aprile, 1638.

It seems the Bishop of Saint Andrews went up to Court soon after the Bishops of Ross and Brechin. B. Burnet speaks of him as there in the end of Aprile and beginning of May, and I'le give what I know concerning him, while there, from Bishop Burnet's Memoires; and we may pretty much depend upon the facts which that excellent Historian relates, as what he found supported by the Papers he had seen.

Information, Scots Bishops to A.B. Spotswood, at London, May, 1638.

While the Bishops are at London, those who remained in Scotland, with some of their adherents, sent up the following Information to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, which deserves a room here. The Title of it, as it stands in Burnet, is, "Articles of Information to Mr. Andrew Learmonth, for my Lord Archbishop of Saint Andrews, the Bishop of Ross, &c.; and in their absence, for my Lord Archbishop of Canterburry, his Grace." This Information seems to have been formed at Edinburgh, about the middle of May, after the Bishop of Galloway's leaving it. Mr. Learmonth was the person whom the Primat and Bishops

would have had advanced to be Lord Abbot of Lindores, as we have seen. The Information it self runs thus:—

You shall shew their Lôps how they have changed the Moderator of the Presbitry of Edinburgh, and are going on in changing all the Moderators through the Kingdome.

How they have abused Doctor Oystoun, the 9th of May, in Edinburgh; Mr. George Hanna, in Torphiccan, the 6th of May; Doctor Drummond, at Merkinch, the 9th of May; Mr. Robert Edward, at Kirkmichael, whom Kilkerrin is forced to entertain at his own house.

That the Presbitry of Haddingtoun have given Imposition of Hands to Mr. John Ker's son, to be his Collegue, without the knowledge of the Bishop. And likewise the Presbitry of Kirkcaldy, to Mr. John Gillespy's son, to the Church of the Weems. And the Presbytry of Drumfreice, to one Mr. John Weir, to the Church of Mortoun, within 2 miles of Drumlanerick. And they of Dumfermline have admitted Mr. Samuel Row, a Minister Bannished from Ireland, to be Helper to Mr. Henry McGill. And they of Air to Mr. Robert Blair, to be Helper to Mr. William Annand. And the Town of Dumfreice have made choice of Mr. James Hamiltoun to be their Minister; and the Toun of Kirkcudbright, one Mr. John McOlonnan [it should be McClelland]; all of them Bannished from Ireland. And Mr. Samuel Rutherford is returned, and settled in his place. And they intend to Depose Mr. John Trotter, Minister at Dirletoun. And how they intend to use the Regents.

That the Council of Edinburgh have chosen Mr. Alexander Henderson to be Helper to Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and intend to admitt him, without advice or consent of the Bishop.

That the Ministers of Edinburgh who have not Subscribed the Covenant are daily reviled and cursed to their faces, and their Stipends are withheld, and not payed; and that all Ministers who have not Subscribed are in the same condition with them.

That they hound out rascally commons on them who do not Subscribe the Covenant, as Mr. Samuel Cockburn did one Shaw at Leith.

That his Majesty, by his Letters, would be pleased to discharge the Bishop of Edinburgh to pay any Prebend Fee to those who have Subscribed the Covenant; as also, by his Royall Letters, to discharge the Lords of Session to grant any Process against the Bishop for their Fees.

That his Majesty would be pleased, in the Articles of Agreement w^{t} the Nobility, to see honest men, who in this tumultuous time shall happen to be deposed from their places, restored and settled in them; and others that are violently thrust in, removed; and that the wrongs done to them may be repaired.

That if it shall happen his Majesty shall take any violent course for repressing of those tumults and disorders (which God forbid), that in that case their Lôps would be pleased to supplicat his Majesty, that some speedy course may be taken for the safety of honest men who stand for God and his Majesty. (Signed)

Da. Edin.	James Hanna.
Ja. Dumblanen.	David Mitchell.
Ja. Lismoren.	David Fletcher.

The King was violently pushed by some of the Bishops to

What passed in the King's Closet between ye King, B. of St. Andrews, and oyr Scots Bishops, as to the Marquise of Hamilton's coming to Scotland, May 1, 1638.

take the harshest courses to bear down the Covenanters. He easily saw the reducing them by force would not be so easy a matter as the Bishop of Ross and some others would make him believe. The greatest part of the south side of Tay were closely joyned together, and resolved to stand to such a designe, whatever Bishop Laud, Wren, and others suggested; and therefore the King chose at first to use all methods that were soft, and fixed on the Marquise of Hamiltoun to send down as Commissioner. When the King was come to this resolution, he called to his closet the Scots Bishops of Saint Andrews, Galloway, Brechin, and Ross, as B. Burnet tells us, with the A.B. of Canterburry, the Marquise being with him when they came. To those the King declared his choise of the Marquise to be his High Commissioner in Scotland, to establish ye peace of the Countrey and good of the Church. Saint Andrews said he approved the choice, and hoped for good success. The A.B. of Canterburry asked why his Majesty had called him? The King answered, to be witness of what passed, and because he had been acquainted with the proceedings in that bussiness, and was to be informed of what passed afterwards. The Marquise desired to know what the Bishops expected he should do? They answered, nothing, but procure the peace of the Countrey and good of the Church. He desired their assistance for reclaiming the Ministry who were once conformable; and for the Ministers that had been censured, and were now stirring, he should deal with them. The Bishops answered, their power was but small at this time, and their danger great, and so they inclined to stay still at London. But that was overruled, the Marquise undertaking, that as far as in him lay, he should stand between them and danger. The Archbishop of Canterburry, Bishop Burnet (whom I am Transcribing) adds, said much, and well, on this head. So it was agreed that they should go home. The King expressed how necessary it was that every one of them should live in his own Diocess. Canterburry seconded this, and the Bishops ouned it their best way. Much was said concerning Generall Assemblys, and that Ecclesiastical matters ought to have been introduced by them. Much debate passed about ye Oath of Admission of

Ministers, and it was concluded it should be no other than was warranded by Law; and the Bishops were required to be sparing and moderat at present, both in urging that and the Ceremonies. The King concluded with his wishes for success, and declared the Marquise had been so far from seeking this imployment, that he had laid his commands on him much against his will and inclinations.

Two Draughts of a Proclamation for Scotland, as to the Covenanters, given to the Marquise.

The same Historian observes, that besides the Commission given to the Marquise at this time, in ordinary form, there was two Draughts of a Proclamation to be Published in Scotland, requiring the Covenanters to deliver up their Subscribed Covenant, and renounce it agreed on; and it was left to the Marquise, which of them he should use, as circumstances cast up. The one was formed by Traquair, and it stands in Burnet's Memoires of the Duke of Hamiltoun, p. 43; another by the Marquise, differing only in the Clause of requiring the Covenanters to deliver up their Subscribed Covenant, and renounce it; which the Marquise, in his Draught, dropped. But then he was commanded by the King, if he used his own Draught, which contained a generall intimation that this was expected, if the Covenanters did not bring in their Bonds in six weeks, after the publishing the Proclamation, in that event to publish another Proclamation, declareing them Traitors, if in 5 days' space they did not deliver them up.

A 3d Draught by Bishop Spotswood.

A third Draught of the Proclamation was penned by Bishop Spotswood, wherein the Clause of delivering up the Covenant was intirely dropped, as what would meet with difficulty. This was laid aside by the King, but Bishop Burnet hath preserved it, and sayes, "The prudent Prelat saw that it would be easier to effectuat all that had been designed, than to get the disclaiming of the Covenant brought about, and therefore left out this Clause in his Draught. But the King was peremptory, saying, as long as the Covenant was not passed from, he had no more power than the Duke of Venice." This Draught being formed by the Archbishop, I have insert it, App. N. (Copy Burnet's Memoires, pag. 46.) And because the same Writer tells us, that the Chancelour gave his advice in writing, as to the Marquise's

App. N.

Marquise's Instructions, May 16, 1638, by him. App. N.

Instructions, which was closely followed, I may also reckon the Marquise's Instructions, when he first came down to Scotland, to be his Draught, and therefore I have likewise added them, App. N. (Copy Burnet's Memoires, p. 50, 51.)

State of matters, June, 1638.

The Marquise came down to Berwick on the 4th of June. What passed while he was in Scotland, the Reader hath pretty largely, thô many important Papers might be added in Bishop Burnet's Memoires. The Bishop of Saint Andrews, and some others, came down with him, but I think came not unto Scotland, but remained on the Borders. The Covenanters offered a loyall explication of their Covenant, as to what was excepted at as to the King's authority, and gave in their Grievances, pressed a Council might be called, and their advice taken. The Marquise found the Councill would be satisfyed with their proposalls, and so did not call it. The King was against all explications, and was much set, by Bishop Laud's advice, upon reducing the Covenanters by Armes; and desired the Marquise to gain time, till a Fleet and Army could be got ready. The Covenanters easily saw through this; and after he had promised a Generall Assembly and Parliament to meet on their Grievances, without specifying the time, they pressed a present answer, being resolved not to be behind hand in preparing for their defence, yea, and to carry in the war to England. Upon this, the Marquise sought a moneth or thereby to return and consult his Majesty, and promised faithfully to return by that time with a finall answer.

Explication of the Covenant, formed by the B. of St. Andrews, as what might satisfy the King, June, 1638.

The chief thing the King stuck on, was the renouncing of the Covenant. As the Bishop of Saint Andrews had wisely foreseen, this was scarcely to be expected. The Covenanters resolved to risk all before they would yield this, but offered a large and loyall explication of their Covenant and Bond. This the Councill, had they been suffered to meet, would have been fully satisfyed with; and this the Chancelour himself was for, in order to quiet the Country, and drew a Draught of such an explication of the Covenant as he reckoned the Marquise might be satisfyed with. This B. Burnet gives us, from the Primate's own Holograph Copy, and I here insert it.

We the Noblemen, Barrons, Burgesses, Ministers, and others, that have joyned in a late Covenant and Bond for the maintaining of true Religion and purity of God's Worship in this Kingdom, having understood that our Soveraign Lord the King's Majesty is with this our doing highly offended, as if we had thereby usurped his Majesty's authority, and shaken off all obedience to his Majesty and his Lawes: For clearing our selves of that imputation, we do hereby declare, and in the presence of Almighty God solemnly protest, that it did never so much as enter into our thoughts to derogat any thing from his Majesty's power and authority Royall, or to disobey and rebell against his Majesty's Laws; and that all our proceedings hitherto, by Petitioning, Protesting, Covenanting, and whatsoever other way, was and is only for ye maintaining of true Religion by us professed, and with express reservation of our obedience to his most Sacred Majesty. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty so to esteem and accept of us, that he will be graciously pleased to call a Nationall Assembly and Parliament, for removing the fears we have, not without cause, as we think, conceived, of introducing into this Church another Form of Worship than what we have been accustomed with, as likewise for satisfying our just grievances, and the setling of a solid and sound order to be keeped in all time coming, as well in the Civill as in the Ecclesiasticall Government; which if we shall, through the intercession of your Grace, obtain, we faithfully promise, according to our bounded duty, to continue in his Majesty's obedience, and, to the outmost of our powers, to procure the same during our lives. And for ye same to rest and remain

Your Grace's oblidged servants, &c.

The Covenanters' explication of ye Covenant, June, 1638.

It is plain from this, that the Archbishop was so deeply impressed with the circumstances of things, that he was for the King's complyance with the demands of the Covenanters for a Generall Assembly and Parliament, upon such an explication as this given in by them; and accordingly they gave one which, in substance, agrees with this, and is yet stronger in the declarations of their loyalty to the Marquise, before his departure to the King, in the beginning of July, which I likewise cast into the App. N. (Copy Rushworth, vol. 2, p. 761), as what may for ever stop the mouths of such as expatiat on the Covenanters falling from their loyalty, and y^{r} droping the King's authority out of their Covenant, as Mr. Balcanquell in his large Declaration, and others who have copyed him, asserts. The Primat, thô in company with the B. of Ross, was for this moderat measure, which would have established peace. But the King, still under the influence of Bishop Laud, rejects this explication, as what would make him only a Duke of Venice; and yet in a little time he was forced to yield much more than this, thô much out of time; for

App. N.

such was the unhappy counsell given him, that he never yielded any favours till the proper time for them was over. This was foreseen by the old Archbishop, but the advice of B. Laud prevailed, till the Marquise came up and informed him better; and so he wrote a very flatt refusall in his Letter from Greenwich, June 25, 1638, which I likewise give in the App. N. (Copy Burnet's Memoirs, p. 60), that the Reader may have the whole of this matter.

King's Letter rejecting it, June 25. App. N.

The Marquise goes to Court, July 6.

In short, though the Marquise stated things fairly to the King, he could not prevail till he went up himself. He told the King in his Letters, that he was pressed by all ranks to represent the Covenant as not illegall; and if his Majesty would allow the explication of the Bond of Mutuall Defence which they offered, "that they meaned not thereby to derogat any thing from the King's authority, for whom they were ready to hazard their lives," all might be settled without more trouble to King or Countrey; otherwise, things would end in blood. He desired the King to consider in what forwardness his preparations were, lest on a rupture, all his faithfull servants in Scotland would be ruined before he could assist them. He added, that England was not free of discontent, and the Covenanters thought they had many good friends there; that France was cherishing those broyls; and the Covenanters resolved, on the first rupture, to march to England, and make that ye seat of war. When those things had no weight, the Marquise resolved to go up to the King, that time might be gained, that he might himself see if matters were in such forwardness as the King was made to believe, and to get the King's Warrant to cause the Confession be Sworn to, to counter the Covenant. Accordingly, he left Scotland July 6th.

The question about calling an Assembly and Parliat. at this time.

Besides this matter of renouncing the Covenant, which the King stood so much upon, the Covenanters were positive to have a Generall Assembly and Parliament called without delay. The Marquise gave hopes of this, but would not condescend upon the time, this perhaps not being settled betwixt the King and him. I have in my small Collection two Original Papers which give considerable light to this question. The first wants a Title, but

I found it wrapped in the other, which is ane Originall Holograph Letter of B. Spotswood to the M. of Hamiltoun; and therefore I think it probable that it's Reasons given in to the Marquise by the Covenanters for calling ane Assembly and Parliament, before his going up to the King in July; and it probably was communicat to the Chancelour by the Comptroller. The 2d is the Chancellour's Originall Letter to the Marquise, and it's quotted on the back, "Reasons given by the Chancellour for Indicting a Generall Assembly." None of them have any Date, but they seem to me to come in here. And this is another proof of the Primate's going as far in moderat measures, for quieting the Countrey, as he well could, because of his fiery Collegues, the Bishop of Ross and Brechin, and their Director, B. Laud. They are both new, and worth Publishing.

Considerations given in to the Commissioner, probably June, 1638, for calling an Assembly and Parliament.

The Paper which, as I take it, was given in to the Marquise of Hamiltoun by the Covenanters, is writt with care, and a strong and masterly manner, and runs thus:—

All the desires of the supplicants resolve in a Generall Assembly and Parliament, these being the means to cognosce and redress the whole particulars. The subjects' grieves being just, and craving redress the ordinary legall way, cannot well be refused; since the delaying to repair so important grievances, concerning Religion and the Liberty of the Countrey, is a very hard course before God and the world. And my Lord Commissioner knoweth now by experience, that the minds of all are exasperat hereby, conceiving one part of ye neglect to concern God in His Worship, and the other almost the whole estates and people of the land.

Delay begets ane opinion they are slighted. This drawes on a consideration of the eminency of their cause, the clearnes and lawfulness of their warrand to follow it, not as privat persons, or a part of ye Kingdome, but as a collective body, and a more full number than ever was conjoyned formerly, in any the greatest and most publict actions. So that the more they are delayed, the more they are exasperated, and moved to consider that God's truth, the whole subjects, and their libertyes, are so considerable, as is not to be neglected; but that present and full satisfaction is due from his Majesty, considering his relation either to the King of Kings or to the whole subjects and body of this Kingdom, over whom he is sett for good.

The delay to repair, giveth more time and reason of those thoughts whereby Royall authority will be alwise loseing, which would be speedily prevented.

They are so far from the thought of Rebellion, falsly imputed to y^m by their adversarys, that they have continually, since the beginning of this business, professed as their chief desire the happiness to be ruled by y_r Soveraigne, according to the Lawes of God and of this Nation. Neither can there be any ground of such thoughts, there being none that can suppose

themselves so happy in any other kind of Government as the forsaid under his Majesty. Neither can the most envious find in them any particular ends of benefite or revenge. Neither can that holy profession which they labour to retain permitt of such tenets. Neither can any of their actions declare other than great regard to their Soveraigne, and especially that of their Covenant, where the respect of him and his Lawes are placed next to God and Religion.

If his Majesty should intend to withdraw or diminish any part of y^t just power given by God to the Assemblyes of his Church on earth, this were to break marches with that High Majesty; and no better success should follow thereupon, than such as appeareth this day by the like former practises, that hath occasioned his Majesty much miscontent, with many griefs and heavy losses to the subjects. Their own freedom, having alwise their duty both to God and his Majesty in their minds, shall bring forth those effects tending to God's honour, his Majesty's comfort, and stability to him and his Royall posterity; truth of Religion being alwise accompanyed with the blessings of God, and is the surest bond of subjects' obedience.

If his Majesty should be moved by misinformation, whence they think all their evills have proceeded, to force their obedience to unlawfull things, how far is that against the goodness and justice of his nature? how admirable in the eyes of the world? to whom the subjects will be forced to make it knowen; and how censurable before God Almighty? to bring trouble to himself, danger to his other subjects, and a lousing the affections of his ancient and native subjects; and so making way to the revenge of the French on England, and to the treachery of the Spaniard in Ireland; their obligation to his Majesty being enlarged by 105 degrees more than those of the two other Kingdomes.

The A.B. of Saint Andrews his reasons for Indicting an Assembly, in a Letter to the Marquise of Hamiltoun.

This pointed Paper being probably sent to the Archbishop, he easily saw that there was no evading the reasoning part of it, and therefore he gives up the debate; and in his Letter to the Marquise, gives reasons for Indicting a Generall Assembly, such as they are; very far, we may be sure, from those which moved the Covenanters. His Letter runs thus, from the Originall:—

My Lord,—There may be reasons very sufficient for moving his Majesty to the Indyting a Generall Assembly. As first, the distractions in this Church, which this is esteemed by many to be the best and easiest means to remove. Next, the taking order with the exiled and deprived Ministers in Ireland that have taken their refuge here, and are the common incendiarys of rebellious Preaching, what and where they please. Thirdly, the calling of those Ministers to an account that have gone through the Countrey, usurped other men's Pulpits, extorted people's Oaths to the Covenant, so called, and ministrate the Communion to them that are not of their flock, besides Fastings and Humiliations by them indicted, whereof they had no Warrand. 4ly, The examination of the Book of Common Prayer, if there be any thing in it sounding to Popery and Superstition. 5ly, To try the Book of Canons, if there be any Canons therein which is not concluded by Generall Assemblyes, or in common practice in the Church. And the main

and last reason is, that it's supposed the grant thereof may move those men to dissolve their Meeting, and leave the Town of Edinburgh for ministration of justice.

There is no question, at your Grace's motion, and our humble requests, that are Churchmen, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant an Assembly. But as it is in his Majesty's sole power to call an Assembly, the time and place must be left to his appointment.

As to the time and way of proceeding, it may be at laizour considered and advised. And in the mean time, your Grace would be pleased to take some course for repressing those seditious Sermons and Preachers that are daily Preaching in Edinburgh; one whereof this day made me desire my Lord Register to report to your Grace. Otherwise, as we cannot look for any peace here, we will take the nearest way to secure our selves.

What I would further say, I remitt to my Lord Register, for I love not to trouble your Grace, or seem to be to bussy, but rests

Your Grace's humble servant,

Saint Andrews.

The Bishop of St. Andrews attempts to go to Court, after a Discharge, July, 1638, but is stopped.

When the Marquise resolved to return to Court, the Chancelour and Bishops inclined to go thither likewise; but the Commissioner had wisely foreseen the ill consequences of this, and had procured Letters from the King discharging them to come up at this time. The Bishop of Ross, by a Letter of his, June 29, to the Marquise, which shall be insert in his Life, and stands in Burnet's Memoires, p. , was at Berwick. He complains of scarcity of money, and desires 150 pieces from the Marquise, and sends his Bond. He adds, that he wearys there, being useless to his Grace. The King had ordered them to be supported out of the Treasury, but that was low. However, the Marquise supplyed them as well as circumstances allowed him. I question if he granted the Bishop what he sought at this time, but rather upon this hint endeavoured to put a stop to their going to Court, by the King. Mr. Nichols, in his Collections, on July this year, observes, "That during the Marquise his absence, the Bishops of St. Andrews, Ross, and Brechin designed to have followed him, but it pleased ye King to discharge their up coming. Notwithstanding, the Bishop of Ross attempted, and went up, essaying all the evil counsell he could against the Kirk and Kingdom; but he was disappointed, and returned with a hard answer. The Bishops of Saint Andrews and Brichen intending the same journey, and being informed that they were to be discharged, for eschewing the discharge, agreed with a skipper to go by sea,

and accordingly embarked and sailed in a few hours. But in Providence they met with a storm and contrary wind, which put them back, and they were forced into Tweedmouth. The skipper and mariners looking on them as the retarders of their voyage, put all they had ashoar, and would not take their trunks in again, and in a few hours sailed without the two Bishops." In September, I find the B. of Ross at Court. I suppose the other two went not up.

In September the A. Bishop transacts a Dimission of his Office of Chancellour.

The Marquise returned in the beginning of August, with new and larger instructions; but finding new difficultys, went back again, and got yet ampler instructions, with which he returned in the middle of September. Those things stand pretty full in the so oft cited Memoires. But I shall confyne my self, as much as may be, to the Primat. When he saw how matters were like to go in Scotland, a man of his penetration could not well miss to think that he could not possibly hold that high post long, especially since his being in it was no small grievance now complained of; and therefore he made some proposalls to the King, and it may be had some dealing with the Marquise, who stood as fair for it as many. He was not against Dimitting, but it seems inclyned to have the Nomination of his Successor. I know no more of this, but by the King's instructions, and his Letter to him, this moneth of September, 1638. And indeed by the first, it would seem that the Dimission has come from the King, and that the Primat did not very frankly goe into it, at least till he got a bargain made.

Instructions concerning ye B. of St. Andrews and the rest, Sept. 9, 1638.

I shall then give the King's Instructions to the Marquise anent this matter, and other things concerning the Bishops, which were very unacceptable to them, to be sure, and made them lay their account with a storm a coming. The King's Instructions to the Marquise, for his behaviour with the Bishops, run thus:—

Charles Rex.—You shall shew my Lord of Saint Andrews that we intend, by being content with his Dimission of the Chancelour's place, no injury to him; and most willing we are, that in the manner of doing it he may receive no manner of prejudice in his reputation, thô we cannot admitt at this time of his Nominating a Successor. And to make it more plain that we are far from having any thought to affront him, by thinking of his

Dimission, we will in no wise that you urge him to do it. Yet you are to intimat, that in our opinion a fair Dimission will prove more to the advancement of our Service, and be better for him, than if he should retain the place. If you find him willing to Dimitt, you shall then try what consideration he doth expect from us; and if the same be not altogether unreasonable, you shall promise it in our name. If a Dimission, then it is presently to be done. If he resolve to hold that place, then you must command him immediatly to repair to Scotland, all excuses set apart. You shall communicat to him, and the rest of our bretheren that far of our intentions, that it is probable you may Indict a Generall Assembly; that we are content absolutely to discharge the Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the High Commission. You shall shew, that the 5 Articles of Perth we are pleased be esteemed as indifferent; and that though we maintain Episcopacy, we are content that their power be limited according to the Lawes. And it's our further pleasure, that if an Assembly be Indicted, he and the rest of his brethren be there, to defend themselves and their cause. And that for that end, he and they repair to Newcastle, Morpeth, or Berwick, there to attend your further advertisement, that so immediatly they may repair to Scotland, not only to answer for themselves at the said Assembly, but likewise to consult with you what may be fittest to be done for the advancement of our Service, that evil may be kept off, so much as in you and them lyeth, from Kirk and Commonwealth.

Oatlands, Sept. 9, 1638. C. R.

The B. of Saint Andrews quitts the Chancelour's Office for 2500d Lib. Sterling.

It seems that in the event of a Generall Assembly, the Bishop of Saint Andrews had advised it should be held at Aberdeen; but the King and Marquise had agreed on Glasgow, since had it been at Aberdeen, strangers would flock thither; and they reckoned Aberdeen was as yet well sett, and they might be altered by the numbers and boldnes of the numbers who would resort thither. When the Marquise came down from Court, in September, he mett with the Bishop of Saint Andrews and the rest at Ferry Bridge, to whom he signifyed his Majesty's pleasure, at which, sayes Bishop Burnet, they seemed infinitely grieved, and spoke against with so great vehemency, as shewed they were no way pleased with the Marquise. Yet they resolved to keep the Assembly, and to send one of their number to Court; to which he gave way. The Archbishop of Saint Andrews seemed willing, on a good composition, to quitt his place of Chancelour, and the Marquise offered him 2500^{d} Lib. Sterling, with which he was satisfyed.

King's Letter to the A.B., Sept. 16, 1638.

Mr. Crawford, in the Life of the Archbishop, gives us the King's Letter to the Bishop, Dated Sept. 16, 1638, from the Original, in his grandchild's hands. It seems to be writt after

the Conference and agreement at Ferrybridge, and perhaps it's misprinted the 26 for the 16 of September. Mr. Crawford is not very exact in this part of his Narrative. He makes the Grievances sent up in May to the Archbishop, to come to him in October, at London; and brings here the accounts of matters in, transacted in June and July. And I fear his introduction to the Letter be not so perfectly agreeable to fact and the King's positive orders, Sept. 9, just now insert; at least I cannot knitt them well. Mr. Crawford sayes, "When the Archbishop sojourned at Newcastle, being, it seems, weary of imployment, by repeated solicitations to Court, he humbly besought his Majesty that he might have leave to Resigne his Office, since he was unable longer to serve the Crown, because of the present troubles and his great age. The King, I find, with some difficulty, was at length prevailed on to gratify the Lord Chancelour, and grant his desire therein; and therefore his Majesty was pleased to write him a Letter under his own hand, indorsed on the back, 'To the Right Reverend Father John, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, our Chancelour,' permitting him to quitt his place, and put the Great Seal in the hands of the Marquise of Hamiltoun, till he should dispose of it otherwise." How Mr. Crawford has found the Archbishop so weary, and so importunat to be unloaded of this Office, he has not told us. This does not appear, but somewhat pretty different from it, in the King's Instructions, Septr. 9, above sett down. There the King seems to make an apology for his desiring to Dimitt; he refuses to allow him to name his Successour; he sayes he will not press his Dimission, but it will be proper for his Service; and if he do not, orders him immediatly to Scotland. All this looks like no great forwardnes on the Bishop's side, and seems to import arguing on the other side, and even somewhat of an insinuated threatening. Be this as it will, for in the present state of things it's no wonder the old Bishop was at a stand what course to take; and no body can blame him for making the best composition he could. After the Marquise and he were agreed, the King's Letter to him is as follows:—

Charles Rex.—Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and beloved Counsellour, we greet you well. Having understood from you heretofore,

how that in regard of your age and infirmity you are willing to Dimitt the Charge of Chancellour, though (knowing your faithfulness, and earnest care in our Service) we were not then pleased that you should do the same, yet considering your estate, and the troublesomness of this time, we have resolved to give way thereunto. And it's our pleasure that you cause deliver, having made your Dimission, the Great Seal up in the hands of our right trustie and well beloved Cousin and Counsellour, James, Marquise of Hamiltoun, our Commissioner, that he may dispose of it as he shall have orders from us. And that it may appear that we are well satisfyed with your service in that place, we have appointed our said Commissioner to give you a testimony of our favour. And as we are pleased that you, and your brethren with you, remain there where you are, or in any part to the North thereof that you shall think most convenient, till you hear back from our said Commissioner, we will you to do as you shall hereafter be directed by him. And so we bid you heartily farewell.—Given at our Court, at Hamptoun Court, the 16 of December, 1638.

The A.Bishop goes to London soon after.

Mr. Crawford adds, after the Archbishop had stayed some while at Newcastle, he proceeded on his way to London, where by easy journey he arrived by easy journeys. He arrived about the beginning of October, and was received by his Majesty with that countenance he thought his services to him and his father had deserved, and gave present orders for providing him in such accommodation in all respects as was suitable to the character he bore, both in Church and State. I doubt this is but guess. His arrivall so soon scarce agrees with the Date of the Letter, and the orders in it to continue where he was, or more northerly, till the Marquise gave him orders. But it's probable, not long after this, he went to London, and I think never saw Scotland again.

Generall Bill of Complaint agst B. Spotswood and the rest of the Bishops, Oct., 1638. With Directions relative to it.

Mean while, all methods they thought proper were taken by the Covenanters to prepare matters for the Generall Assembly, and particularly to make ready as Pointed a process as they could against ye Primat and Bishops. It was agreed to give a Bill of Complaint against all the Bishops in Scotland, Signed by a considerable number of Noblemen, Barrons, Ministers, and Burgesses. This the Presbitry received, and referred to the cognizance of the Generall Assembly, by their Act, Oct. 24, this year. Mr. Nalson, in his Collections, hath Published this Bill and Complaint, as it was regularly given in against Mr. David Lindsay, Bishop of Edinburgh. This might regularly come in upon that Bishop's Life, but it's needless to give so long a Paper

twice, and therefore I shall give the Generall Complaint against Bishop Spotswood and the rest of the Bishops, with the names of the Subscribers of it, in the Appendix N. (Copy Nichol's Collections, v. 1, Oct., 1638, and collate it w^t^ Nalson's Collections, v. 1, p. 83-92.) And I shall add to it a Copy of the Directions which were given by the leading men at Edinburgh as to the management of this Complaint, which have never yet been Published, that I know of. (They follow in Niccol's Collections.)

App. N.

Act of the Pry. of Edinr. thereupon, Oct. 24, 1638, ordering them to be Cited.

The Presbitry of Edinburgh received this Bill at their Meeting on the 24 of October, and passed the following Act thereupon:—

At Edinburgh, Oct. 24, 1638.—Upon the said day, we, the Brethren of the Presbitry of Edinburgh, after we had received the Bill and Complaint presented to us by the Laird of Buchanan; the Laird of Dury, younger; the Laird of Carlourie; John Smith, late Bailzie of Edinburgh; John Hamiltoun, and Richard Maxwell, in name of the Noblemen, Barrons, Burgesses, and Commons, Subscribers of the Covenant (which are not Commissioners to the General Assembly), against the pretended Archbishops and Bishops of this Kingdom; and after we had read and seriously considered the same, we, according to the desire of the complainers, did and do referr the same to the Generall Assembly to be holden at Glasgow, November 21. And we ordain the Publishing of this Complaint, and our reference of it to the Generall Assembly, to be fully read by all the Pastors of the Presbitry, upon the next Sabbath before noon, out of their Pulpits, with a publick Warning and Citation to the offenders complained upon. By name, Mr. John Spotswood, pretended Archbishop of Saint Andrews; Mr. Patrick Lindsay, pretended Archbishop of Glasgow; Mr. Thomas Sydserfe, pretended Bishop of Galloway; Mr. David Lindsay, pretended Bishop of Edinburgh; Mr. Alexander Lindsay, pretended Bishop of Dunkeld; Mr. Adam Bannatine, pretended Bishop of Aberdeen; Mr. John Guthry, pretended Bishop of Murray; Mr. John Maxwell, pretended Bishop of Ross; Mr. George Grahame, pretended Bishop of Orkney; Mr. John Bannantine, pretended Bishop of Caithnes; Mr. Walter Whiteford, pretended Bishop of Brechin; Mr. James Wedderburn, pretended Bishop of Dumblane; Mr. James Fairly, pretended Bishop of Argyle; Mr. Neil Campbell, pretended Bishop of the Isles; to be present at the Assembly, to answer this Complaint in generall, and the particular heads of it, and to undergo the Tryall and Censure of it; and to bring with them the Books and Scrolls of the Subscriptions and Oaths of them who entered into the Ministry; the Books of the High Commission, the Books of the Generall Assemblys, which they either had or have fraudulently put away. And if any Pastor of this Presbitry refuse to Publish this Citation, we require the Reader to do it. In the like manner, we require all partys who have interest, either in pursuing or specifying or proving this Complaint, to be present at the Assembly for that purpose.

Upon this, the complainers took Instruments in the hands of the Nottary, and the intimaters returned this Execution—

"According to this Complaint, and Warrand of the Presbitry's reference of it, I, A. B., warn and admonish the above named offenders to compear before the next Generall Assembly, to be holden at Glasgow, Novr. 21, for the causes contained in the Complaint, and for the certification expressed in it."

Objections against the Citation considered.

Mr. Nalson, from Doctor Balcanquell's large Declaration, and other Episcopall Writters, make an outcry against the horrible injustice and impiety of the Covenanters in this Citation of the Bishops. It's not my province to vindicat them in this place. Extraordinary junctures are times when the ordinary formes cannot be keeped. There were other methods taken, which did fully make up any seeming informality in this method of procedure, which was the most publick and habile way the circumstances of things now would admitt of. The Presbitry of Edinburgh did not pretend any power to judge the whole Bishops. They were allowed, as unrescinded Acts of Assembly, to judge scandals relative to the Bishop of Edinburgh, and yet they referred him to the proper judge, the Generall Assembly. Those Writters take things in question, as granted; that the Lawes it's alledged the Bishops broke, were repealed. The Assemblyes pretended to vouch what the Bishops had done were nullitys in the Pursuer's Account. The Citation was out of Pulpit, because habile in extraordinary cases, and Edinburgh was the most publick proper place for such a Warning, especially since the persons complained upon were not to be reached in the ordinary way, by Summonds at their houses; and I have reason to believe what was thus done, was corroborat by particular Presbitrys, particular Citation of them where they could be found; and abundance of Law does not break Law. No doubt this was a propaling the faults of the Bishops before the people; but indeed all in the Complaint was generally known and nottour, and the Bishops might blame themselves for the notoriety of the things laid to their charge. It's pretended that the Assembly entered not into the proofs and particulars, but without any ground. The generall charge of breaking the Caveats, and other publick corruptions, were fully notour; and I have no question but there was a particular proof brought as to the personall immoralitys and other

charges given in against the particular Bishops, and particularly against Bishop Spotswood.

Commission, Presbitry of Saint Andrews, to Prosecute the A. Bishop before the Generall Assembly, Dated Nov., 1638.

Besides this generall Complaint and Citation, and according to the Directions above given, as I take it, every Presbitry, at least on the South of Tay, were carefull to give proper Citations to such as were in their Bounds; and to give power and commission to some select persons in their Bounds to Prosecute the Bishops, and to bring the proofs of what they were in particular to be charged with before the Assembly. I have in my Collection of MSS. the Originall Commission of the Presbitry of Saint Andrews to the persons Nominat in it to Prosecute A.Bishop Spotswood, and I shall insert a Copy of it here. The Title on the back is, "Commission of the Presbitry of Saint Andrews against Spotswood." That is, as I take it, of the Noblemen, Barrons, Ministers, and others within the Bounds of that Presbitry and under their direction. It runs thus:—

We, Noblemen, Barrons, Burgesses, Ministers, and Gentlemen under Subscribing, by the tennor hereof, makes and constitutes John Lesley, of Newtoun; Jo. Bothoun, Fiar of Balfour; Andrew Brugh, Fiar of Earlshall; John Moncrief, of Balcaskie; Robert Hamiltoun, younger, of Kinkell; Mr. John Sheveiz, of Kemback; [a Blank of 4 lines]: and ilk ane of them, conjunctly and severally, our very lawfull Procurators; giving and committing to them, or any ane of them, our very full, free, plain power, generall and express command, to compear before the Generall Assembly, to be holden at Glasgow, the 21 day of November instant, and there, in face of the said ensuing Assembly, to insist in the Heads and Articles of the generall Complaint given in by the forsaid persons to ye Presbitry of Saint Andrews, on the last day of October, in this present year of God, 1638, against Mr. John Spotswood, some time Minister at Calder, pretended Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and his Collegues; whilk Complaint, the said Presbitry, after reading and due consideration thereof, did referr the samine, with the Heads and Articles therein expressed, to the Tryall of the forsaid Generall Assembly, as the order of the reference of the Date forsaid at more length bears. And likewise giving and committing full power to the above mentioned persons, and ilk ane of them, conjunctly and severally, to give in the Grievances and Complaints, make claimes against the said Mr. John Spotswood and his Collegues, summoning Witnesses for the proving of the particular Articles of the said generall Complaint, and likewise of the claimes to be given in, and to be presented to the forsaid Generall Assembly, against the said Mr. John and his Collegues. And generally all and sundry other things to do at the forsaid solemn Assembly, use, exerce, and prosecute, which uses and may be done in such cases nearly touching the glory of God and the peace of this Kingdom. In testification whereof we are content, and consents that these Presents be Registrate in the Books of Council, or Books of the said

ensuing Assembly, there to remain *ad futuram rei memoriam*, and has Subscribed thir Presents with our hands at . . . , the . day of . . , the year of God 1638.

Borthwick.
Gray.
J. Bruce.
Mr. Colin Adams, Minr. at Kilrinny.
Mr. George Hamiltoun, Minr. at Newburne.
Arthur Erskine.
Will. Forbes.
Thomas Myrton, of Cambo.
Will. Goldmane, of Sandfurd.
J. Carstairs.

The Bishop of Saint Andrews and his Collegues' Declinature of the Assembly, Nov., 1638.

We have very large Accounts of the procedure of the Generall Assembly in November, in Print, and yet larger in MS.; and therefore I shall only hint at their Bishops' procedure there, and confyne my self to what concerns Bishop Spotswood in particular very much. The Declinature of the Bishops, given to the Assembly the 5th day of their Meeting, hath been many times Printed. It was Signed by the Bishops of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin; at Newcastle, probably by the Bishop of Saint Andrews, who very probably drew it, the 16 of November; and at Hallyroodhouse and Glasgow, by the rest of them. However, it deserves a room in the Appendix N. (Copy Nalson, v. 1, p. 99-112; *vide* MSS. and Pamphlets where this stands, and compare them.) The Assembly drew up a large Answer to it, which has not been so often Printed, if at all; and therefore it is very proper that it stand with the former, App. N. (Copy, *vide* MSS., 1638.)

App. N.

Answer to it.

App. N.

B. Spotswood and the rest Deposed and Excommunicat, Decr. 13, 1638.

The Assembly did not reckon this Declinature, nor any thing offered in it, a just ground to stop process against the Bishop and his Collegues. It was only adding contumacy and what many reckoned rebellion against the authority of the Church in her Supreme Court, now countenanced by the Civil authority; and so the Assembly went through the particular Tryall of the Libells given against them; and as S$_r$ James Balfour remarks, that December 4, the Process against the A.B. of Saint Andrews was found proven. By the unanimous voice of the Assembly, he was Deposed. The crimes against him alledged were, Breach of the Caveats, Adulterys, Breach of the Sabbath, Incest, &c. The

Breach of the Caveats were easily proven, with the contempt and contumacy in giving in their Appeal; and in their particular Processes, which took up severall Sessions of the Assembly. Sundry hainous offences and enormitys were proven, as the givers in of the Declinature; but how far those named by S^r^ James were proven against the Archbishop, I cannot tell. Adultery and continuall Breach of the Sabbath are pretty frequently charged upon him by his contemporary Writters, and since; but we are not to think that all crimes named in the generall Complaint are chargeable upon every particular man. It's a sore matter, that Adultery, Breach of the Sabbath, and Incest, could, by any collour of truth, be publickly charged upon persons of their Sect. And they were not only Deposed, but Excommunicat by ye Generall Assembly, and the Sentence solemnly pronounced by the Moderator, after Sermon, Decr. 20, 1638. Those Sentences will be best understood from the Printed Acts of the Generall Assembly, Sess. 20, Decr. 13, which ought to stand here. It is entituled—

Act of Assemb. Decr. 13, 1638, Deposing and Excommunicating them.

Sentence of Deposition and Excommunication against Mr. JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, *pretended Archbishop of St. Andrews;* Mr. PATRICK LINDSAY, *pretended Archbishop of Glasgow;* Mr. DAVID LINDSAY, *pretended Bishop of Edinburgh;* Mr. THOMAS SIDSERFE, *pretended Bishop of Galloway;* Mr. JOHN MAXWELL, *pretended Bishop of Rosse;* Mr. WALTER WHYTFOORD, *pretended Bishop of Brechen.*

The Generall Assembly having heard ye Lybels and Complaints given in against the foresaids pretended Bishops to ye Presbyterie of Edinburgh, and sundry other Presbyteries within y^r^ pretended Dyocies, and by the sds. Prys. referred to ye Ass. to be Tryed: the sds. pretended Bps. being law^lly^ Cited, oftentimes called, and their Prôr, Dr. Robert Hammiltoun, and not compearing, but declining, and protesting agst. y^s^ Ass., as is evident by y^r^ Declinatour and Protestân given in by ye P., Dr. Rob. Hammiltoun, Minister at Glasfoord, q^ch^ by ye Acts of Ass. is censurable w^t^ summar Excommunication: entered in consideration of ye sd. Declinatour, and finding ye same not to be relevant, but, on the contrare, to be a displayed banner agst. ye settled Order and Gov^t^ of this Kirk, to be fraughted with insolent and disdainfull speeches, lies, and calumnies agst. the law^ll^ members of this Ass.: proceeded to ye cognition of the sds. Complaints and Lybells against them; and finding them guiltie of ye Breach of the Cautions agreed upon in the Assembly holden at Montrose, anno 1600, for restricting of the Minister Voter in Parlia^tt^ from incroaching upon the liberties and jurisdiction of this Kirk, which was sett down with Certification of Deposition, infamie, and Excommunication, specially for receiving of Consecration to the Office of Episcopacie, condemned by ye Confession of Faith and Acts of this Kirk, as

having no warrand nor foundament in the Word of God; and by virtue of this usurped power, and power of the High Commission, pressing the Kirk with Novations in the Worship of God. And for sundry other haynous offences and enormities, at length expressed and clearly proven in their Processe, and for their refusall to underly the Tryall of the reigning slander of sundrie other grosse transgressions and crymes laid to their charge. Therefore the Assembly, moved with zeal to the glory of God and purging of His Kirk, hath ordained the saids pretended Bishops to be Deposed, and by these Presents doth Depose them, not only of the Office of Commissionarie to Vote in Parliatt, Councell, or Convention, in name of the Kirk; but also of all functions, whether of pretended Episcopall or Ministeriall calling, declareth them infamous. And likewise ordaineth the saids pretended Bishops to be Excommunicate, and declared to be of these whom Christ commandeth to be holden by all and every one of the Faithfull as Ethnicks and Publicanes; and the Sentence of Excommunication to be pronounced by Mr. Alexander Henderson, Moderatour, in face of the Assembly, in the High Kirk of Glasgow. And the execution of the Sentence to be intimat in all the Kirks of Scotland, by the Pastours of every particular Congregation, as they will be answerable to their Presbyteries and Synods, or the next Generall Assembly, in case of the negligence of Presbyteries and Synods.

State of matters, 1639.

Next year, 1639, the last year of the Bishop's life, affords but very little concerning him. The various turns of affairs in Scotland this year are pretty much known, and largely handled in the many Papers and Pamphlets now Printed, and in our more generall Historians. After a rupture with the King was very near, matters came to be some way compromized, and rather scruffed over than healed; and the Earle of Traquair was sent down as the King's Commissioner, to hold another Assembly, and Conveen the Parliament. If the Archbishop went up to Court in the Spring, of which I am not certain, I find him at Newcastle in August this year, and the rest of the Bishops who stood out in places not far from it.

King's Letter to B. Spotswood, August 6, 1639.

When the Earle of Traquair came down to Scotland, in the beginning of August, the King wrote a Letter to B. Spotswood, to be communicat to the rest of the Bishops, as much as might be, to smooth them, when he had given instructions to his Commissioner which were not agreeable to them. The Letter deserves a room here.

Right trustie and well beloved Counsellour, and Reverend Father in God, we greet you well. Your Letter, and the rest of the Bishops, sent by the Elect of Caithnes, sent to my Lord of Canterburry, hath been communicated to us; and after serious consideration of the contents thereof, we have

thought fit our self to return this answer to you for direction, according to our promise, which you are to communicat to the rest of your Bretheren. We do in part approve of what you advise, in part, concerning the Prorogating the Assembly and Parliament; and must acknowledge it to be grounded upon reason enough, were reason only to be thought of in this bussiness. But considering the present state of our affairs, and what we have promised in the Articles of Pacification, we may not, as we conceive, without great prejudice to our self and service, condescend thereunto. Wherefore we are resolved, rather necessitated, to hold the Assembly and Parliament at the time appointed; and for that end we have Nominat the Earle of Traquair our Commissioner, to whom we have given instructions, not only how to carry himself at the same, but a charge also to have a speciall care of your Lôps, and those of the inferior Clergy who have suffered for their duty to God and obedience to our command. And we do hereby assure you, that it shall be still one of our chiefest studys, how to rectify and establish the Government of that Church, and to repair your losses, which we desire you to be most confident of. As for your Meeting to treat of the affairs of the Church, we do not see at this time how that can be done; for within our Kingdom of Scotland, we cannot promise you any place of safety; and in any other part of our Dominions we cannot hold it convenient, all things considered. Wherefore we conceive that the best way would be for your Lôps to give in, by way of Protestation or Remonstrance, your exceptions against this Assembly and Parliament, to our Commissioner; which may be sent by any man, if so he be trusty, and deliver it at his entry into the Church. But we would not have it to be either read or argued in this Meeting, where nothing but partiality is to be expected, but to be represented to us by him; which we promise to take so under consideration, as becomes a Prince, sensible of his own interest and honnour, joyned with the equity of your desires. And you may rest sure, that thô perhaps we may give way for the present to that which will be prejudiciall both to the Church and our own Government, yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both. We must likewise intimat to you, that we are so far from conceiving it expedient for you, or any of the Lords of the Clergy, to be present at this Meeting, as we do absolutely discharge your going thither. And for your absence, this shall be to you, and every one of you, a sufficient warrand. In the interim, your best course will be to remain in our Kingdome of England till such time as you receive our further order, where we shall provide for your subsistence; thô not in that measure we could wish, yet in such a way as you shall not want. Thus you have our pleasure briefly signifyed to you, which we doubt not but you will take in good part. You cannot but know, that what we do in this, we are necessitated to do. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Whitehall, August 6, 1639. CHARLES R.

Declinature of the B. of Saint Andrews and ye rest, August, 1639.

This Letter the Earle of Traquair brought down with him, and delivered it to the Archbishop, at Newcastle. Upon the receipt of this, he and the rest of the Bishops in that neighbourhood formed and signed the following Declinature, and put it in the Lord Commissioner's hands.

Whereas his Majesty, out of his surpassing goodnes, was pleased to endyte another Nationall Assembly, for rectifying the disorders at present in the Church, and Repealing the Acts concluded in the late pretended Assembly at Glasgow, against all right and reason, charging and commanding us, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Scotland, and others that have place therein, to meet at Edinburgh, the 12 of August instant, in hopes that by a peaceable Treaty and Conference matters should have been brought to a wished peace and unity; and that now we perceive all those hopes disappointed, and the authors of the present schisme and division proceeding in their wonted courses of wrong and violence; as hath appeared in their presumptuous Protestation against the said Indiction, and in the bussiness they have made through the Countrey for electing Ministers and Laicks of their faction to make up the said Assembly; whereby it's evident the same, if not worse, effects must needs ensue upon the present Meeting, than were seen to follow the former Meeting: We, therefor, the under-subscribers, for the discharge of our duty to God, and to the Church committed to our government, under our Soveraigne Lord the King's Majesty, Protest, as in our former Declinature, as well for our selves as in the name of the Church of Scotland, and so many as shall adhere to this our Protestation, that the present pretended Assembly be holden and reputed *Null* in Law, as consisting and made up partly of Laicall persons that have no Office in the Church of God; partly of refractory, schismaticall, and perjured Ministers, that, contrary to their Oaths and Subscriptions, from which no humane power could absolve them, have filthily resiled, and so made themselves to the present and future ages most infamous. And that no Churchman be bound to appear before them; nor any Citation, Admonition, Certification, or Act whatsoever, proceeding from the said pretended Meeting, be prejudicial to the Jurisdiction, Libertys, Priviledges, Rents, Possessions, and Benefices belonging to the Church, nor to any Acts of former General Assemblys, Acts of Council, or Parliament, made in favour thereof. But to the contrary, that all just acts and deeds, and every one of them, are and shall be reputed unjust, partiall, and illegall, with all that may follow thereupon. And this our Protestation, we humbly desire may be presented to his Majesty, whom we do humbly supplicat, according to the practice of Christian Emperors in ancient times, to Conveen the Clergy of his whole Dominions, for remedying the present schisme and division. Unto whose judgement and determination we promise to submitt ourselves and all our proceedings. —Given under our hands, at Morpeth, Berwick, and Holy-Island, the 10 and 11 of August, 1639.

Aval. Brichenen.	St. Andrews.
Ja. Lismoren.	Da. Edinburgen.
Ad. Aberdon.	Jo. Rossen.
	Thomas Galloway.

This Declinature was, as we see, a piece of form, concerted betwixt the King and Bishops; and not being Published, no nottice could be taken of it by the Assembly; otherwise we would have had a proper answer to it, as we see was given to their former Declinature. They might, in this privat Paper, use what

Remarks on it.

libertys they saw good with the character of the Ministers and R. Elders, Members of it, which might be easily answered, and turned back upon themselves, who were the real authors of the Schisme in the Church of Scotland; and in all their pretended Assemblyes, since the Erection of Episcopacy, at least the Union of the Crowns, had taken in Laick persons, in the proper sense of the word; and at Linlithgow, Glasgow, Perth, &c., had, contrary to their Oaths and Subscriptions, carryed their designes in those Meetings by the help of those who were far from having that claim to sit in Church Judicatorys that Ruling Elders, Officers of Christ's institution, have. How far this Protestation asserted the King's authority, who had Indicted the Assembly, I leave to others; and how far their appeal to a Council of all the 3 Kingdomes was agreeable to their pretensions, at other times, to the liberty and independency of the Church of Scotland. This is the last publick deed Bishop Spotswood was concerned in, as far as I have observed.

Account of the Bishop, 1637-1639, from the Bishop of Winchester, in his Life.

Very little further offers concerning him till his Death, in the end of this year; and therefore I shall give the Bishop of Winchester's Account of him, after his removall from Newcastle, in his Life, before his History, with a hint or two from the other side, and so haste to shut up those Collections concerning him. The Bishop then observes—

> That the Bishop had not fully measured out 4 years in the discharge of the dutys of ye Chancellor's Office (which did not so entangle him, but that the danger of the Church, which then was drawing on, filled him full of thoughts which way he might divert it), when that unhappy designe, which had been so long hatching under the wings and warmth of a malcontent and seditious party, began to be ready to fly abroad. And what could be called for as a fitter Midwife to this Birth, than something that at least might look like Religion. For the Rule was given long agoe, before ever Matchiavell lived to vent it, and is likely to hold to the end of the world—*Quoties vis fallere plebem, finge Deum.* And hence rose that storm which with so much violence fell on this reverend good man, that he was forced by it, for safety of his life, to retire into England, where age and grief, with a sad soul in a crazy body, had so distempered him, that he was driven to take harbour in Newcastle, till by some rest, and the care of his Physitians, he recovered so much strength as brought him to London. But this proved but a short reprieve; for being come thither, he fell into a relapse; and the Sentence of Death being to be execute on him, he took his bed nyne dayes before, waiting for that blessed hour when, being freed from any further heart

His last illness at London.

breakings for those evills he could not prevent, he might be admitted to His Master's joy, where future calamitys could not reach him.

Receives the Sacrament.

In the time of his sickness and preparation for his end, he was visited by the Archbishop of Canterburry and some other Bishops, with whom, with great devotion, he received that Blessed *Viaticum*, the Bread which came from Heaven, in the strength of which he was to pass into Eternity.

What passed betwixt him and the M. of Hamiltoun when he visited him.

After which, thô his desire was rather to compose himself to privacy and silence than admitt of any company, he could not prevent the visits of many honourable persons; among whom, the visit of the Marquise of Hamiltoun (being looked upon by the eye of the world as disaffected to the whole order) deserves more particularly to be remembred; and the circumstances of it you shall have in these termes, as they are related. The Marquise, coming near to his bedside, was pleased to say, "My Lord, I am come to kiss your Lôp's hands, and humbly to ask your Blessing." To which the Archbishop answered, with a soft voice, "My Lord, you shall have my Blessing; but give me leave to speak those few words to you: My Lord, I visibly forsee that the Church and King are both in danger to be lost. I am verily perswaded, that none, under God, is so able to prevent it as your Lôp; therefore I speak to you as a dying Prelat, in the words of Mordecai to Esther, If you do it not, salvation in the end shall come some where else, but you and your house shall perish." To whom the Marquise made this worthy reply, "That what he foresaw was his grief; that he wished from his heart he were able to do what was expected from him, thô it were to be done with the sacrificing his life and fortunes." After which, upon his knees, he received the Archbishop's Blessing, and departed.

I make no commentary on this, for the best interpreters of words are actions.

His Confession of Faith prefixed to his Testament.

As he lived, so he Dyed in peace, with a stillness so much more than ordinary, that they who were about him could not, by any outward agony, perceive when that peaceable soul of his departed. But before that last minute, sad to his friends, but to him infinitely joyfull, had closed up these eyes, which had so long been watchfull for the Church he governed, his intellectualls and best faculties being clear and undisturbed, and desiring to leave the world a Copy of that Faith he Dyed in, he premised it to his last Will and Testament, in this form following:—

Faith and Beliefe.

"First, for that I esteem it the duty of every Christian, especially of those whose service it hath pleased God to make use of in His Church, to make some open Declaration of his Faith wherein he lives and Dyes,—I profess that I believe all the Articles of that ancient Creed called the *Apostles' Creed*, the sum whereof is, that God is one in 3 persons: the Father, Creator of all things; the Son, made man in fulnes of time, who, by His bitter Passion and Death, having Redeemed mankind, rose from Death, and ascended to Heaven, from whence He will come to Judge all flesh; and the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, the Sanctifier of all that believe. That this God hath chosen to Himself a Church, the Members whereof living in Communion, thô never so dispersed, shall, by His infinite mercy, receive Remission of all their sins; and being raised again in their bodies at the Last Day, shall enjoy everlasting life.

The Apostles' Creed.

"This is the summ of my Faith; other additaments, which ignorance

Additions rejected.

and corruption have superinduced into Christianity, I simply refuse, beseeching God to purge His Church from the errors and superstition which have creeped into the same, and at last to make us all y^{t} are called Christians the sheep of one fold.

Rites.

"For matters of Rites and Government, my judgement is, and hath been, that the most simple, decent, and humble Rites should be chosen, such as Bowing the Knee in the Holy Sacrament, with others of the like kind,—

Government in the Church.

Profaneness being as dangerous to Religion as Superstition. As touching the Government of the Church, I am verily perswaded that the Government Episcopall is the only right and Apostolick form,—parity among Ministers

R. Elders.

being the breeder of all confusion. As for those Ruling Elders, as they are meerly a humane device, so they will prove, when the way is more open to them, the ruine both of Church and State."

His Character by the Bishop of Winchester.

Before I come to give an account of his Death from Writters on the other side, I shall go on to his Character, as the Bishop of Winchester gives it, after what is last Transcribed.

In the simplicity of this Faith he lived, and in this he Dyed, like one of the Bishops of those primitive times when the modern names of faction were not knowen; and whosoever agreed to those fundamentalls, the Church was not so nice a mother as to cast them out. And thô in the passages of his Life enough hath been said already to give the character of this excellent person, yet because pictures drawn at length, where nothing of the figure or proportion is left out, are the most gracefull pieces, I shall so far enlarge it, for the Reader's sake, as may with more advantage induce him to copy it out in his life and practice. And for this, thô the voice of publick fame be loud enough to give directions, yet I shall rather owe them to those persons of integrity who in his life time being admitted to be nearer witnesses of his conversation than others, may with more security be hearkened unto. For Flattery follows no man further than his grave; and it were well if Malice went no further. And this he had the less reason to fear, because in his life he had sett so severe a watch upon himself, that his conversation was without reproof, even in those times when the head of every Clergy man was set a rate, as formerly were the heads of wolves. Only one hath been found, that ever I heard of, who thought he could not sufficiently vindicat his Diana of the new modelled Church of Scotland (q^{ch}, under the notion of the Kingdom of Christ, were then bussy to set up a Kingdom of their own), unless he raked into the grave of this innocent person, and violat his dust, whom, in his life time, he could not look upon without reverence. Nor shall I doe him the honnour to name him, much less to answer him, but rather leave him to the tribunal of his own conscience, where, if the Court be not infinitely corrupted, he stands condemned already.

If I be not mistaken in my guess, the B. of Winchester means here Mr. Bailay, in his "Historicall Vindication of the Church of Scotland." The Passage will be cited before I end. This is an easy way of evading that learned Writter's charge, who had much better opportunity to know the facts advanced,

and better informations of what passed in Scotland, than the Bishop had from those he sayes were witnesses of his conversation. And Mr. Bailay's Vindication, as far as I know, remains yet unanswered; and the Answers pretended to be given to some Passages in it by Prelaticall Writers, are so insipide, as they deserve no notice. The Bishop goes on—

And this I forbear the rather, that in writing his Life, I might in this particular imitate the life I write of, which had so much of moderation and calmnes in it, that thô he had many encounters with those φυσεισ θεριμαι και μεγαλαι, such as Bishop Nazianzen complains of, yet he never dealt with them at their own weapons, but borrowed his from the Armory of his Saviour, from whence he was furnished with humility enough to oppose their pride, and meekness enough to answer their choler. As for his patience in suffering, which is a neighbour virtue to fortitude, he is a rare example: for living in those tumultuous and undistinguishing times, when rapine and malice were called zeal, and Sedition wore the collours of Religion; and being thereupon driven both from his native Countrey and from the honours and preferments which he enjoyed, he was never so much as heard to complain of his enemies; but upon his death-bed made it his solemn Prayer to God, that he, in his own particular, might be forgiven, upon another termes than as he for Christ's sake forgave them. For piety, he was more for substance than shew, more for the power of godlynes than for the bare form of it. Frequent he was in his Privat Prayers; and in the Publick Worship of God, of such an exemplary carriage, as might warm the coldest Congregation to gather heat, and to joyn with him in the same fervency and hight of devotion. For Preaching, he was rightly gifted, thô not in the modern sense, where ignorance and impudence, without any further commission, make up the Preacher; for his constant way was to deliver much matter in a few words, not affecting, or looking for applause from them who dote upon the best lungs and the longest Preacher; but considering whose message he brought, he discharged it with so much judgment, and yet with such simplicity of spirit, as might sooner get souls for God than praise from men. For outward works of charity, he looked upon them as the proper badge of his Heavenly Master; and could no more esteem him a Christian who boasted of his faith without them, than he could believe a thorn or bramble to be a fig tree. And in his own particular, he acted this way to the outmost of his means; for besides the dispensing of his privat charity, where the right hand was not to know what the left did, he publickly, and upon his own charges, built and adorned the Church of Dairsy, after the decent English form; which if the boisterous hand of a mad Reformation hath not disordered, is at this time one of the beautifullest pieces of little Church work that is left to y^{t} now unhappy Countrey. Nor is it to be buryed in silence what he did in a time of famine for the relief of the Isles of Orkney, when he did not only incite others to a liberall contribution, but led the way to them by his own example, in such a proportion as suited rather with the largeness of his mind than of his fortune.

He Dyed at London, according to his Inscription which fol-

He Dyes, December 27, 1639. Account of his Burial from the B. of Winchester.

lowes, December 27, 1639. And before I come to give the Accounts of the other side, since the Bishop's Account is all panagyrick, and there may be excesses also in those on the other side, I'le add the Account of his Buriall.

Now it's time to bring this reverend Prelat to his grave, thô his good name and story may be longer lived. The manner of his Buriall, by the command and care of his Religious King, was solemnly ordered. For the corpse being attended with many Mourners, and at least torches, and being brought near the Abbay Church of Westminster, the whole Nobility of England and Scotland then present at Court, with all the King's servants and many Gentlemen, came out of their coaches, and conveyed the body to the West Door, where it was met by the Dean and Prebendarys of that Church, in their Clericall Habites, and Buryed according to the solemn Rites of the English Church, before the extermination of decent Christian Buriall was come in fashion. Above his corpse, these words following are engraven in brass:—

MEMORIÆ SACRUM
DOMINUS JOANNES SPOTISWOOD, ECCLESIÆ
SANCTI ANDREÆ ARCHIEPISCOPUS, SCOTIÆ
PRIMAS, ET REGNI CANCELLARIUS.
VIGINTI ANNOS PRESBITER.
UNDECIM ANNOS ARCHIEPISCOPUS GLASGOENSIS.
VIGINTI QUINQUE ANNOS S. ANDREÆ
ET PER QUATUOR ANNOS REGNI SCOTIÆ
CANCELLARIUS.
EX HAC VITA IN PACE MIGRAVIT
ANNO DOMINI 1639,
SEXTO CALENDAS DECEMBRIS,
REGNI CAROLI 15,
ÆTATIS SUÆ 74.

Præsul, Senator, pene Martyr hic jacet,
Quem nemo Sanctior, Gravior, Constantior
Pro Ecclesia, pro Rege, pro Recta Fide,
Contra Sacrilegos, Perduelles, Perfidos,
Stetit ad extremum usq3 vitæ spiritum
Solitumq3 talium meritorum præmium
Diras rapinas, exiliumque pertulit
Sed hac in urna in ore pastorum, in Deo
Victor potitur pace, Fama, Gloria.

His Death and Burial, from Mr. Crawford.

Mr. Crawford tells us, from Mr. Martine's *Reliquiæ Sancti Andree*, thô I cannot fall on the place in my Copy—

That B. Spotswood surrendered up his soul to God on the 27 day of December, 1639, aged 74. His body, for the greater state, was, by his Majesty's appointment, conveyed by torch light from his lodgings to Westminster Abbay, where he was Buryed near his beloved master, K. James; coming to the grave in peace, in a good old age, without being witness to

those calamitys which afterward happened to his Countrey, whose affairs, by long experience, he knew as well as any man whatsoever.

Mr. Niccol, in his large Collections, gives a different Account of the Archbishop's Death. His words are— From Mr. Nichol's Collections.

The late Bishop of Saint Andrews, who passed up to Court upon the first of Aprile, 1638, being a Sabbath day, and a Solemn day, whereon the Covenant was Read and Sworn to in sundry Kirks of Edinburgh; and having prophaned that day, as he was in use continually to doe, being in Leith, he rode that day to Berwick, a greater journey than was usuall for him now in his latter days; and he remained exile, as a Bannished man, from that day till the moneth of November, 1639, at which time he deceased, and departed this life in England, in a miserable and uncouth manner, his flesh being all broken out in boyles, and rottenness, and full of vermine, as was commonly reported; and so ended his dayes on earth in wilfull Bannishment, being Chancelour of Scotland and Archbishop of Saint Andrews for the time, and lying Excommunicat by the Kirk and Generall Assembly of Scotland for the space of a year before, as has been before notticed.

The Writer of the Collections from 1589-1641 has what followes, much to the same purpose. Both those MSS. set down things in a simple plain way, as they were commonly reported and given; and allowance must be made for excesses and magnifying things as to a person who was not at his Death generally liked. I set down things as I find them in the Writters come to my hand. From the Edinr. Collections.

In November, 1639, there came sure word from England that the Archbishop of Saint Andrews Dyed, of a gangren or a feister, upon the 27 of November; so that before his Death, his skin peeled off his body, and his flesh being rotten, fell out putrifyed, which bred an evil savour to them that looked on. He was a great evill-willer in his time, both to the sincerity of the Gospell and the sincere Preachers and Professors thereof. Alwise the report came, that he was Buryed with great pomp and solemnity, according to the state of an Archbishop, with many superstitious Rites of the Romish Kirk, such as Processions of Kirkmen, going with Torches and other trifles.

The English Ceremonies were now in Scotland much confounded with the Popish, in the opinion of many.

It remains now, that I give some Account of his Posterity and his Writings, particularly his celebrated and well known History. The Bishop of Winchester gives us this Account of his Family and Posterity:— His Posterity, from the B. of Winchester.

The issue of his body was numerous, but of those, 3 only came to perfect age, whom he had by Rachel Lindsay, daughter to David Lindsay,

Bishop of Ross, of the House of Edzell, an honnourable Family in Scotland. His eldest son, S^{r} John Spotswood, lives yet (1655), thô not in a plentifull, yet in a contented condition; not any way cast down or ashamed of his sufferings, but comforting himself rather, that in this generall ruine brought upon his Countrey, he hath keeped his conscience free, thô his estate hath suffered. His 2d son was S^{r} Robert Spotswood, a great ornament to his Nation; who, after he had studyed 9 years abroad, was afterwards, for his great knowledge in the Lawes, and wisdom, preferred, first by King James, to be Lord of the Session Extraordinary; and afterwards by King Charles, not only to be constant President of it, but to be his Chief Secretary for that Nation. And thô he suffered a violent Death at Saint Andrews, yet seing he was found guilty of no crime but that of loyalty and fidelity to his master, which in no records of Law nor any age but this (*ubi ipsa rerum nomina perdidimus*), was ever reckoned among Treasons,—let his memory be in honour, as of a Martyr that suffered for his righteousness' sake; for which he had so great zeal, that upon that very Scaffold where he was to suffer, he shewed such a Religious and honest boldnes toward his Countrey, as to call to as many of them as curiosity had brought together to see his end, that they should keep fast to their dutys to their God and to their King, and beware of those seditious Ministers into whose mouths, as into the Prophets of Ahab, the lying Spirit had entered, both to seduce them and ruine that noble Nation. The 3d left of his progeny was a daughter, who being virtuously and Religiously bred, was happily Marryed to S^{r} William Saint Clair of Roslin, one of the ancient Barrons in Scotland.

From Sir Robert Spotswood's Life before his Practicks.

The Bishop's great grandchild (by Sir Robert Spotswood), Mr. John Spotswood, Advocat, in his Memoires of S^{r} Robert, his grandfather's Life, before his Practiques of the Law of Scotland, gives the same account of the Bishop's Posterity. He observes, that the Family of Edzell is one of the most ancient and honourable in Scotland, are Descendants of the old Earles of Crawford, and lay claim to that Title as due to their Family. He nottices that the Archbishop returned to the use of the Armes of the old Family of Spotswood of that ilk—3 Oak Trees vert in a feild argent. A son of ye Family of Gordon having Marryed the heiress of Spotswood, added a Boar's Head in cheveron gules. But the name of Spotswood still continued in ye Family, and the Archbishop used only the ancient and simple Armes of ye Spotswoods. Sir John Spotswood of Dairsay, the Bishop's eldest son, was Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to King James. His grand nephew does not speak of his Posterity, who it seems are failed; at least the paternall lands of the Spotswoods, in the Merse, are now recovered, and in the possession of Mr. Spotswood of that ilk, Advocat, just now mentioned. This gentleman gives us the

Life of his grandfather, S^r^ Robert Spotswood, of Pentland, the Archbishop's 2d son, and his Tryall, at a good length, which lyes not now before me.

Before I come to his Works, I shall add his Character from two MSS. not in every body's hands. I'le begin with S^r^ John Scot, of Scots Tarbet, in his "Staggering Statesman." He tells us— The Bishop's Character, from Scots Tarbet's "Staggering Statesman," MS.

Mr. John Spotswood, Parson of Calder, was the son of Mr. John Spotswood, Superintendant of Lothian, in the time of the Reformation of Religion. He was made a Bishop, with the other 11, ane year or two after King James his going to England. They were restored to their dignitys, and he made Archbishop of Glasgow, in the Parliament, 1606; and at the Death of Mr. George Gladstanes, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, he succeeded to him in that place. He was greatly blotted by the publick fame, both of Drunkenness and Licentiousness, as the following Verse upon him testifyes— "Vinum amat Andreas, cum vino Glasgua amores." He was made Chancellour after the Death of the Earle of Kinnoul; but before he had possessed the place two years, he was expelled the Kingdom for bringing in the Service Book, and forced to fly to England, where he Dyed, anno 1639. He caused Imprison 5 or 6 of the Ministry, for holding a Generall Assembly at Aberdeen, being discharged by the King, and Indyted them for their life in Linlithgow, and Bannished them the Kingdom. The names of the men then were, Mr. Andrew and James Melvills, Mr. Andrew Duncan, Mr. Robert Dury, Mr. John Forbes, Mr. John Carmichael, and Mr. John Welsh. [S^r^ John is out in this List, which he brings for the purpose that followes.] At which time, the said Mr. John Welsh wrote two Letters, one to the Lady Fleeming and another to the Laird of Kilsyth, clearly telling and prophesying of the blood that should be shed in Scotland for the contempt of the Gospell, and the decay of that Bishop and his Posterity. He had two sons, S^r^ John and S^r^ Robert. The eldest, he conquest the Lordship of Dairsy and Kincaple, being worth 500^d^ Pound Sterl. per annum; the other he procured to be made President of ye Session, who indeed was an able schollar, and no wise, to the eyes of the world, evil inclined; only he followed his father's wayes as to his life. Thereafter, S^r^ John sold the whole lands. He had Marryed S^r^ William Irwine his daughter, who also conquest the Barrony of Kelly, being 80 Chalder of victuall yearly, which also he behoved to sell again, and there is nothing left of the same. S^r^ Robert, before his Death, sold the Barrony of Whitekirk to George Hume of Foord, and the Barrony of Dunnipace to Mr. James Aikenhead; both which he had conquest himself, by the assistance of his father, a few years before; so that the said Prophesy of Mr. John Welsh has very likely taken effect. He had but one daughter, Married to the Laird of Roselin, whilk Family is utterly gone, being the principall House of Caithnes. His eldest son, S^r^ John, is in great misery; and his grand child, John Spotswood, had his head struck off for assisting James Graham, in anno 1649.

The other Writter who gives some Account of him is Mr.

His Character, from Mr. Martin's *Reliquiæ.*

Martine, in his *Reliquiæ St. Andreæ*, in his Hints at the Bishops of Saint Andrews at the end of that Book. His words are—

> John Spotswood, that grave, sage, and peaceable Prelat, deserves a singular note and mark of honour, for his great labours in his restoring the state of Bishops, *ex jure postliminij;* in governing the See of Glasgow so wisely for 11 years, and Saint Andrews and this turbulent Church 23 years; for composing an excellent Liturgy; his recovering and bettering the Revenues of both those Sees to some tollerable competency; procuring ye Priory of Saint Andrews to be Mortifyed and Annexed to ye Bishoprick for ever; his prudence in great matters, the time was when he was Chancellour of this Kingdom; his wonderfull patience under his exile; his holy simplicity, and primitive disposition and humility; his works of charity—he built the Church of Dairsy, the handsomest of that kind in the Kingdom; his notable History of the Church of Scotland, besides q^{ch} he wrote a little Tract, in good and refined Latine, called *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, dedicat to King Charles, a learned and eloquent Prince—pityfully refuted by Mr. David Calderwood, under ye name of *Didoclavius;* his numerous journeys into England, and travells for the Church and ye King's Service; with many great and excellent qualityes in him, and works done by him, which may be seen in his Life, prefixed to his History. He recovered to the See of Saint Andrews 300^{d} Lib. Sterling yearly, of the Revenues uplifted by the Exchequer formerly, as annexed to and incorporated with the Crown Rents.

From Mr. Bailay's Historicall Vindication.

I'le only add a Passage from the other side, and the rather because, if I do not mistake, it is referred to by the Bishop of Winchester, in the Primate's Life, as hath been hinted; and that is, the Reverend and Learned Mr. Robert Bailay, in his Preface to his Historicall Vindication, 4to, London, 1646. There is more warmth in it than in some other of that moderat Writer's Works, which was drawn out by his reading Bishop Spotswood's History in MSS., and that bitter Paper of Bishop Maxwell's, entituled Issachar's Burden, which he answers, being just Published at this time; and by the Republishing of King James's Declaration, 1584, 5, which was really written by that poor unhappy man, Mr. Spotswood's Predecessor, Mr. Patrick Adamson. There are many Passages in this valuable Vindication which point at the Primat, but I shall Transcribe a few lines from Mr. Bailay's Dedication of this Pamphlet to Mr. R. Blair. Mr. Bailay tells Mr. Blair, that

> Thô he was averse to rake any further than he had done into the Prelatists' Writings, yet he was now pleased with the opportunity Providence put in his hand, to bring to light the oppressed innocence and many precious

Divines who had been half Martyred in Scotland; and to rectify the misapprehensions the Prelatick party had raised through the whole Isle and over Sea, by their gross misrepresentations of all the opposition which in the Church of Scotland had been made to their tyrranous oppressions. I was glad to be drawn by their unadvisedness to let the world know the truth of the 17 day of December, the Assembly at Aberdeen, 1605, and the Tumult, 1637, and many more remarkable passages of our Ecclesiasticall History, which the Prelates during their Reigne, and lately in their rage for their ruine, were wont to set in no other habit but of monstrous tragedys. It was to me a pleasant service, and aboundantly recompensive to it self, to open the prisons wherein the injustice of Prelates had too long enclosed the names and reputations of the most gracious instruments in this Church, condemning them, as far as was in their power, to lye in darknes, and stink unto the world's end. It was pleasant to me to usher in to this vast Theatre whereupon we stand, those great and noble names of John Knox, John Willock, Andrew and James Melvills, Robert Bruce, John Welsh, Thomas Smeton, James Lawson, David Black, and severall others; from whose faces a great light doth shine, and from their fame a most fragrant odour, for the refreshing of all that come near them, whose senses are not either very dull or much corrupted. I was also content with another part of my task, to throw down to the dust of just contempt and well deserved disgrace the unhappy and infamous wretches, Adamson, Spotswood, Maxwell, Balcanquell, and others, who by the steps of very evil actions, and great disservices to their mother Church and Country, had all of them, at least in hope, perked themselves upon the pinacles of the highest honours in our Church and State, that in the indignation of God, whom they had greatly provocked, they might be tumbled down into the more fearfull and exemplary pitts of ruine.

Spotswood's History was not yet Published, but it's evident from this Passage, and many Citations out of Spotswood which are in that Vindication, that Mr. Bailay had him much in his eye, and gave a remedy before the poison was spread.

It's time now to come to his Works, and I find nothing that he hath left behind him save his History, his *Refutatio Libelli*, &c., and some things in MS. in his Representatives' hands. His Works.

His History is what deserves as particular account as I can give of it, that and Calderwood being the only regular Church Historys we have, from the Reformation to the Death of King James the 6th; and since that time to this day, we have no direct connected Account of our Church affairs, during the space more than 100^{d} years time, thó I cannot say materialls are wanting for such a work. I doubt much if any of the Reformed Churches have such a gap in their Church-Story as we have. I shall first give account of the MSS. I have met with in the course of my observation of this History, and then ye Printed Work. His History.

Copys of it in MS.

I find there has been a Copy of the Bishop's History in MS., and I think that designed for the Press, in Mr. Robert Bailay's hands; so he tells us, Historicall Vindication, in his account of his Vouchers for what he advances. The Title he gives it under is, "The Ecclesiastick History of Scotland, written by John Spotswood, pretended A.Bishop of Saint Andrews, Licensed for the Press, under the hands of Secretary Stirling and Winde Bank." Mr. Bailay cites a good many Passages out of it, and gives the pages of the MS. I am ready to guess, thô it's but mere conjecture, that that MS. hath been communicat to him by John, Lord Maitland, at that time a joynt Member with him of the Westminster Assembly, afterward Earle and Duke of Lauderdale. Which brings me to add, that I am informed by the late learned and curious Mr. James Frazer, Doctor in Law, that there were two Copyes of Archbishop Spotswood's History in the Duke of Lauderdale's Library, which he had the favour of perusing, and Collating with the Printed History; and he was pleased, among many other favours kindly done me, to send me his Copy of the Printed History, with the ommissions in the Print supplyed in their proper places on the margine from those two MSS. Those he allowed me a Coppy of, and I shall subjoyn them just now. The learned and candid Bishop Nicholson, as we shall hear just now, had in his hands, one would think, the same Copy that was once in Mr. Bailay's hands, Signed by the Earle of Stirling and Secretary Winde Bank. I cannot say but it may have been the same Copy that, in the various turns Manuscripts happen to take, might be in all those three hands. And Mr. Crawford, in his Life of the Archbishop, tells us of another MS. Copy of this History, in Mr. Spotswood of that ilk, his possession. "I have seen (says he) a fine MS. of the A.Bishop's History in the hands of Mr. Spotswood, the A.Bishop's great grandson, with Marginal Notes, and a Preface written by the Author's own hand, and is fuller in some things than any of the Printed Copyes which I have compared." It were to be wished we had a better Copy of this History in Print than we have.

Differences between the Printed Copy

To forward so good a designe, as I take any thing to be q^{ch} may tend to enlighten the History of this Church, I shall contri-

bute my mite by communicating the Ommissions my very good friend the late Mr. Frazer was pleased, ten or 12 years ago, to send me from his Copy Collated with the two MSS. just now pointed at; and some of them are of considerable importance, as hath been already notticed in this Work. Those, with the pages of the Printed Edition, 1655 (and, if I mistake not, all the 3 different Editions keep the very same pages), stand App. N. (Copy MS., fol. 49, N. 21, and ye Margins of my Copy of the Printed Spotswood.) and two of the Bishop's MSS. App. N.

It's time now to come to the Printed Copy of the A.Bishop's celebrated History. The Title of it, containing a short view of its Contents, runs—"The History of the Church of Scotland, beginning at ye year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the Reigne of King James the VI., of ever blessed memory. Wherein are described, the Progress of Christianity; the Persecutions and Interruptions of it; the Foundation of Churches; the Erecting of Bishopricks; the Building and Enduing of Monasterys and other Religious places; the Succession of Bishops in their Sees; the Reformation of Religion; and the frequent disturbances of that Nation by Wars, Conspiracys, Tumults, Schisms; together with great variety of other matters, both Ecclesiasticall and Politicall. Written by that grave and reverend Prelate and wise Counselour John Spotswood, Lord Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and Privy Counselour to King Charles the 1st, that most Religious and Blessed Prince. Res in exitu estimantur, et cum abeunt ex oculis, hinc videntur. Folio. London: Printed for R. Royson. 1655." This History consists of 7 Books. I need not give the Contents of them, since the History is not rare and scarce. This History in Print, Fol., Lond., 1655.

Mr. Crawford tells us, this History hath been Published in three severall Editions, at London, in Folio: the first, 1655; the 2d, 1666; the 3d, 1677. I have seen all those different Editions in the Title page. I cannot say I have nicely Collated them, but I find they agree in the pages; and if they do not arise from new Title pages clapped to the first Edition, the Printers have chosen, as far as I have observed, the very same form and number of pages. Its Editions.

Appendix.

It may be of more use to observe, that there is Printed an Appendix, as it's called, to the Archbishop's History. I have it in 4to, London, 1677, and in Folio, the same year, fitt to be bound up with the History. It's Title runs—"An Appendix to the History of the Church of Scotland, containing the Succession of the A.Bishops and Bishops in their Sees, from the Reformation of Religion untill the year 1676; as also the severall Orders of Monks and Friers in Scotland before the Reformation; with the Foundations of the Universitys and Colledges, their Benefactors, Principalls, Professors of Divinity, and Masters at present; and an Account of the Government, Lawes, and Constitutions of the Kingdom." There are no great matters here, as the modest Author in his Preface observes, but severall things of use to such as are unacquainted with the state of Scotland; and this agrees pretty much with what is Printed in 12mo, under the Title of "The Present State of Scotland." Mr. Crawford sayes the Author of it is Mr. Thomas Midleton, an ingenious young Divine. He wrote it at London, when a Student of Divinity, and continues the Succession of the Bishops to the year just now named. Mr. Crawford adds—"I my self have made remarks and additions in the Succession of the Bishops, in their severall Sees, especially of Glasgow, Galloway, Ross, Argyle, and the Isles, where the Archbishop is most defective, and have brought them down to the Revolution, 1689."

The Bishop's designe in his History, to support Episcopacy.

We want that Preface to the Archbishop's History, which it seems is under his own hand, in his great grandson's MS. There it's probable we would have some account of the MSS. and Vouchers the Bishop had for what he writes, and therefore one would expect some account of his designes in writting. Till we be favoured with this, I shall only observe, from the Bishop's Dedication to the King, Dated Novr. 15, 1639, that he had the supporting of his own Office in view, and the disproving of our Reformation Presbyterian Constitution. His words are—

> Did men understand how things went at the Reformation, and since that time, they would never have been moved to think that Episcopacy was against the Constitutions of this Church, one of the first things in it being the placing of Superintendants with Episcopall power in the same, and no act so often iterated in the G. Assemblys of the Church, as that Ministers

should be obedient to their Superintendants, under pain of Deprivation. Then, for the Consistoriall Discipline brought from Geneva, some 16 years after the Reformation, did men know the troubles thereby raised in Church and State, with the necessity your Majesty's Royall father, of blessed memory, was put to for Reforming that confused Government,—they would never magnify nor cry it up as they do. To remedy this want, and to let all that desire be truely informed of things as they have fallen out in our times, I took the pains to collect this History, which I now humbly present to your Sacred Majesty.

How ill the Bishop hath succeeded in this his designe, will appear upon many of the Lives in this Collection. He takes that for granted, which is in a very glaring manner no wise fact, that "Superintendants had an Episcopall power." And in the very same sentence, in effect, he contradicts his own assertion, by fixing the subjection of Ministers to Superintendants upon Acts of Assembly. He is certainly mistaken when he sayes, "No Act is so often iterated in our Assemblys, as Ministers being subject to Superintendants, under pain of Deprivation." I have read the Assembly Registers more than once, and do not remember one Act in thir precise termes, much less such multitudes of them as he supposes; thó I oun it was reasonable Ministers should be subject to those temporary Officers, while the state of things made them necessary. But I can produce an Act much oftner in the Records than any thing about subjection to Superintendants, and that is, concerning the unlawfulness of Prelacy. Besides, I would willingly know whether Ministers sitting in Assemblys—and for many years all the Ministers were Members of Assemblys, and censuring Independants, giving them admonitions, rebukes, and other censures—is agreeable to the Bishop's scheme, wherein he is copyed by all the Prelatists since. It's evident fact, that till the introduction of proper Episcopacy, 1606 or 10, the Government of this Church was in the hands of Ministers, acting in parity, in Assemblys; and ever Ordination was given by the Brethren of the Bounds and Superintendant. Our History, even as the Bishop narrates it, for 40 years after the Reformation, directly runs contrary to Superintendants, or Tulchan Bishops either, their having Episcopall power. It's evident that Church power was lodged in and exercised by Generall Assemblys, and by neither of those two. Nor shall I repeat

what comes often in in this Work, that as our Discipline came not from Geneva, and was coevall with the Reformation, as every one may see in the First Book of Discipline, and the constant practise of Assemblys, Provinciall Assemblys, and Brethren of the Exercise, even before the 2d Book of Discipline,—so the troubles the Bishop speaks of were not raised by Presbiterians, but by the endeavouring, contrary to primitive declared Principles and Oaths, to bring us to a Conformity with Rome and with England; and that the troublers were not those who were adhering to our Reformation Constitution in Government and Discipline, but the Bishop, and such as, like him, were aspiring after Bishopricks and Conformity to our neighbours.

Account of this History from the B. of Winchester.

To the Bishop's own Account of his designe in writing this History, I shall next add the Account the Bishop of Winchester, B. Duppa, I think, who is generally reckoned the Writter of the Life before the History, gives of this performance. He knew no more of his Works save the History, and tells us—

> As for any Works that he left behind him (beside the Memory of his Life, which might have made the greatest Volume), I hear of none extant, save this excellent History; for thô he were a person both of great place and parts, he was not easily tempted to trouble the Press and to shew himself abroad. Nor was this History undertaken by him by any free motion of his own, but by the instance and command of King James, whose discerning spirit had singled him out as a person best qualifyed for a Historian, with prudence and candour, and clearness of stile, and so much innocent courage as neither to fear to speak the truth nor to dare to speak a lye. And though his obedience to the commands of a Soveraigne had a very powerfull influence upon him, yet being to deal with a King who made not his will his law, but, being a great master of reason, was as ready to hear as to give it, he took the liberty, in a humble way, to propound severall objections, one of which deserves more especially to be remembred, not only for the Historian's sake, but for his that set him on work, and it was thus: "It is not unknown to your Majesty (said the Bishop, being willing to find a handsome excuse), that your Majesty's mother, being defamed by the bold writings of a malicious party, and the credulity of an easy people, who, to avoid the trouble of searching into them, use to swallow such reports without chewing, hath not left a clear name behind her; and as in mine own particular judgement I cannot joyn with them in those scandalls which they have, with such a malicious falshood, cast upon her, so your Majesty must give me leave to say, that in all things she did I cannot approve her; and being of necessity to speak of her in the series of this History, what to do therein I know not." To whom the King replyed, "*Speak the truth, man, and spare not.*" And upon this encouragement from so excellent a King, which few of the Rulers of this present world dare give to their Historians, he chearfully sett about this

work, laying aside all partialitys, that he might more faithfully go through with it. He not only had the use of all the Registers, both of Church and State, in Scotland, but of all Letters of State that could any way concern the work he was about; which were either sent unto him to be surveyed with his own eyes, or Transcribed by Sworn Officers, and Attested with the Clerks' hands. With this caution and with those advantages, he undertook, continowed, and finished this History, as the intervalls of publick bussines and his own privat studys and devotions would give him leave. And the work being of that nature as not to be *res ingenii*, and to be woven out of his own brain, but such as required search and deliberation, and such helps as were not alwise ready at command, but were to be waited for, let not the Reader wonder that this History, begun at King James' command, should not come into the world till both King James was in his grave and the Writter too; but rather let him wonder that it comes out now, for it was left like an infant of the Israelites in an Ark of reeds; and if Providence had not found out very tender hands and heart to save it, it had been lost.

Whether B. Duppa is the Writter of ye Bishop's Life before his History.

Thus I have given the whole of B. Spotswood's Life prefixed to his History, as I thought the Passages fell naturally in upon this Collection. I have generally termed it the Bishop of Winchester's Life of Spotswood, because this is what is the common Tradition. Brian Duppa, in the year 1634, was made Tutor to Prince Charles, afterward K. Charles the 2d. In the [year] 1638, he was Presented to the See of Norwich; and in the [year] 1641, he was Translated to Saliburry, in Doctor Davenant's room. At the breaking out of the War, he retired to Oxford, and was with the King and Prince for some years. Till the Restoration, he was in retirement at Richmond in Surry; and upon the Restoration, he was made by his Pupil Bishop of the rich See of Winchester, and Dyed March 16, 1662. Mr. Wood and the high flying Writers give him high encomiums. He was a great friend of Bishop Laud's. There is indeed a Passage in the Publisher's Epistle to the Reader, whose stile is evidently the same with the Writter of the Life which follows it, which at first view would seem to say that the Writter of B. Spotswood's Life is a Scotsman. The words are—"What the Life of this Author was, hath been diligently collected by a reverend person of that Nation, who, out of the midst of the ruins of y^{t} Church, hath gathered out of the rubbish of it the substance of those following particulars." But even this expression does not say that the Bishop's Life, as it followes, was formed by the reverend person spoken of, but only that he made Collections for Bishop

Duppa, and furnished the substance of ye Life which followes, before the History. Indeed, it's pretty plain the Writter of the Epistle and of the Life are one and the same hand. This, I suppose, made Mr. Wood, in his *Athenæ*, to put a quære upon this objection. His words are (vol. 2, p. 270)—"It's said by some, particularly the Bookseller that Printed Bishop Spotswood's History, London, 1655, that Doctor Duppa wrote the Life of the Archbishop, which stands and is put before the said History. But the Reader is to know, that the person who wrote the Preface saith that the said Life was penned by a reverend person of that Nation, meaning Scotland. So if that be true, Duppa, an Englishman, cannot be the Author. Yet quære." I shall only add, that this reverend person pointed at by the Publisher, was probably some of our Scots Bishops, Maxwell of Rosse, or Sydserfe of Galloway, who were in England; and we may suppose gathered up materialls from the Bishop's sons; and Bishop Duppa put them in order as they stand.

The Bishop's care to collect MSS. from abroad for his History, and gets ye "Black Book of Paislay," and many others. His great Library.

That I may ommitt nothing I have met with as to the make and composure of this History, let me add a Passage from Mr. Spotswood, of that ilk, his Life of his grandfather, S^r^ Robert, before cited. He tells us—

> S^r^ Robert was abroad in his studyes and travells in France, Italy, and Germany, 9 years. The Archbishop, his father, being commanded by King James to write the History of the Church of Scotland, he imployed S^r^ Robert to recover from the Scottish Priests and Monks the ancient MSS. and Records of the Church which they had abstracted and taken with them into Forraigne Countreys, when their Houses, at the Reformation, were abolished; and S^r^ Robert succeeded in this Commission to his father's satisfaction, thô with much pains and expences, and brought home with him many of those ancient Records, and particularly the famous MS. called "The Black Book of Paislay," which he gote at Rome. So that with those Manuscripts, and other Books of Law and Theology, of the best Editions, and with what his father before had collected in his travells, the Archbishop and his son are said to have a Library worth 5 or 6 thousand Pound Sterling, which came to no account to their Posterity; for at the beginning of his troubles, that and his whole furniture was partly riffled and partly destroyed by ye Mob; and the small part of it that was preserved, entrusted to persons y^t^ never made any account of it.

Remark on Mr. Innies' Criticall Essay arising from this.

This may help us to trace out the channells in which the famous "Black Book of Paislay" (which, in all probability, is only a Copy of the Common Chronicles that were in our Religious

Houses, with the alterations and continowations peculiar to the House of Paislay) hath run, till it came to the King's Library. Sr George M'Keinzie sayes that this MSS. was brought him from Hallyroodhouse, from the Lord Whitekirk. It's a little hard to conceive how my Lord Whitekirk could find that Paislay Chronicle among the Papers belonging to Hallyroodhouse. Lesley, who appeals to the *Liber Pasletensis* at Rome, is much more probable than yt qch his grandchild tells, that Sr Robert purchased it at Rome. I think I have read somewhere that this MSS. was gote from ye Laird of Rosline, the Bishop's son-in-law, and carryed in to England, where it landed in the King's Library. I imagine, also, that severall others of our old Books, when traced up, will be found to have been brought home to the Bishop. "The Black Book of Scoon," which is likewise appealed to by Lesley at Rome, was in President Spotswood's Library, and came in to Generall Fairfax' hands. I only nottice this to shew, that had care been taken abroad, by fitt and proper hands, a great many more of our old Chronicles and Books of our Scots Religious Houses, taken away at the Reformation, might have been recovered, when Sr Robert, by his sole industry, purchased many of our ancient Records and Registers. From which I would inferr, how little ground there is for that hideous outcry Mr. Innies makes in his late Criticall Essay, v. 2, p. 561; and of the destruction of our Records and ancient Writts by the fury of the first Reformers, of which I shall take some more particular nottice elsewhere. Of this he endeavours to bring a proof from a very wild supposition, p. 578, that after all the searches of Scotsmen, "There was never any thing considerable as to our Scots History, in any Forraigne Countrey, found since the Reformation." By such gross assertions as this, Papists endeavour to support their cause.

Character of Spotswood's History, from Gordon of Straloch, in his Address to the Readers of it.

I shall now add the sentiments of a few learned men on the Bishop's performance. I shall begin with that learned but warm Writter, Gordon of Straloch, his opinion of it, in his Letter to the Readers of this History, which I had communicated to me by Sr Robert Sibbald many years ago. I shall insert the whole of that Paper, save what belongs to Buchanan and Mr. Knox their

Historys, upon whose Lives the rest of this Address stands; and perhaps the generall part of Straloch's Paper is as much worth the preserving as what concerns those particulars. The Title of this Address runs—"Robertus Gordonius a Stralock, vir clarissimus, antiquo et præclaro stemmate natus, summa sapientia, omnique doctrinæ genere non mediocriter tinctus, pietate, fama, et morum integritate præstans: ad Lectorem Historiæ ab Archiepiscopo Spotswodeo Conscripte." The Address he makes to the Readers of Bishop Spotswood's History is this—

Qui Historiam suæ gentis nescit, domi peregrinatur. Sed ut incorruptam eam habeat, laborandum illi est, in antiquissimis narrationibus, et regnorum initiis, multa plerumq3 fabulosa; minus tamen illic periculi est, nisi posteritas, ea in exemplum trahat, et inde illicita stabilire conetur. Antiqua historia nostra, hoc morbo laborat, sed non illa sola: sicut enim primi nostri Scriptores, quorum nihil præter nomen superest, superstruxere originem nostram, fabuloso Gathelo et Scotæ, quos ex Egypto educere ausi sunt ita veteribus Brittanis non defuit Brutus; non defuit Francion, Francis, Trojano sanguine editus; ut innumera hujusmodi taceam. Detur antiquitati venia, in tanta literarum egestate, et priscorum sæculorum barbarie. At recentiorum historiam corrumpi, odio aut assentationi Scriptorum, non ferendum. Ubi tamen regna et respublicæ insignem mutationem patiuntur, aut civilibus motibus. Concutiuntur, hoc sæpe accidere videmus; ad victricis partes stabiliendam potentiam, aut abolendam infamiam, multi scriptores aciem ingenii intendunt. Ita adempto omni solatio victis, eorum etiam fama apud posteros prostituitur; si non aliquis veritatis amans, quod tamen rarum, eos famæ restituat. Hoc ipsum in rebus nostris, experti nos quoq3 sumus. Georgius Buchananus vir in omni humaniori literatura, probe exercitus, &c.

The rest stands in Buchanan's Life. This Satyre, if I may call it so, on Buchanan, is closed thus—

Non hæc refero, ut clarissimi viri manibus insultem (quis enim aut quantulus ego) hoc enim piaculare, sed veritati obniti, aut eam cælare in rebus tantis, impium. Certo certius est ab excessu Jacobi quinti, hoc est ab anno 1542, parum sinceri in ulla nostrarum rerum historia hactenus edita reperiri. Ego jam grandis natu, morti proximus, omni affectu vacuus, hoc sancte affirmaverim, cum multa ad quæ ætas mea non porrexit, fando hauserim, ex pluribus incorruptæ fidei viris, qui rebus gestis interfuere, aut pars magna ipsi fuerunt.

Bene se habet, et mihi ipsi gratulor, quod antequam vita abeam, videam has lucubrationes posthumas, in lucem prolatas; de quibus edendis, hoc perditissimo sæculo, omnes desperaverant. Fœtus hic acris, vividi et sublimis ingenii, ubi candor et veritatis studium elucet. Qui hæc legit, et cum Knoxio, dehonestamento historicorum, contulerit [I give this here, that what stands in Knox's Life may be clearer]; nam illo et se, et sua tempora hoc scripti genere, deturpavit, non parum discriminis inveniet. Author tam hic, cum tantæ maculæ in Knoxio, viro alioquin magno, et celebris in Ecclesia

nominis, eum puderet, negat illum fuisse authorem hujus operis. At non sensit ita nobilis et eruditas regni cancellarius, Johanness Metellanus, eorum temporum æquatis, qui illa omnia apperrime norat, quiqꝫ acri et mordaci epigrammato (qui adhuc extat) in illum et historiam lusit. David etiam Buchananus nuper illam recudit, mutilam supplevit, aperte professus authorem; jure sane, cum nemo unquam de ea re, contraversiam fecisset. At felix noster ille præsul, non ex scholasticorum subselliis, sed in luce rerum, et culmine negotiorum, tantis rebus dicendis par. Non tamen ad hæc se accinxit nisi consulto Rege Jacobo qui ad hæc eum impulerat; præfatus se non posse bona fide hanc historiam condere, nisi cum multorum offensu, qui ipsi aut eorum (quorum) majores laboraturi sint. Jussit rex ut audacter pergeret, et ubiqꝫ veritati litaret, quod ab illo non segniter præstatum; modestia tamen et manswetudo animi, toto opere lucet: rara hoc degenere sæculo, et corruptissimis moribus παῤῥησια, qua tamen innocenter utitur nec usquam quod sciam, a legittime historiæ legibus, deflectit orationem, nec odii, nec amori indulgens. Quæ hæc legent, invenient Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ τα λειψανα, qualia per tempus edax, bella externa, civiles tumultus, omnia atrocissima, et rei literariæ infestissima a cunabulis Christianissimi nostri supersunt, per eam longam seriem, quæ mutatam et repurgatam religionem processere. Postea mutata rerum facie politica et ecclesiastica sic se miscuere, ut sine utriusqꝫ cognitione, neutra sciri possit. Unde hic nascitur plena historia, hoc nomine nobis gratior, quia hic laborabat, historiæ nostre fides hic manet manebitqꝫ multarum rerum memoria, ab omnibus bonis hactenus multum desiderata; quam illi qui justam turbarum scenam successere, sepultam volent. Adeo postrema quæ vidimus, sic primis Jacobi Regis temporibus consentiunt, ut mutatis personis, una tragedia, acta videri possit. Faxit Deus, ut halcyone a sint, nam nihil nobis præter votum reliquum. At Caroli rebus dicendis, spes est in tanta literarum luce, et gestorum cognitione, non defutura, præclara ingenia quibus ea posteritatis cura erit, ut quæ diversis et dispersis chartis per hominum manus velitant, ad justas historiæ leges revocentur. Unum postremo desideraverim, ut aliquis labori par, his omnibus jus latii impertiatur, sic enim toti Europæ, cui tam diu falsis rerum nostrarum narrationibus illusum est, manifesta historiæ veritas patebit; et bonam vel malam famam, pro meritis habebunt, qui hactenus scriptorum odiis, aut assentationibus indigne habiti sunt.

Vale, 4 Cal. April., 1655.

Passage in a Letter from Burnet of Crimond to Straloch, about Spotswood's MS. and its Printing, August, 1652.

Since Transcribing what is above, I find this Address Printed in Doctor Garnes' Life of Mr. John Forbes of Corse. His Copy and this differ in some words. When looking in to that Life, I find a Passage relating to Spotswood's History which might have come in upon my Account of it in MS. just now given; but it is not out of the way to bring it in here. Doctor Garnes gives us a Letter from Sr Robert Burnet of Crimond, the famous Bishop Burnet's father, to Gordon of Straloch, Dated 4 Non. August, 1652. It's, I suppose, Translated from the English to Latine by Doctor Garnes, and contains two Paragraphs concerning the

MS. Copy of B. Spotswood's History, which I shall give in English, since what is above that way is in that language. It will help us to trace that MS., if that gentleman's information may be depended on.

The Archbishop of Saint Andrews' History is yet safe; and thô the Originall Copy (*præcipuum exèmplar*) once fell into the Covenanters' hands, yet now it is in come to Sr Patrick Drummond, a person of the greatest integrity, being left with him as a pledge by one Law, servant to the Earle of Lanerk, this Copy having been intrusted to him when he was the King's Secretary. Sr Patrick urgeth me, since I came to this place (Aberdeen), to gather subscription money from such as are willing that it may be Printed; but in this troublesome time, when money is so scarce, I have only given him my Note, oblidging me to pay for 4 Copyes, as soon as the Book shall be Printed. I have been essaying to prevail with others to give the like obligation, for moe or fewer Copyes, but can prevail with none. However, the Bishop's History does not touch those times, but ends at King James's Death. I have not yet seen it or read it, but I heard from ye late Earle of Lauderdale, to whom Sr Robert Spotswood had lent it for 15 dayes, at London, that nothing was ever written by any body with more candor, ingenuity, moderation, truth, and prudence; and this he had found by glancing the Accounts of what passed in his own time, wherein if he had not the greatest share, yet he had none of the least.

B. Nicholson's Character of Spotswood's History.

I shall next give what Bishop Nicholson hath concerning this History, in his Scots Historicall Library, most of which hath been already hinted at.

Archbishop Spotswood's History was penned at the speciall command of King James; who being told that some Passages in it might bear hard upon his mother, bid him "*Write the truth, and spare not.*" Yet he ventured not so far with a Commission, as Buchanan did without one. In ye first of his Seven Books, he discourses of the planting of Christianity in Scotland, shewing, contrary to the assertion of some of their Historians, that Episcopacy was the Primitive Government here as soon as a Church was formed. In the 2d, he gives a short story of the Bishops, in their severall Sees; and in the 5 following, he largely handles the beginning and progress of the Reformation, in evident confutation of those who maintain that the Scots were Reformed by Presbyters. [Straloch's Reflexions on Spotswood follow, which I have given. B. Nicholson adds—] I have now by me a very fair Transcript of this History, the very same that was provided by the Author for the Press, as both his name Subscribed to the Epistle Dedicatory, with his own hand, and the Licenses given under the hands of the Secretarys of both Kingdomes, Stirling and Winde Bank, do sufficiently prove. That which Mr. Royston procured was less exact than this, as appears by the Marginal Notes, which are all in the Author's proper hand wryting, and from some defects in the print (many of which are ommissions of whole lines), which may be supplyed. I shall only instance in a couple, which are

within the compass of one page, wherein the learned Author tells us, that the Isles of Orkney were possessed by the Picts (MS., fol. 65, Printed Copy, p. 111, 112) whilst that Kingdom stood; and that St. Kentigern's Hymn began thus—

> "O! sacer antistes, regis clarissima proles
> Per quem laudoniæ nitet, et jam Cambria tota,
> Magnaque pars Scotiæ, fidei convertitur almæ."

Both which storys are very defective in the Printed Books of both Editions. Mr. Midltoun wrote an Appendix to it. The A.Bishop Published another piece, q^ch^ he called *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, the Doctrines whereof are opposed by Mr. David Calderwood, in his *Altare Damascenum*.

Mr. George Crawford, in his Life of the Bishop, after he hath Transcribed what Bishop Nicholson hath above, adds— Mr. Crawford's remark on a Passage in B. Nicholson.

I cannot say with the R. Reverend Doctor Nicholson, "That Spotswood evidently confutes their opinion who say, the Scots Reformed by Presbyters." It's evident by severall testimonys already mentioned in the course of this Work, that both Episcopalls and Presbyterians concurred promiscuously in Reforming the Doctrinall part of Religion; and it was some time before they came to break upon the different Forms of Church Government. For our Reformers, generally speaking, were far from being strait laced in their notions: they maintained a great latitude in those matters, and did not think any one modell of Ecclesiasticall Discipline was settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; and were equally far from thinking that Episcopacy was necessary to the being of a Church, or that the Presbyterian scheme was the only Government established by Christ in the Church. Their opinion was, that provided there was an agreement in the Doctrine, Churches might differ enough in other matters, and yet maintain the unity of ye spirit in the bond of peace.

Mr. Crawford touches upon this string in severall places of his Lives, and those latitudinarian notions of Church Government do well enough to cursory Readers, and chim in with the common notions y^t^ are fashionable with such who dip not into facts; but I'le venture to say, they do not hitt with facts; and our Reformers were far from being for latitude in those matters. This appears aboundantly in the Lives in this Collection. There was nothing more glaring than ye abuses of ye Romish party in Church Government. And thô Doctrine be indeed the chief matter to be considered, next to pure Worship, yet the abuses of the Hierarchy and Church Government of Rome perhaps touched the most part as sensibly as their Idolatry and error in Doctrine. Be this as it will, it's plain fact, that Government in parity was sett

Observe upon it, whether our Reformers were for ye Latitudinarian scheme of Church Government.

up in our Assemblys upon the d of the Reformation; Prelates were turned out; and thô somewhat like them was essayed to be brought in for Politicall, or rather covetous views, our Reforming Ministers opposed it, and soon turned it out, and brought in the 2d Book of Discipline. Mr. Crawford talks of Episcopalls and Presbyterians joyning in Reforming our Doctrine. It had been more to his purpose to have named those of our Reformers that were Episcopall in their judgement, for the first ten years, till severall of the Nobility, for their own views, pushed what was termed Tulchan Bishops, which our Reformers very early opposed, as is to be seen in Knox's Life, and the Laird of Dun's. He likewise confounds Government and Discipline, which are pretty distinct, in the present question. I do not at all disagree with him in what he sayes, that Churches agreeing in Doctrine may keep the unity of the spirit under differences as to Government; and so our Reformers did with the excellent English Bishops at this time. But this is out of the question here intirely. What was our Reformers' principles and practice in this matter? Mr. Knox keeped communion with the Church of England in Doctrine, refused a Bishoprick, complained of their Ceremonies, and was no doubt Presbyterian.

Continowation of the Bishop's History in MS.

The same Author, Mr. Crawford, in the Life of this Bishop, frequently cites a Continowation of Bishop Spotswood's History, in Manuscript, which is in his possession. I wish he had given us some further account of it, when and by whom written. The Writer of the Appendix, Mr. Midltoun, tells us, Mr. Royston the Printer was at much pains to procure a Continowation of the Archbishop's History, but could not prevail. So probably this MS. must be writt since ye [year] 1677.

A Refutation of Bishop Spotswood's History, MS.

No more offers to me with relation to this celebrated History but another MS. in 4to, probably the Original, at least it's unfinished, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, of which I have also a Copy; which contains a continued Criticisme upon and Refutation of Bishop Spotswood's History, as far as it goes, which is only to the [year] 1557. I am intirely ignorant of the Writter of it. This Author's scope and designe will stand best in his own words, with which he begins his first Chapter, thus—

Our sincere, grave, and judicious Historian, Buchanan I mean, in the beginning of his History, doth profess that he intends *res gestas majorum a fabularum vanitate liberare*—to liberat the actions of our Predecessors from the vanity of fables. And what he professeth in the entry of his History, he doth faithfully perform, through the whole course and body thereof. Spotswood, in his History of the Church, having no such intention to free it from lies and fables, doth very wisely abstain from all such profession; and as he promiseth no such thing, so not being engaged thereto by any promise or profession, he who expects truth and sincerity from him may blame himself if he be deceived. For our part, our purpose and scope is, to relate, so far as we find and have read in sincere and truth-loving Authors, who deserve trust, concerning the passages observable in this Church, from the first Conversion of this Nation unto the Reformation thereof; and to discover, as far as we are able, Spotswood's lies and vanitys, by which he hath so obscured, defaced, and defiled the true History, that it doth but differ little from a Legend of Lies, as we hope to make appear to the indifferent Reader.

Its Contents.

The MS. not being taken nottice of by any that I know of, the Contents of it, I believe, may be acceptable to the inquisitive part of my Readers; and I'le give the Titles of his Books, Chapters, and Sections. The MS. hath no generall Title, but begins thus—

The First Book of the History of the Church of Scotland, from their Conversion to Christianity to the Erection of Bishops; that is, from the Conversion and Baptisme of King Donald the First, in the year 203, to the year 1090, in the Reigne of King Malcomb the 3d.

Chapter 1, containing what passed in the Church unto the return of King Fergus the 2d, in the year 404. § 1, Of the Conversion of ye Scots. § 2, Of the fabulous Amphibalus and Cathedra of Sodora, in the Isle of Man, together with the famous Bishops of the Isles. § 3, Of the Culdees, who Taught and Governed the Church of Scotland. § 4, The Scots Exiled and Dispersed. § 5, The Legend of Regulus considered, who is commonly called Saint Rule.

Chapter 2d contains—§ 1, Of the Founding of the Mastery or Colledge of Iona. § 2, Of Ninias or Ninianus. § 3, Of Palladius. § 4, Of Patricius and Sedulius. § 5, Lands and Rents given to Churchmen by Congellus the 2d. § 6, Of that famous and notable man Columba. § 7, A foolish and profane Fable of Baldred's corpse. § 8, Of Saint Bridgida.

Chapter 3d contains—§ 1, Of Augustine the Monk, who was Bishop of Canterburry, and of Ethelfride, the King of Northumberland's children, bred in Scotland; together with Aidanus, Bishop of Lindistarn. § 2, Of Finanus, 2d Bishop there. § 3, Of Colmannus and the Conference at Whitbay Abbay. § 4, Of the effects of this Conference, and of Adamanus and Chilianus. § 5, Of Wiro and Ploathelmus. § 6, Of Bonifacius. § 7, Of Fiacre the Hermite. § 8, Of some Learned Scots abroad. § 9, Of McDulfus of Malmesburry.

Chapter 4 contains—§ 1, Of Hungus' Victory over Athelstane, at Athelston Forde. § 2, Of Hungus' Donations to Regulus' Church, and Saint Andrew's Bones. § 3, The Kingdom of the Picts united to that of the Scots, and a Bishop's Seat settled at Saint Andrews. § 4, The Luxury of the

Clergy restrained by Constantine, and the States; the priviledges alleged to be given to the Clergy by Gregory the Great. § 6, Of King Kenneth the 3d, who made the Kingdom Hereditary; and the Pennance enjoyned him for Poisoning of Malcomb, Governour of Cumberland, rightful Heir to ye Kingdome.

Then follows, Of the Erection of Bishopricks, and the Succession of Bishops, untill their Abolition. In this Book, if I may call it so (for in the MS. it hath its distinct Title), the Author begins with the Bishops of Saint Andrews, and handles them in order. 1, Turgot; 2, Goderinus; 3, Eadmerus; 4, Robert; 5, Arnold; 6, Richard; 7, Hugo; 8, Roger; 9, Da. Benhan; 10, Abel; 11, Gemellinus; 12, Wisheart; 13, Frazer; 14, Lamberton; 15, Bean; 16, Landels; 17, Stephen; 18, Trail; 19, Thomas Stewart; 20, Wardlaw; 21, Kennedy. Archbishops: 1, Grahame; 2, Shevez; 3, Ja. Stewart; 4, Alexr. Stewart; 5, Forman. The other 3 till the Reformation, the two Beatons and Hamiltoun, he leaves till afterwards. The Author all along makes remarks on Spotswood's Account of those Bishops. Then he goes on to the Suffragans of Saint Andrews: 1, Murthlack or Aberdeen; 2, Of Murray; 3, Of Caithnes; 4, Of Brechin; 5, Of Rosse; 6, Of Dumblane; 7, Of Dunkell; 8, Of Orkney. On these he is but short, and comes to the Bishops and Archbishops of Glasgow, and their Suffragans—Galloway, Argyle, and the Isles. Next follows a List of the Archbishops and Bishops in and about the time of Reformation, thus—A.Bishops of Saint Andrews: 1, Henry Wardlaw; 2, James Beaton; 3, Cardinal David Beaton; 4, John Hamilton. Bishops of Dunkeld: 1, George Creighton; 2, Robert Creighton. Bishops of Aberdeen: William Gordon. Of Murray: Patrick Hepburn. Of Brechin: 1, John Hepburn; 2, Mr. John Sinclair. Of Dumblane: William Chisholme. Of Ross: James Hay; 2, Robert Cairncorse; 3, David Panter; 4, Henry Sinclair; 5, Mr. John Lesley. Of Caithnes: Robert Stewart. Of Orkney: Robert Reid. Archbishops of Glasgow: 1, Blaccader; 2, James Beaton; 3, Gavin Dumbar; 4, Ja. Betean, who Dyed in France. Bishops of Galloway: 1, George Dury; 2, Alexr. Gordon. He adds: There was no Bishop in Argyle or the Isles at this time. Then he comes to a new Chapter, which gives me ground to think that this Manuscript is unfinished, and

would have been more distinctly ranged had the Author compleated his work. I give things as they stand.

Chapter 4—Of those Bishops and their Persecution, from the Death of King James the 6th to the Reign of Queen Mary, for the space of 18 years; that is, from the year 1542 to the year 1560, inclusive.

Here the Author goes through the Bishops just now named, and gives some Account of the Persecutions made by them.

Chapter 5—A Historicall Discourse, shewing that the Religion [he means Reformation] was not brought in disorderly and with confusion, nor agst. authority; but most orderly, and by authority.

Where he has many solid and judicious remarks.

Chapter 6—Of the Queen Regent, and Knox's History.

Here the Author proves Mr. Knox to be the Author of the History attributed to him, against Archbishop Spotswood's exceptions against this.

Book 2d—Containing the affairs of the Church from the Death of the Queen Regent, June, 1560, to the Coronation of King James, the 23 of July, 1567, during the Reign of Queen Mary.

Chapter 1—§ 1, The Parliament in July and August. § 2, A Supplication given in to the Parliament by those of the Congregation. § 3, The Book of Discipline Censured by Spotswood. § 4, Of the Demolishing of Churches.

Chapter 2 contains remarks on Spotswood's Account of Affairs from the year 1560-1567, with an Account of the Assemblys in this period, and a Defence of Buchanan's Detection of Queen Mary. The MS. ends with the Title of ye 3d Book.

Further observes on this MS.

The Author of this Manuscript writes with some acrimony, and a good deal of spirit and life, and it's pity that it's not continowed as far as Spotswood goes. In one place, page (*mihi*) 213, speaking of the year 1555, he sayes it's a full Century of years since that time, that year Spotswood was Published, 1655; and it's probable this MS. was writt betwixt the [years] 1655 and 1660. And the rather, that when he speaks of King Charles the First, he names him only King Charles, which I find was the common stile till the Restoration. He cites Calderwood's MS. History very frequently; I mean, he cites Calderwood for severall Passages which are not in the Printed History, and sometimes

makes additions to what he cites out of Calderwood, sometimes in reasoning, sometimes in testimonys. The person who wrote this is distinct, and well seen in all the branches of our Scots History, and a man of learning and zeal. Were I to conjecture, which is very useless, I would be ready to father this Manuscript on Mr. Alexr. Petry, who I know perused Mr. Calderwood's large MS., and takes Spotswood to task in some places of his Printed History; or Mr. Thomas Crawford.

The Author's thoughts on the Bishop's History.

In this Biography, I have had frequent occasion to make remarks upon many Passages of this History writt by the Bishop, and I need say nothing upon it here. Certainly it's writt in a masterly way for that time, and hath no little of the Courtier and man of bussines appearing in it. He does not appear to have made many advances beyond our Printed Historians, as to ye times before the Reformation, notwithstanding his access to the Publick Records and Letters of State. We meet with little in his History as far as Major Boethius, Buchanan, and Knox go. His Account even of the Bishops, in the time of Popery, is somewhat lame, thô no body I know of before him hath given us them so distinctly. He does justice in severall respects to Mr. Knox and some of our first Reformers; but the Ministers after those meet with no quarter from him: he turns every thing relative to them to the worst side it's capable of. His Account of the Generall Assemblys, when compared with the Records which he had in his hands, is exceeding lame and partiall. Indeed, since I have looked into that part of our History, I have still thought that as to those who differed from him in point of Church Government, he is more to be blamed for his ommissions, that we see he could not but know, having the Books of Generall Assemblys in his hand, and being personally present in most Assemblys after the [year] 1590, than in what he hath, thô that is aboundantly artfull and partiall. And it must be ouned, that this History is wrote with a great deal of care and designe, and in a stile and distinct order and plainness equall to any of his contemporarys, and superior to most part of the Writters of that time.

I know no more of Bishop Spotswood's in Print, save his *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, Lond., 12mo,

1620. The occasion of his writing it was a Paper spread abroad, 1618, during the time of the Synod of Dort, reckoned to be by Mr. David Calderwood, entituled *Epistola de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, and directed *Fratribus Clarissimis Ecclesiarum Reformatarum Pastoribus Fidis Hieronimus Philadelphus*. The occasion of writing this Paper was, the Author's observing that none but Bishops were sent by the King of Brittain to the venerable Synod of Dort; and a suspicion, that somewhat in favour of Prelacy, and to the disadvantage of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, was to be endeavoured to be got brought about there; and the rather, that no Deputys were sent directly from the Church of Scotland. Therefore it was thought seasonable that a short state of the Reformation Constitution of the Church of Scotland, with a brief Account of the state of matters in the Church, and the methods taken to bring in Prelacy, and the practises of the Bishops since their setting up, and all in Latine, for the information of the Divines in other Protestant Reformed Churches. This is a very short but strong Paper, consisting only of a sheet and a half, in pretty large Print. It stands at the end of Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*. In answer to this, the Archbishop Published his *Refutatio*, Dedicated to Prince Charles, and writt in a neat, handsome Latine style. By common fame, the Bishop was given as the Author of it, and it's certain he caused Print it at London. I have it not at present by me, and I know not if he Signes the Dedication. But if he generally owned it as his, it's a little strange that the Writter of his Life sayes "he knows no more that the Bishop wrote, save the History," and gives some reasons of this also, as we have seen. Whether it was not so proper for him publickly to oun himself as the Author of it, when the Answer came out, I do not determine; but Mr. Calderwood, in his Reply, directly makes him the Author of it. This stands at the end of his celebrated *Altare Damascenum*, under this Title, "Epistolæ Philadelphi Vindiciæ, contra Calumnias Joannis Spottiswodi Fani Andree pseudo Archiepiscopi, Authore anonimo." He prefixes a shreud Copy of Verses to it, which have much of Mr. Andrew Melvill's stile and heat in them; but that great man Dyed before the Printing of

His *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, 12mo, Lond., 1620.

this Answer, 1623, and I cannot be positive that they are his. They follow with this Title—

SPOTSWODI EPISCOPI παζονμασια, A "SPOT," QUOD SCOTICE EST LABES, ET "WOOD," QUOD EST SYLVA.

A *Labe* et *Sylva* Spotswodus Episcopus ortus,
Præfert ingenii tristia fata sui.
Furtum *Sylva* tegit, *Labes* pulchra omnia fœdat
Nil furto et fœdo, nequius esse potest.
Ergo pedum fractum, perjura fraude resarcis,
Et Christi sponsam perfida labe notas?
Quosqȝ Bibilis fumes, avida quod fauce Lyoum
In sacros cœtus impius ore vomis.

This Vindication of the Letter is writ with that keenness and edge, that such as are in a state of oppression and persecution cannot easily abstain from, especially when vindicating what they reckon truth and facts, against the chief instrument of their hardships. But in my opinion it contains one of the best Accounts of the state of things in the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the [year] 1618, that we have Published; and many valuable facts that are not to be found elsewhere; and brings a great deal of light to that part of our History. And one needs not wonder much at those epithets I venture to give it, since it was writt by Mr. Calderwood, who was as much acquaint with our History from the Reformation as any person in his time. Indeed, I may say it's a materiall refutation of the most part of the perversions and wrong turns given to matters in the Bishop's History, as well as an answer to all the facts in his Refutation. Let me only add, that in his short Preface, Mr. Calderwood complains, that whereas *Philadelphus* (so he termes himself) had nakedly stated matters from the Books of Discipline, Books of Assembly, and the known practice of the Church; *Misadelphus* (so he termes the Bishop) flyes off, and brings in things quite alien, and waves the true things in question between them; and runs out into reproaches, charging popular tumults on the Church and her Judicatorys; and raves against the faithfull and eminent servants of God. He promises not to overlook those things, and what the Bishop calumniously sayes as to Ruthven Road, Mr. Andrew Melvil, Mr. David Black, Mr. Robert Montgomery, the

Church of Leuchars, the Tumult at Edinburgh, a certain Spainiard, and such like, which, thô they were all true, do not at all concern the present question, whether there was Episcopacy at the Reformation, whether ever it was approven by the Church of Scotland. He adds, that the Bishop Dedicats his Book to Prince Charles, with some Greek sentences mixed in with his Latine; when it's well enough known, that of Greek he knowes nothing, and very little of the Latine, and that he cannot write in it; and as he hears, got a certain Physitian to put his Book and lyes in the Latine they appear in. I wish this last be not pushing matters too far. However, no Reply, that I can hear of, was ever made to this Vindication. And Mr. Calderwood Published at the same time his *Altare Damascenum*, which, since during more than a Century of years it hath stood without an Answer, we may call it unanswerable; and we need scarce look for one now. We shall see upon Mr. Calderwood's Life, that he was sought after, hunted for from place to place, and violently persecuted, the ordinary shoar that some people go to when arguments fail—force and violence must supply the want of those.

Liturgy and Canons, 1636, 1637.

It's probable the Archbishop had the chief hand in compiling the Scots Liturgy, or rather making some alterations in the English Common Prayer Book, that, as was then thought, it might be the better adapted to Scotland. And it's like the Canons, Published 1636, were mostly of his framing. But directions as to both those coming down from Bishop Laud, it's like his labour was not so very great in those as they need to be brought in among his Works.

MSS. Sermons on 2 Thessalonians and Jude.

Mr. Crawford observes, that there are extant severall Sermons of the Archbishop's, on the 2d Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, and on the Epistle of St. Jude, in Manuscript, in the hands of Mr. Spotswood of that ilk, Advocate. There hath none of his Sermons been Printed, save one, which I might have notticed upon his Works in Print; and that is before the Generall Assembly at Perth, August 25, 1618. His Text was 1 Cor. 11, 16, "But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custome, neither the Churches of God." The Archbishop was so much taken up with other affairs, that he Preached not often;

His Sermon before Perth Assembly.

and this being the only Sermon of his that was Published, I have
App. N. added it in the Appendix N. (Copy Lindsay's Defence Pol. Divinity, 4to, N. 26, p. 21-48.)

Here endeth the prolix *Biographical Collections* of the above Memoir by Mr. Robert Wodrow, Minister of Eastwood, given in his own way and according to his own version. The Editors of the *Maitland Club* and of the *Wodrow Society* were evidently frightened to Print these *Collections*, on account of their length; but they were to me far too valuable not to be incorporated in Scotichronicon.

Mr. Wodrow (Born at Eaglesham, 1679; Died at Eastwood, 1734) was uncommonly uxorious and industrious, and fond of working among musty Public Documents. He seems to have made it a point to commit to paper every *on dit* that he heard about *Dreams*, *Wraiths*, and *Sabbath-breakers*, especially if they could be connected with Bishops and Curates, upon whom he shuts up his bowels of compassion altogether. I do not think that the creature was malevolent, or that he would knowingly forge, against such, a downright lie, although others scruple not to assert the contrary; but the whole of his voluminous Writings bear upon their face old-wife garrulity and credulity, which very much shake their worth, and cause the Reader to exclaim, *That's a Wodrow!* The principal value of the foregoing Memoir lies in the number of Letters and other Documents which are quoted. The occasional ellipses of words must have occurred in process of Transcribing. Every sort of Ecclesiastical gossip which he gathered when he was from home, was narrated to his spouse—"*My Dear*," then "*My Heart*," and, when in a very coaxing humour, "*My Dearest*." He was to her a most attentive Correspondent. She was the widow of Ebenezer Veitch, and bore to Wodrow sixteen children, nine of whom survived their father—four sons and five daughters. Three of the sons were Ministers; Robert, the eldest, was, like his sire, Minister of Eastwood, but was obliged to resign for delicate health. James, the third son, was Minister of Stevenston, who writes the following Letter:—

Account of Wodrow's MSS. by his Son.

Pasted into Volume I. of the Folio MSS. in the Glasgow College Library, and addressed "To the Rev. Dr. Robert Findlay, Proffr. of Divinity, Colledge, Glasgow."

Stevenston, Sept. 19, 1806.

Rev. and dear Sir,

I had the favour of your's of the 10th, and would have answered it immediately, had not my time and attention been almost wholly occupied during the course of this week by an unexpected crowd of company, as well as my little harvest, which I was glad to get into the stackyard in good case after the continued rainy weather. I am not able to solve your doubts perfectly, as I was an infant of 4 years old at my father's Death, was not till lately in possession of the MSS. I sent you, nor had any distinct information from my brothers about the Copies you have now received from Sir Harry, and never saw the last except at Ed^{r}, and two or three Vol^{mes} I borrowed from Tarbolton and returned. But there is not the smallest reason to doubt that the whole Biography I sent you is my father's handwriting, together with the Appendixs. and interlineations you speak of in the same hand. They are therefore to be considered as the first draught or scetch of what he seems to have intended for the public. What you have received from Ed^{r} are, I believe, all copies, such of them as I have seen made by a John Brown, an old Schoolmaster, who lived for years in the Manse of Eastwood, when I was a boy, and whose handwrite I perfectly know, as he was employed by my mother to copy my father's Sermons, written in an exceedingly small though legible hand. The only point in which there is any uncertainty is, whether these Copies by Brown were made during my father's life, and under his inspection, or after his Death, by the orders of my two elder brothers, who I have heard had some thoughts of Publishing Buchanan's and Knox's Lives. The first I believe to be the fact. My reasons are these: My father Died in March, 1734 (you know the Dates of the MSS. beginning 10 or 12 years before). Towards the end of his life, for three years at least, his health declined much, and for half a year or more he was confined to his bed. I think it highly probable he would employ Brown in the work of Copying during the later period of his life, under his own direction, as he had the perfect use of his faculties. I remember Brown in the years 1738, 1739 Copying Sermons, and these only. I never heard of his being employed by either of my brothers. They had business on their hands, no particular Biographical turn, and certainly no intention at that time of Publishing the whole Series of Lives.

As to the variety of handwriting you mention as the ground of your doubts, I can say nothing, as I do not fully understand the particular fact. All the MSS. I sent you were in my father's handwriting. And as to the Copies sent you from Ed^{r}, I had conceived them all written by Brown, as every one of them I looked at was in his hand. These two hands you will now be fully master of; and if there be a third or fourth handwrite extending to any considerable part of them, it is, as you conjecture, a matter which I can give you no account of. I remain,

My dear Sir,

Sincerely and aff^{ly} yours,

J^{s} Wodrow.

There are 9 Vols. Folio of *Wodrow's Biographical Collections* in the Glasgow College Library, F. 5. 12. The first of the nine has been carefully Collated and Annotated on the margin by Wodrow himself. The other eight Volumes are written by Brown the old Schoolmaster. There are also 16 Vols. Quarto, F. 9. 33. The first four are *Appendices*, not in Wodrow's hand; the remaining twelve are, not a doubt of it, his original MSS. The marks and remarks of the late Principal Lee, of Edinburgh University, are to be found in the Folio Transcript. Dr. Burns of Paisley collected all that he could find of Wodrow's Correspondence and Letters, which were sold to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and have been Published by the *Wodrow Society*. Reference is repeatedly made in the above Biography to *Appendix N*. I have carefully gone over, more than once, the three Vols. of Appendices in the University Library here, but cannot discover what Wodrow promised to notice therein, excepting these rare Documents. (*See page* 422.)

The Arraignement of John Ogilvie, *Jesuit, on Tuesday, the last of Februarie, in the Townhouse of Glasgow, before James Hamilton, Prouest of Glasgow; James Bell, Coline Campbell, and James Bradwood, Baylies of the Citie, Justices appointed by Speciall Commission for that busines, by the Lords of Priuie Councell; the foresaid Judges being assisted by the Honourable Lords there present—*

John, Archbishop of Glasgow.
James, Marques of Hammilton.
Robert, Earle of Lowthiane.
William, Lord Sanquhar.
John, Lord Fleming.
Robert, Lord Boyde.
And Sir Walter Stewart, Baylie Deputie of the Regalitie of Glasgow.

On Tuesday, the last of Februarie, a little after 11 of the clocke in the forenoone, the Court being set, Mr. William Hay of Baro, Commissar of Glasgow, Deputed by Speciall Commission from Sir William Oliphant of Newton, his Majestie's Atturney Generall, produced the Inditement following; together with the Citation used against those who were to passe upon the Jurie, and the Roll of their particular names, Subscribed with his hand, according to the custome observed in those cases.

The Inditement of John Ogilvie, Jesuit, after the forme of the Law of Scotland.

John Ogilvie, by your Subscription, a Priest of the late execrable Order of Jesuits, you are indited and accused, that for as much as God, the Author

of all righteous government, hauing established Kings, and Magistrates his Lieuetenants, upon earth, for repressing of violence, oppression, and vice, and the promouing of pietie and justice, hath in His particular grace and fauour blessed this Countrey with a more ancient, just, and permanent descent of lawfull Kings then any other Nation of the world, and extended our felicitie beyond the happines of our antecessors, by the justice, wisdome, and clemencie of his Majestie's prosperous Reigne; and hath not onely rewarded his Majestie's zeale and righteousnes with wealth and peace, but also honoured and strengthened him with the accession of the most mightie and flourishing Kingdomes of England, France, and Ireland. Which visible fauours proceeding directly from God's most bountifull hand, mooued the whole Estates of this Kingdome assembled in the Parliament holden at Perth, the 9 of Julie, 1606, to acknowledge his Majestie's Soveraigne authority, Princely power, Royall prerogatiue, and priuiledge of his Crowne ouer all estates, persons, and causes whatsoeuer, within the Kingdome; and all in one voice faithfully to promise, maintaine, defend, obey, and aduance the life, safetie, honour, dignitie, Soueraigne authoritie, and prerogatiue Royall of his sacred Majestie, and priuiledges of his Crowne; and to withstand all persons, powers, and estates who should presume, preasse, or intend any wayes to impugne, hurt, or impaire the same; as also his Majestie, with aduise of the whole Estates of this Kingdome, in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 22 day of May, anno 1584, ratified, approued, and perpetually confirmed his Majestie's Royall power and authoritie ouer all estates, as well Spirituall as Temporall, within this Realme; and statuted and ordained, that his Highnesse, his Heyres and Successours, by themselves, and their Counselles, were, and in all times comming should bee, Judges, competent to all persons his Highnesse' subjects, of whatsoeuer estate, degree, function, or condition that euer they be of, Spirituall or Temporall, in all matters wherein they or any of them should bee apprehended, summoned, or charged to answere vnto such things as should be inquired of them by our said Soueraigne Lord and his Counsell; and that none of them who should be apprehended, called, or summoned to the effect foresaid, should presume or take in hand to decline the judgment of his Highnesse, his Hayres and Successours, or their Counsell in the premisses, vnder the paine of Treason; and likewise by the 48 Act of King James the First his Parliament, and diuers other Parliaments thereafter, it is ordained, that all the King his lieges liue and be gouerned vnder the King's Lawes and Statutes, and vnder no Lawes of other Countries and Realmes, vnder the paines of Treason and other, particularly expressed in the Acts before mentioned, and other Lawes of this Kingdome. Notwithstanding whereof it is of trueth and veritie, that you, hauing renounced your naturall allegeance and duetie to your natiue and righteous King, and cast off all reuerence, respect, and obedience to his Soueraigne authoritie and Lawes, and dedicated your mind and actions to the vnlawfull obedience of Forraine powers, aduersaries to his Majestie, and resoluing, so farre as in you lieth, to seduce his Majestie's subjectes from the faith and allegeance due to his Majestie, repaired to his Countrey in the monthe of June last past, or thereabout; and by your conferences, intycements, Auricular Confessions, Masse saying, and other subtle and craftie meanes, indeuoured your selfe not onely to corrupt many of his Majestie's lieges in Religion, but also to peruert them from their duetifull obedience due to his Majestie, till you were discouered and apprehended by the Arch-

bishop of Glasgow, who, with diuers his Majestie's Counsellers and others his good subjects, used all Christian and charitable meanes to bring you to the sense of your hainous offences, and desire of amendment thereof. But they losing all their well-intended labours, were (in respect of your peruerse obstinacie) commanded by his Majestie to enter to your examination, and the tryall of your hainous crimes and transgressions. And especially the saide Archbishop of Glasgow, and many others of good ranke and qualitie adjoined to him, by his Majestie, for your examination, hauing, upon the 18 day of Januarie last, called you before them, to examine you vpon some particular interrogatories, prescriued by his Majestie to be demanded of you, as directly concerning his Majestie's moste sacred person, life, Crowne, and estate; and chiefly, you beeing demanded by them, whether the Pope hath power to Depose Kings, beeing Excommunicated? and in particular, if he haue power to Depose the King's Majestie, our Soueraigne, beeing Excommunicated by him? you answered treasonably, that you woulde not declare your mind, except to him that is Judge in the Controuersies of Religion, whom (by your answer made to the latter part of the first interrogatorie demanded of you that day) you declared to bee the Pope, or any hauing authoritie from him; albeit by the Acts of Parliament and Lawes of this Realme, made in the yeeres of God 1560 and 1567, it is statuted and ordained, that the Bishop of Rome (called the Pope) shall have no jurisdiction nor authoritie within this Realme, in any time comming: and thereby not onely declined treasonably his Majestie's jurisdiction, allowing of the Pope's jurisdiction, which is discharged by Acts of Parliament, as said is, but hath committed most damnable and high Treason, in not acknowledging that the Pope hath no power to Depose his Majestie, who, holding his Crowne and authoritie absolutely, souerainly, and immediatly of God, may not be Deposed by any earthly person, power, or authoritie. And thereafter, you being demanded, if it be lawfull to slay his Majesty, being Excommunicated and Deposed by the Pope? you answered, *ut supra;* which was, that you would not declare your mind till you were before the Pope, or others hauing authoritie from him; thereby not onely declining treasonably his Majestie's jurisdiction and authoritie Royall, but by your not answering clearly that it is altogether vnlawfull, damnable, and diabolicall, once to thinke that it is lawfull to slay his most sacred Majestie, you have committed most hainous, pernicious, and vnpardonable Treason. And lastly, being demanded if the Pope had power to assoile his Majestie's borne subjectes from their naturall allegeance, you answered, *ut supra;* and thereby both declined treasonably his Highnes' jurisdiction and authoritie Royall in refusing to answere before his Majest. Counsellers and Commissioners foresaid, in one matter meerly concerning his Royal power ouer his people, and their subiection to his Majestie; and also committed wilfull and detestable Treason, in not acknowledging professedly and presently that none on earth had power to assoile his Majest. subjects from their naturall subjection and allegeance to him. But that it may bee knowne that your Treason proceeded of forethought fellonie and obstinate resolution, you freely and vnrequiredly did adde to your foresaid answeres this damnable conclusion, that you condemned the Oathes of Supremacie and Allegeance giuen to his Majest. by his subjects in his Dominions: whereby it is apparent, that your erand to this Countrie hath been to infect his Highnesse' subjects with the poison of your pestilent and treasonable opinion foresaid, to the subuersion of Religion, ouerthrow

of his Majestie's authoritie and Crown, and destruction of his most sacred person. And albeit the course of all his Maiestie's life and Reigne hath manifested how unwilling hee hath euer beene to use the seueritie of his Lawes against those who hath said and heard Masse, and otherwise controuened the Acts of Parliament made against idolatrous Papistrie, and practisers thereof within this Kingdom; desiring rather to reclaime them by instruction from their errours to the knowledge and profession of the trueth; and when he found them obdurat, and of desperate resolution, relieuing the Countrie of the dangerous progresse of their courses, by their imprisonment aud banishment, whereof you had such experience in the persones of your own complices, condemned for their manifest crymes, as might verie probablie haue made you to haue expected the like, if anie memorie of your natiue duetie and borne allegeance had possessed your mind; but you being altogether destitute thereof, by the three last Articles of your Depositions aboue written, you haue so plainely discouered that you professedly approue the meanes and wish the effect of the ouerthrowe of his Majestie's estate, the destruction of his Highnesse' person, and seduction of his natiue subiectes from their subjection and duetifull obedience. That thereby, and by euery one of your foresaide answeres, you haue committed moste hainous, detestable, and vnpardonable Treason, and deseruedly incurred the most rigorous paines thereof to be executed vpon your body, lands, and goods, with all extremitie, to the terrour of others.

The Inditement being read, Maister William Hay, Substitute for his Maiestie's Atturney, opened the same, to the effect following:—

"Albeit the Inditement of it selfe be cleare enough, and representeth sufficiently to my Lordes Justices, their honourable Lordships heere assisting, and to your selfe, John Ogilvie, who standes there accused, the weight and gravitie of the crime by you committed, yet I shall resume it to you in few words, that your answers may be the more distinct and without mistaking.

"You are not accused of saying Masse, nor of seducing his Maiestie's subiectes to a contrarie Religion, nor of any point touching you in conscience properly, but for declining his Maiestie's authoritie, against the Lawes and Statutes of the land, and for maintaining treasonable opinions, such as we of this Realme haue not heard by any auowed. The Statutes mentioned in your Inditement make it Treason not to answere the King's Maiestie, or his Counsell, in any matter which shall be demanded: you, beeing examined by my Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, and other honourable persons adioyned to him, by his Maiestie's Speciall Commission, refused to answere unto diuers interrogatories proponed to you by their Lordships, and at the same time professedly auouched the Pope of Rome his iurisdiction, which, by the Lawes of the Countrie, is many yeeres since plainly discharged: therefore have you incurred the penaltie contained in the Statutes, and the samine ought and should be executed vpon you.

"It is further laid vnto your charge, that you beeing demanded in the particulars, namely, 'Whether the Pope hath power to Depose the King's Majestie, our Soveraigne?' secondy, 'Whether it be lawfull to slay his Majestie, beeing Deposed by the Pope?' thirdly, 'Whether the Pope hath power to assoile his Majestie's subjects from their naturall allegeance or not?' you denied to giue any answere touching any of these points, except yee were inquired thereof by the Pope, or others hauing authoritie from him. And so not acknowledging that his Maiestie's Crowne and authoritie is helde immediately and souerainely of God, the Author of all Gouernement; that it

is detestable once to thinke that his sacred Maiestie may be lawfully killed; and that no man hath power to assoile his Maiestie's suiectes from their naturall allegeance to his Highnesse: you haue in these points, and euery one of them, committed most hainous Treason; for the which, what you say in your own defense, I see not. And yet further, that it may be seene how desperate your resolution is in al these points, although you were not required concerning the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegeance giuen to his Maiestie by his subiectes, ye freely, and out of your owne motiues, condemned these Oathes, as impious and vnlawfull. Thereby hath it appeared what a wicked and treasonable mind you foster against his Majestie our Soueraigne. If you should deny it, heere are your answeres, Subscribed with your owne hand, which ye cannot but acknowledge: them I desire to bee read, as likewise the seuerall Statutes of Parliament which you are alledged to haue transgressed; and thereafter, since his Maiestie is pleased that the ordinarie course of Tryall be kept vnto you, you shall haue libertie to say for your selfe, either against the relevancie of the Inditement or verification produced, what you thinke best."

Then were read the Statutes of Parliament mentioned in the Inditement, and the said John Ogilvie's answeres to the demands proponed vnto him, which he acknowledged for his owne, and the Subscription thereto subjoyned; after which, having licence of the Court to say what hee coulde for himselfe, he spake to this effect:—

"First, vnder protestation, that I doe no way acknowledge this Judgement, nor receiue you, that haue that Commission there produced, for my Judges, I deny any point laid against me to be Treason; for if it were Treason, it would be Treason in all places and in all Kingdomes; but that (saith he) is knowne not to be so. As for your Actes of Parliament, they are made by a number of partiall men, the best of the land not agreeing with them, and of matters not subject to their Forum or Judicatorie, for which I will not giue a rotten figge.

"Where I am thought an enemie to the King's Maiestie's authoritie, I knowe none other authoritie he hath but that which he received from his Predecessors, who acknowledged the Pope of Rome his jurisdiction. If the King (saith he) will be to me as his Predecessors were to mine, I will obey, and acknowledge him for my King; but if he doe otherwise, and play the runnegate from God, as he and you all doe, I will not acknowledge him more than this old hatte."

Heere the Archbishop of Glasgow interrupted his speech, desiring him to deliuer his minde in a greater calme, and with more reuerent speeches of his Majestie (for he vttered those things in a vehement passion, and as one transported with fury); hee remembred him that he was accused vpon his life, before Judges that were authorized by his Maiestie's Commission; to decline the judgement, or raile against his Majestie's authoritie, was bootlesse, and in a man of his profession, being an Ecclesiasticke, very scandalous. He should rather take another course, to amend what he had offended in; and recall his former answeres, if they had not proceeded from a deliberate purpose; or if hee were resolute to maintain them, to doe it with reason, and in a moderate sort; that this were his best, either for iustifying himself and the opinions he held, or for mouing the Judges, and their Lordships that were assisting, to commiserat his case. He aduised him withall to be more temperate in his speeches concerning his Maiestie, otherwise he would not be licenced thus to offend.

To this, Ogilvie made some little answere, "That he would take the aduertisement, and speake more coldly;" howbeit, hee would neuer acknowledge the judgement, nor thinke they had power to sit on his life, but said, "And for the reuerence I doe you, to stand bare-headed before you, I let you know it is *ad redemptionem vexationis et non ad agnitionem judicii.*"

The Aduocate here insisted, that seeing all his answeres tended to decline the judgement, and that hee brought no reason why the Inditement should not goe to a Tryall, that the Jurie should be Sworne at the Barre, according to the custome.

The Names of the Jurie.

Sir George Elphingston, of Blythswood.
Sir Thomas Boyd, of Boneshaw.
Sir James Edmeston, of Duntraith, Elder.
James Murhead, of Lachop.
James Roberton, of Ernock.
Hew Crawfurd, of Jordane-hill.
John Carschore, of that ilk.
Hew Kennedy, Prouest of Aire.
William Makarrel, of Hil-house.
James Blaire, Baylie of Aire.
John Dunlop, of Powmilne.
John Stewart, Burges of Aire.
John Dumbar, Burges there.
James Johnston, Burges there.
John Cunningham, of Rawes.

It was allowed the prisoner to challenge any of the fore-named persons, and to oppose vnto their admission; who said, "He had but one exception for them all—they were either enemies to his cause or friendes: if enemies, they coulde not bee admitted vpon his Triall; and if they were his friends, they should stand prisoners at the Barre with him."

The Jurie being knowne to be all discrete and substantiall persones, were instantly Sworne and admitted. Then was the Inditement read againe, in the hearing of the Jurie, and the euidences shewed them for verification thereof, which of before were produced. And the prisoner beeing of new remembred to say what hee woulde for himself, for the better information of the Jurie, spake these things following:—

"I wish these gentlemen to consider well what they doe. I cannot bee tried nor iudged by them; and whatsoeuer I suffer here, it is by way of iniurie, and not of iudgement—*injuria est non iudicium.* I am accused of Treason, but haue done none offence; neither will I begge mercy."

"This is strange (sayeth the Archbishop): you haue done none offence, and yet you are come in his Maiestie's Kingdome, and hath laboured to peruert his Highnesse' subiects: both of these are against the Law: in this have ye not offended?"

"Not (he answereth). I came by commandement; and if I were euen now foorth of the Kingdome, I should returne. Neither doe I repent any thing, but that I haue not bene so busie as I should in that which yee call peruerting. I hope to come to Glasgow againe, and to doe more good in it. If all the haires of mine head were Priestes, they should all come into the Kingdome."

"And do you not (sayeth the Archbishop) esteem it a fault to goe against the King his commandement, especially in this point of discharging you his Kingdome. If a King have any power within his Kingdome, it seemes he may rid himselfe and his Countrey of those with whom he is offended, and it sauoures of great rebellion to say otherwise."

To this Ogilvie replyed, "I am a subject as free as the King is a King: he cannot discharge me if I be not an offender, which I am not." And being asked for what offences he might be discharged by the King, answered, "In the cases of theft and murther."

"All this while (said the Archbishop) you come not to answer any thing to the points of your Inditement. Why did you decline his Majestie's authoritie, and refused to shew your opinion anent the Pope his power in Deposing Kings, and loosing subiects from their Oath of Allegiance? And when it was asked you if it were lawfull to slay the King, being Deposed and Excommunicated by the Pope—which any loyall hearted subiect will abhorre to thinke of—why did not you simply condemne it as vnlawfull? for in that you doe not condemne it, you shewe your selfe of the opinion of the rest of your Sect, who in their Bookes maintaine that it is both lawfull and commendable to slay Kings, if the Pope's Commission goe foorth once for it."

"For the declining of the King's authoritie (sayeth he), I will doe it still in matters of Religion, for with such matters he hath nothing to doe; neither haue I done any other thing but that which the Ministers did at Dundie: they would not acknowledge his Majestie's authoritie in Spirituall matters more then I; and the best Ministers of the land are still of that minde, and, if they be wise, will continue so."

The Archbishop replied, "That he was mistaken, both in the place and matter; for it was not at Dundie, but Aberdine, where eight Ministers, meeting to a Generall Assemblie, contended not against the Kinge's authoritie, but that the Assemblie called to that place and time could not be discharged by his Maiestie's Commissioner. Neither should the fact of a few, take it at the worst, be esteemed the deed of the whole. These haue bene punished for their offences, and some of them haue confessed their errour, and bene graciously pardoned by his Maiestie. All good Ministers professe otherwise, and our Religion teacheth vs to acknowledge his Maiestie our onely supreame Judge in all causes. The King is keeper of both Tables, and his place beares him not onely to the ruling of his subjects in iustice, and preseruing equitie amongst them, but euen to maintaine Religion and God's pure Worship, of which he should haue principal care. Your Lord the Pope hath not onely denyed this authoritie to Kings, which God giueth them, but usurpeth to himselfe a power of Deposing and killing when hee is displeased; and it were the lesse to be regarded if this his usurpation had gone no further then your pennes; but you haue entred, by this pretended right, the throats of the greatest Kings, as your practise vpon the two last Henries of France beares witnesse. You are not able to lay such imputation vpon us, nor our profession, which teaches, that next vnto God Almightie, all men are bounde to feare, serue, and honour their Kinges. But what answere you touching these demandes—Hath the Pope power to Depose the King? or is it not murther to kill him, being Deposed by the Pope?"

"I refused of before (said hee) to answere such questions, because in answering I should acknowledge you Judges in Controuersies of Religion, which I doe not. I will not cast holy things to dogges."

"And is it (said the Archbishop) a point of faith, that the Pope may Depose his Maiestie? or doe you thinke it a controuersie in Religion, whether his Maiestie—whom God saue—may be lawfully killed or not?"

To this Ogilvie replied, "It is a question amongst the Doctours of the Church, and many hold the affirmatiue, not improbably. A Councill hath not yet determined the point; and if it shall bee concluded by the Church that the Pope hath such power, I will giue my life in defence of it; and if a thousand liues, I would bestowe them that way, if they will make an article of faith of it." Being vrged to declare his owne opinion, especially in that point, whether it were murther to kill his Majestie, being Deposed by the

Pope, he answered, "That he would not say it were vnlawfull, though he should saue his life by it." Then going on with a long speech of the Pope his power, affirmed the King to be subiect to him by the vertue of Christe's saying to Peter, *Pasce oves meas.* "That if the King offended against the Catholicke Church, the Pope might punish him as well as a shepheard or the poorest fellow in the Countrey. That in abrogating the Pope's authoritie, the estates of Parliament had gone beyond their limites; and that the King, in usurping the Pope's right, had lost his owne. *Nam qui rapit jus alienum* (sayeth he) *perdit jus ad suum.*"

Being asked touching the Oath of Allegeance, why hee did condemn it, and the samine being read vnto him, he said, "It was a damnable Oath against God and His truth, and that it was Treason to Sweare it, because it brought the King's person and State in danger. Since this Kingdome (sayeth he) was Christian, the Pope's supreme power was always acknowledged: this beeing cast off—as we see in the Act of your Parliament—against all reason and conscience, and subjectes forced to Sweare to a matter so vnlawfull, what maruell that attemptes and dangerous courses be taken against him. *Justissima lex est, ut quæ agit aliquis, talia patiatur.* But would the King leaue off his usurping upon the Pope, he might liue without feare, as well as the King of Spaine, or any other Christian Prince." And with this hee intermixed some speeches of his owne seruice, and the seruice of other Jesuits done to his Maiestie, whereof hee saide, "Neither Bishop, nor Minister, nor all the Bishops and Ministers in his Maiestie's Kingdomes, had done or could doe the like."

The further hee proceeded in speaking, his speeches still grew to bee the more intollerable; therefore the Archbishop of Glasgow, willing him to make an ende, did close all with some wordes to the Jurie, to this effect—"Gentlemen, and others who are named upon this Assise, though I minded to haue saide nothing, but sitten heere a witnesse of the proceeding, I haue beene forced by his proud and impudent speeches somewhat to replie, and must, with your patience, say a little more. It is this same day, two and twentie weekes past, that this prisoner fell into mine handes; since that time hee hath had leasure to thinke enough what course was fittest for himselfe to take, for satisfying his Majestie, whome he had offended; neither hath hee lacked counsell and aduise, the best that wee could giue him. Besides, hee hath found on our part nothing but courteous dealing, and better intertainement then (I must now say it) he hath deserued. Mine owne hopes were, that he would haue followed another course then I see hee hath taken, and not stande to the answeres which hee made to those demandes which were moued vnto him, by his Majestie's Commissioners, and you haue seene. But if his answeres at the first were treasonable, they are nowe so little bettered, as in all your hearinges hee hath vttered speeches most detestable, made a commentarie worse than the text was, and shewed himselfe to carrie the minde of an arrant and desperate traitour. You perceive he obscures not his affection towardes the Kinge's Majestie, our Soueraigne, in all his speeches, preferring the Pope to his Majestie; and which is more intollerable, affirmeth the Kinge's Majestie to haue lost the right of his Kingdome, by usurping vpon the Pope. Hee will not say it is vnlawfull to kill his Maiestie. Hee sayeth it is Treason for subiectes to Sweare the Oath of Allegeance; and meaneth so much in his last wordes, as the Kinge's Majestie's life and estate cannot bee assured, except hee render himselfe the Pope's Vassall.

"Thus hath hee left you little to doe. Except that his Majestie's pleasure is, the ordinarie forme bee kept with him, you shoulde neuer neede once to remoue: all his speeches haue beene so stuffed with Treason, that I am sure the patience of the Noblemen, and others heere present, hath beene much prouoked.

"In al that he hath said, I can marke but two things alledged by him for the Pope's authoritie ouer Kinges—the wordes of our Sauiour to Saint Peter, *Pasce oues meas*, Feede my sheepe; and the subjection of Kinges, especially of our Kinges, since the Kingdome became Christian, to the Pope. For the wordes of our Sauiour, how little they serue his purpose, I haue no neede to tell you. To feed the sheepe of Christ, is not, I hope, to Depose Kinges from their estates, nor to inflame the heartes of subjectes against Princes, much lesse to kill and dispatch them. Wee are better taught then to be deceiued with such glosses. Saint Peter made neuer that sense of those wordes, and teacheth vs a farre other Doctrine in his First Epistle, Fift Chapter, and Second and Third Verse.

"I will not spend time with such purpose, onely this I muste saye, that whatsoeuer was Saint Peter's prerogatiue, the Pope of Rome hath no thing to doe with it; for he cannot bee Saint Peter's Successour that hath forsaken his Doctrine, and gone against his practise directly, both in that and other points of Christian faith. And for the antiquitie of his usurped power, I may justly say, that Master Ogilvie is not well seene in antiquitie, or then speaketh against his knowledge, when hee saieth that this power of the Pope was euer acknowledged by Christian Kinges. The Bishops of Rome, for many yeeres, made no such claime, neither did Emperours or Kinges euer dreame of such subjection. Long it was ere the Pope of Rome came to the height of commanding Kinges, and not till hee had oppressed the Church vnder the pretext of Saint Peter's Keyes, bearing downe all the Bishops within Christendome; which hauing done, then hee made his inuasion vpon Princes, and that by degrees. The Histories of all ages make this plaine; and the resisting hee found by Kinges in their Kingdomes, testifieth that they neuer acknowledged his superioritie. Of our owne, howbeit as wee lye farre from his seat, so had wee lesse businesse and fewer occasions of contradiction; yet can I make it seene in diuers particulars, when any question fell out anent the prouision of Bishops and Archbishops to their places, the Bulles of Rome were so little respected, as the Kinge's Predecessours haue alwayes preferred and borne out their owne choice; and the interdictions made vpon the Realme by these occasions, not without some imputation of weaknesse to the See Apostolicke, haue beene recalled. The superstitions of Rome were amongst vs last embraced, and with the first, by the mercies of God, shaken off. Whatsoeuer you bragge of your antiquitie, it is false, both in this and all the pointes of your profession else, which I could cleare, if this time or place were fitting. But to you of this Jurie I haue this only more to say, you are to inquire vpon the veritie of the Inditement, whether such and such things as are alledged to be committed by him haue beene so or not. You haue his Subscription, which hee acknowledgeth; you heare himselfe, and how hee hath most treasonably disauowed his Majestie's authoritie. It concernes you onely to pronounce as you shall finde verified by the speeches that you haue heard, and the testimonies produced. For the rest, the Justices knowe sufficiently what to doe, and will serve God and his Majestie according to the Commission giuen them."

Maister William Hay, Aduocate for his Majestie, asked Instruments

vpon the prisoner's treasonable speeches, vttered in the hearing of the Jurie, and his ratification of the former answeres made to his Majestie's Commissioners: likewise, for the further clearing of the Inditement, repeated the Actes of Parliament mentioned in the saide Inditement, with the Act of Priuie Counsell made anent his Majestie's Supremacie, and the Oath of Allegeance; and desired the Jurie deepely to weigh and consider the peruerse and diuelish disposition of the partie accused, to the effect they might without scruple proceede in his conuiction; and according to his place, protested for wilfull errour if they shoulde acquite him of any point contained in the saide Inditement.

The persons named vpon the Jurie remoued to the Higher House which was prepared for them, and hauing elected Sir George Elphingstone Chancellar, all in one voice founde the prisoner guiltie of the whole treasonable crimes contained in the Inditement. Which beeing reported by the said Sir George Elphinston, and confirmed by the whole Jurie, then returned into the Court, judgement was giuen, by direction of the Justices, "That the saide John Ogilvie, for the Treasons by him committed, should be Hanged and Quartered."

The Archbishop of Glasgow demanded if Ogilvie would say anything else? Ogilvie answered, "No, my Lord; but I giue your Lordship thankes for your kindneses, and will desire your hand." The Archbishop said, "If you shall acknowledge your faulte done to his Majestie, and craue God and his Highnesse' pardon, I will giue you both hand and heart, for I wish you to die a good Christian." Then Ogilvie asked, "If hee should be licensed to speake vnto the people?" The Archbishop answered, "If you will declare that you suffer according to the Law, justly for your offence, and craue his Majestie pardon for your treasonable speeches, you shall be licensed to say what you please; otherwise you ought not to bee permitted." Then saide hee, "God haue mercie vpon me!" and cryed aloud, "If there bee here anie hidden Catholickes, let them Pray for me; but the Prayers of Hereticks I will not haue." And so the Court arose.

A True Relation of such thinges as passed at the Execution of John Ogilvie, upon the last day of Februarie, anno 1615, *beeing Tuesday, in the afternoone.*

After Judgement was giuen, by the space of some three houres, hee remained in the place where he was conuicted, hauing leasure graunted him to prepare himselfe for Death. He continued a while vpon his knees at Prayer, with a colde devotion; and when the houre of execution approached, his handes being tied by the executioner, his spirits were perceiued much to faile him. In going towardes the Scaffold, the throng of people was great, and he seemed much amazed; and when he was vp, Master Robert Scot and Master William Struthers, Ministers, very grauely and Christianly exhorted him to a humble acknowledgement of his offence, and if any thing troubled his mind, to disburthen his conscience. In matters of Religion, they saide, they would not then enter, but prayed him to resolue and settle his minde, and seeke mercie and grace from God, through Jesvs Christ, in whom onely saluation is to bee found. Ogilvie answered, that he was prepared and resolued. Once he said, that he Died for Religion, but vttered this so weakly, as scarse he was heard by them that stood by vpon the Scaffold. Then addressing himselfe to execution, he kneeled at the ladder foot and Prayed: Mr. Robert Scot in that while declaring to the people that his suffering was not for any matter of Religion, but for haynous Treason against his Maiestie, which he prayed God to forgiue him. Ogilvie, hearing this, saide "He doth

me wrong." One called John Abircrumie, a man of little witt, replied, "No matter, John, the moe wrongs the better." This man was seen to attend him carefully, and was euer heard asking of Ogilvie some token before his Death; for which, and other businesse he made with him, he was put off the Scaffold.

Ogilvie endis his Prayer, arose to goe vp the ladder, but strength and courage, to the admiration of those who had seen him before, did quite forsake him: he trembled and shaked, saying he would fall, and could hardly bee helped vp on the top of the ladder. Hee kissed the hangman, and said, "Maria, mater gratiæ, ora pro me; omnes angeli orate pro me; omnes sancti sanctæque orate pro me," but with so low a voice, that they which stood at the ladder foot had some difficultie to heare him. The executioner willed him to commende his soule to God, pronouncing these wordes vnto him, "Say, John, Lord haue mercy on mee, Lord receiue my soule," which hee did with such feeblenesse of voice, that scarcely hee could bee heard. Then was hee turned off (his left foot for a space taking holde of the ladder, as a man vnwilling to die), and hung till he was Dead. His Quartering, according to the judgement giuen, was for some respectes not used, and his body Buried in a place that is kept for malefactors.

This was the ende of that vnhappy man, in whose Death any man that had eyes might see what a gracelesse and comfortlesse Religion Poperie is. The power of Religion manifesteth itselfe chiefly in the houre of Death: the sight of a reconciled God, the assurance and perswasion of fauour through Christ, furnisheth spirite and boldenesse, and maketh a man willing to depart and quite this life; but Popish Religion teacheth vncertainetie of saluation, and leadeth man to other Sauiours, who can neither helpe nor comfort in the houre of Death. What maruaile that men who leane to such rotten and unprofitable helpes, lacking and disappointed of the assistance they hoped for, shewe a faint and cowardly minde at their last?

This onely I haue further to advertise, that since his execution, wee haue understood, by some persons who visited him at times during his imprisonment, that amongst other his speeches with them, he saide this, "That if hee had escaped his apprehension at this time, and liued till Whitsonday next, hee should haue done that which all the Bishops and Ministers both in England and Scotland shoulde neuer haue helped. And if hee might haue liued at libertie vnto that time, hee woulde willingly haue been drawne in pieces with horses, and haue giuen his bodie to haue beene tormented." Whereof what shall any man collect, but that this villane was about some desperate enterprise.

God, that in mercie hitherto detected and disappointed the malicious devises of the wicked against His Church, continue with vs His fauour, and giue us to depend stedfastly on His Prouidence. And to all the enemies of God and the King, let it befall which wee haue seene vpon this wicked and accursed person. Amen.

Other Notices will be given of Spottiswoode under the See of Glasgow.

END OF VOLUME I.

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